HISTORY

OF

GREAT BRITAIN,

FROM

THE REVOLUTION

TO

THE SESSION OF PARLIAMENT ENDING A. D. 1793.

By W. BELSHAM.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

VOL. III.

Ac mihi quidem videntur huc omnia eſſe referenda ab iis qui præſunt aliis, ut ii qui eorum in imperio erunt ſint quàm beatiſſimi. CICERO.

Beneficio quàm metu obligare homines malit; exteraſque gentes fide ac ſocietate junctas habere, quàm triſti ſubjectas ſervitio. LIV. lib. 26.

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HISTORY

OF

GREAT BRITAIN.

BOOK XIII.

BOOK XIII. 1779. Session of Parliament.

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BOOK XIII.

1779. Seſſion of Parliament.

THE ſixth ſeſſion of the preſent Parliament began at Weſtminſter on the 25th of November, 1779. The King informed the two Houſes, in his ſpeech from the throne, "that he had met them at a time when they were, in concert with him, called upon by every principle of duty, and every conſideration of intereſt, to exert their united efforts in the ſupport and defence of their country, attacked by an unjuſt and unprovoked war, and contending with one of the moſt dangerous confederacies that ever was formed againſt the Crown and People of Britain. In the midſt of his care and ſolicitude for the ſafety of this country, he had not been inattentive to the ſtate of his loyal and faithful Kingdom of Ireland; and, in conſequence of the addreſſes preſented to him in the preceding ſeſſion, he had ordered ſuch papers to be laid before them as might aſſiſt their deliberations, and he recommended it to them to conſider what farther benefits and advantages might be extended to that country." Echoes of the ſpeech in the uſual ſtyle being propoſed, Lord Rockingham moved in the Houſe of Peers a very ſpirited amendment, "beſeeching his Majeſty to reflect upon the extent of territory, power, and opulence—of reputation abroad, and concord at home, which diſtinguiſhed the opening of his Majeſty's reign, and marked it as the moſt ſplendid and happy period in the hiſtory of this nation; and to turn his eyes on the preſent endangered, impoveriſhed, and diſtracted ſtate of the empire; and ſtating to his Majeſty, that if any thing can prevent the conſummation of public ruin, it can be only new counſels and new counſellors, a real change from the conviction of paſt errors, and not a mere palliation, which muſt prove fruitleſs."

Lord Rockingham's ſpirited amendment to the addreſs.

This

This was negatived after a very warm debate by eighty-two voices to forty-one. A ſimilar amendment was moved in the Houſe of Commons by Lord John Cavendiſh, and occaſioned a debate no leſs violent, in the courſe of which Mr. Fox particularly diſtinguiſhed himſelf by the boldneſs and energy of his obſervations. He ſaid, "that the plan of Government which had been in this reign invariably purſued, had been very early adopted. It was not the mere rumour of the ſtreets that the King was his own Miniſter, the fatal truth was evident: and though denied by the Members of the Adminiſtration, it was propagated by their followers. It was a doctrine in the higheſt degree dangerous, as tending to relieve Miniſters from their reſponſibility, and to transfer it to a perſonage who could not by the principles of our Conſtitution be called to an account. But, he ſaid, it ſhould be a warning to Sovereigns, that though in general the evils of a reign were, according to the principles of our government, aſcribed to the wicked counſels of Miniſters, yet when theſe evils reach to a certain height, Miniſters are forgotten, and the Prince alone is puniſhed. Thus it was with the royal houſe of Stuart. CHARLES and JAMES had no doubt wicked Miniſters, to whom the errors of their reign were juſtly in a great degree to be attributed; yet the one loſt his life, and the other his crown. The patience of the people was not unlimited, and, however paſſive for a time, they would at laſt do themſelves juſtice." The amendment was in the reſult negatived by two hundred and thirty-three voices to one hundred and thirty-four.

Lord Offory's motion reſpecting Ireland.

On the 6th of December a reſolution of cenſure on the Miniſters was moved in the Houſe of Commons by the Earl of Upper Offory, relative to the affairs of Ireland. This nobleman poſſeſſed large property in that kingdom, and was moreover diſtinguiſhed by a general candor and liberality of conduct, which gave peculiar weight to his preſent animadverſions. His Lordſhip obſerved, "that the Miniſters ſeemed totally to have abandoned the government of that country to chance. They neither felt for its diſtreſſes, nor provided againſt its reſentments: the preſent ſtate of Ireland, his Lordſhip ſaid, was truly alarming, and ſeemed to portend a ſudden diſſolution of the conſtitutional connection which had

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ſo long ſubſiſted between the two countries. To the ſhameful inattention and criminal neglect of the Miniſtry, who might in the early ſtages of the miſeries of that kingdom have granted the Iriſh nation ſubſtantial relief, was the preſent ſpirit of reſiſtance wholly imputable. To what had the conduct of Miniſters led? Either to an unreſerved acquieſcence in every propoſition which Ireland in her preſent diſtempered ſtate might think proper to demand, or the horrible alternative of a civil war while engaged in the preſent unequal conteſt with France, Spain, and America." This motion was powerfully ſupported by Mr. Fox, Mr. Burke, and Mr. Dunning, a lawyer and ſpeaker of great eminence both in the Houſe and at the Bar; and oppoſed in an elaborate ſpeech by Lord North, who declared his intention to bring forward certain reſolutions reſpecting Ireland in a few days. It was negatived by one hundred and ſeventy-three voices to one hundred. A ſimilar motion of cenſure in the Houſe of Peers by the Earl of Shelburne was negatived by eighty-two to thirty-ſeven voices. In the courſe of the debate which aroſe on this occaſion, the late Lord Preſident Gower aſſerted his entire conviction that the cenſure now moved had a juſt and adequate foundation. "He had preſided," his Lordſhip ſaid, "ſome years at the council table, where HE HAD SEEN SUCH THINGS PASS, THAT NO MAN OF HONOR OR CONSCIENCE COULD ANY LONGER SIT THERE. The times were ſuch as called upon every man to ſpeak out; ſincerity and activity in our councils could alone reſtore energy and effect to our Government." On the day previouſly fixed Lord North brought forward his propoſitions reſpecting Ireland, which were ſubſtantially the ſame with thoſe originally moved by Lord Nugent in the ſeſſion of 1778, but accompanied with ſeveral additional conceſſions, particularly the very important one that Ireland ſhould be allowed the free exportation of her woollens. Theſe reſolutions paſſed unanimouſly, and were received in Ireland not only with ſatisfaction but exultation, from the flattering and deluſive expectation of deriving from them an effectual and immediate relief to her diſtreſſes.

Humiliating confeſſion of Earl Gower.

Lord North's propoſitions reſpecting Ireland.

The attention of the public in England was not a little attracted by the

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the Eſtimates of the Army and Navy, which were about this time laid before Parliament. Eighty-five thouſand men had been at an early period of the ſeſſion voted for the ſea ſervice, and before the receſs the Secretary at War moved, "that one hundred and eleven thouſand men be voted for the land ſervice, excluſive of militia, amounting with the additional volunteer companies to forty-two thouſand. The foreign troops in Britiſh pay were calculated at twenty-four thouſand, and the artillery at ſix thouſand. The entire aggregate of this formidable force, therefore, fell little ſhort of two hundred and ſeventy thouſand men, without including the troops ſerving upon the Iriſh or Indian eſtabliſhments. To ſupport this vaſt force twelve millions were raiſed by way of loan, in addition to the permanent means of ſupply; and thoſe who moſt deplored the incredible and enormous folly which had reduced the nation to a ſituation ſo critical and dangerous, could not but view with pleaſure and aſtoniſhment the power, the riches, and the ſpirit now diſplayed in defence of all that was dear and valuable to a free and independent people. The Oppoſition in Parliament had been for ſome time paſt gradually acquiring ſtrength; and the nation at large, notwithſtanding their original predilection for the war, began at length to be ſeriouſly alarmed at the magnitude of the conteſt, and the prodigious and ruinous expence with which it was attended. The undiſguiſed and unexampled profuſion which pervaded every department of government, could not but ſtrike the moſt careleſs obſerver; and, on a ſudden, Oeconomy became the prevailing and popular cry throughout the kingdom.

1779. Eſtimate of the national force.

Early in the new year, 1780, public meetings were convened in moſt of the principal counties, and petitions to Parliament were framed, with the laudable and expreſs view of eſtabliſhing a ſyſtem founded upon principles of ſtrict and diſintereſted frugality. The county of York, with great propriety and effect, took the lead on this occaſion. In their petition to the Houſe of Commons they earneſtly requeſted, "that, before any new burdens were laid upon this country, effectual meaſures might be taken by that Houſe to enquire into and correct the groſs abuſes in the expendi-

1780. Petitions to Parliament reſpecting public œconomy.

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ture of the public money; to reduce all exorbitant emoluments; to reſcind and aboliſh all ſinecure places and unmerited penſions; and to appropriate the produce to the neceſſities of the State in ſuch manner as to the wiſdom of Parliament ſhould ſeem meet." This petition was preſented to the Houſe on the 8th of February, 1780, by Sir George Saville, Member for the county, who ſtated, that it was ſigned by above eight thouſand freeholders. This petition, he ſaid, had been procured by no underhand arts or public canvaſs; it was firſt moved in a meeting of ſix hundred Gentlemen; and there was, he believed, more property in the hall where it was agreed to, than was contained within the walls of the Houſe of Commons. It was a petition, he ſaid, to which the Adminiſtration would not DARE to refuſe a hearing, however the arts of miniſterial artifice and fineſſe might be employed to defeat the purpoſe of it*." A number of other petitions of ſimilar import being preſented, Mr. Burke

* The chief and almoſt the only oppoſer of this famous petition was a Mr. Leonard Smelt, who had formerly occupied the important office of Sub-governor to the Prince of Wales. This gentleman, in an elaborate harangue, avowed and vindicated the principles of Toryiſm in their full extent. He declared "the influence of the Crown not to be exorbitant—on the contrary, that the King's hands ought to be ſtrengthened—that the proceedings of that day tended to confuſion, as aiming to put the King under the guardianſhip of Parliament, and to incite to an illegal interference with the prerogative. He charged his opponents with wanting to withdraw the ſacred veil that hides from the people the ſplendor of majeſty. He inſiſted upon the immortality and impeccability of the King—affirming the protection of the Sovereign to be the liberty of the ſubject. He exclaimed againſt the Whigs, as actuated by an illiberal and ſelfiſh policy—quoting the well-known aphoriſm of Sir Robert Walpole, "that every man had his price." The Whigs had uſurped the power, and left the name only to the King. The Whigs had cauſed the war in America, and fomented the diſturbances in Ireland. Lord Chatham, though he had glared a meteor in a ſtorm, wanted the qualifications neceſſary to a Miniſter in times of peace. He repeated, that the calamities of the country did not originate from the influence of the King, but from his not poſſeſſing influence enough. He did not think that at this time there was a diſintereſted patriot in Britain. If, ſaid this courtly orator, there is one, he now ſits upon the throne. And he vehemently deprecated that *falſe principle* on which Parliament was called to interfere with the prerogative of the Crown." As containing the opinions of an iſolated individual, this ſpeech could excite no other emotion than contempt: but conſidering Mr. Smelt as the organ of a dark, ſubtle, and inveterate Court-faction, it was calculated to excite the higheſt alarm, reſentment, and indignation.

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at length brought forward a ſpecific plan of reform, profeſſedly aiming at two grand objects: "firſt, the reduction of the national expenditure; ſecond, the diminution of regal influence—that influence which took away all vigor from our arms, wiſdom from our conncils, and every ſhadow of authority and credit from the moſt venerable parts of the Conſtitution."—To effect theſe purpoſes, Mr. Burke moved for leave to bring in certain bills for the better regulation of his Majeſty's civil eſtabliſhments, for the ſale of foreſt and other crown lands, for more perfectly uniting to the crown the principality of Wales, the counties palatine of Cheſter and Lancaſter, and the duchy of Cornwall. But theſe bills, after a violent conflict, in the courſe of which the Miniſter was more than once left in a minority, were finally loſt.

Reform Bills introduced by Mr. Burke.

A notice given by Colonel Barré of an intention to move for the appointment of a ſelect committee to inſpect the public accounts, ſeemed, however, to meet with univerſal approbation. It was for that reaſon, therefore, artfully and unfairly taken up by the Miniſter himſelf, who abruptly brought in a bill, contrary to the remonſtrances of Colonel Barré, and the concurring reſentment of a large proportion of the Houſe, for inſtituting a Commiſſion of Accounts, conſiſting of perſons *not Members* of the Houſe of Commons. This was deemed unparliamentary, and in ſtrong language oppoſed as an abdication of the rights and privileges of the Houſe. But it paſſed into a law by a conſiderable majority; and the ſucceſſive reports of the commiſſioners appointed in virtue of this act, form, by their accuracy, ability, and impartiality, the beſt reply to the various objections urged againſt it.

Commiſſion of Accounts inſtituted.

The Houſe of Peers in the mean time were far from being indolent or inattentive ſpectators of the intereſting ſcenes now paſſing. On the very day that the petition of the county of York was preſented to the Houſe of Commons, the Earl of Shelburne moved, in the Houſe of Peers, "for the appointment of a Committee of Members of both Houſes of Parliament, poſſeſſing neither employments nor penſions, to examine into the public expenditure, and the mode of accounting for the ſame." This motion was ſupported by his Lordſhip in a very able ſpeech, in which

Earl of Shelburne's motion of reform.

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which he declared, "that the great point to which his wiſhes tended, and to effect which his motion was chiefly framed, was to annihilate that undue influence operating upon both Houſes of Parliament, which, if not eradicated, would prove the deſtruction of this country. To reſtore to Parliament its conſtitutional independence, and to place Government upon its true foundations, wiſdom, juſtice, and public virtue, was, the noble Earl ſaid, his moſt earneſt deſire, and this could not be effected without ſtriking at the root of parliamentary corruption. Excluſive of this great and primary object, his Lordſhip ſhewed, that the moſt ſhameful waſte of the public money had taken place in every branch of the national expenditure. To ſupport a moſt ruinous and diſgraceful war, a wicked, bloody, and unjuſt war! the Miniſter had borrowed year after year upon fictitious and unproductive taxes, and anticipated the produce of the Sinking Fund to anſwer his own views. Solely intent upon BORROWING, he appeared to have loſt ſight of every idea of decreaſing the debt. It was the uncontrolled poſſeſſion of the public purſe which created that corrupt and dangerous influence in Parliament, of which ſuch fatal uſe had been made; which put into the Miniſter's hands the means of deluſion, which ſerved to fortify him in his mad career, and which left no hope or proſpect of puniſhing him for the enormity of his crimes. Influence ſo employed his Lordſhip declared to be a curſe far greater, and more to be deprecated, than peſtilence or famine. The preſent motion, the noble Earl obſerved, was not of a nature novel to Parliament; in former times, particularly in the years 1702, 1703, and 1717, there had been Commiſſioners of Accounts appointed by Act of Parliament. The object of the propoſition now before the Houſe was of a nature exactly ſimilar, and it went to the abolition of all offices, whatever their ſalaries or appointments, that anſwered no other end but that of increaſing the undue and unconſtitutional influence of the Crown." In ſupport of the motion, the Duke of Graſton declared, "that from his own knowledge and immediate obſervation, he could aſſert with confidence that the ſpirit of diſcontent and diſſatisfaction was almoſt univerſally gone forth, and that the petitions recently preſented expreſſed the genuine ſenſe of the people." On the other hand, Lord Cheſterfield,

Chesterfield, a young man not AS YET distinguished by the eminence either of his knowledge or talents, and who had lately taken his seat in the House on the decease of his illustrious relation, the famous Earl of Chesterfield, affirmed, with singular temerity, that "the majority of the people were well contented under the present Government, and that the county petitions and associations were the last struggles of an EXPIRING FACTION." The Lords Stormont, Mansfield, and the Lord Chancellor maintained, with far more plausibility, "that the present motion was a violation of the inherent exclusive privilege of the other House to controul the public expenditure, which no composition, compromise, or compact, would induce them to part with. They insisted that the motion was brought forward to embarrass Government, and to throw an odium upon his Majesty's confidential advisers; and that the petitions with which the motion was connected were filled with absurd and impracticable notions of public reform, and specious theories calculated to mislead the nation, and to introduce universal confusion." The Marquis of Rockingham distinguished himself in the debate by an animated speech in defence of the motion. His Lordship said, "that a system had been formed at the accession of his Majesty to govern this country under the *forms of law*, but in reality through the immediate influence of the Crown. This was the origin of all our national misfortunes; the measures of the present reign wore every internal and external evidence of that dangerous and alarming origin; and, when combined, they presented such a system of corruption, venality, and despotism, as had never perhaps been known under any *form* of free and limited government. This system he had for seventeen years uniformly and vigorously opposed, and particularly during the short time he had presided at the head of the Treasury, but to very little purpose. As he had come into office at his Majesty's desire, so he had quitted it in obedience to his authority. His Lordship implored the Ministry not to persist in that blind and hitherto invincible spirit of obstinacy, which had brought the nation into its present calamitous situation, but to pay some attention to the voice of the people, and the interests of their country." On the division the numbers were, NON CONTENTS 101, CONTENTS 55, five-and-thirty of whom entered

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tered their proteſt on the Journals. This was the largeſt minority that had for many years been known in the Houſe of Peers in oppoſition to the Court; and, excluſive of Placemen, Penſioners, and Biſhops, this expiring Faction conſtituted a clear and deciſive majority of the Lords preſent at this intereſting diſcuſſion.

Famous motion of Mr. Dunning, affirming the increaſe of regal influence.

On the 6th of April the Houſe of Commons reſolved itſelf, on the motion of Mr. Dunning, into a grand committee, in order to take the petitions of the people into conſideration; and on this occaſion a moſt extraordinary and memorable debate aroſe. "The firſt object," Mr. Dunning ſaid, "which he meant to ſubmit to the Houſe, was a propoſition collected from the ſeveral petitions, which, if agreed to, would eſtabliſh the grounds of their prayer for redreſs. His ſecond propoſition ſhould include the means of that redreſs. Should the Houſe concur in his propoſitions, he meant to follow them up with real, ſubſtantial, and practicable meaſures. But, ſhould they diſſent from them, or endeavor to evade or procraſtinate, there would be at once an end of the petitions and a full anſwer to the petitioners. His firſt motion was, that it ſhould be reſolved by this Houſe, "that the INFLUENCE of the CROWN had increaſed, was increaſing, and ought to be diminiſhed." This motion was, by a ſingular fortune, warmly ſupported by the Speaker of the Houſe, who, though rarely accuſtomed to take part in their debates, declared, "that, on an occaſion like the preſent, he ſhould deem himſelf criminal in remaining ſilent; the reſolution propoſed contained an allegation which was too notorious to require proof—which in its full extent did not admit of proof—it could be known only to the Members of that Houſe:—as they were the only perſons competent to reſolve it, they were bound as jurors by the conviction ariſing in their own minds, and were obliged to determine accordingly. The powers conſtitutionally veſted in the executive part of the Government were, he ſaid, amply ſufficient for all the purpoſes of good government, but its undue influence had increaſed to a degree abſolutely incompatible with every juſt idea of a limited monarchy. What the petitioners demanded ſhould have originated within thoſe walls; they were ſitting as the Repreſentatives of the People, ſolely for

for their advantage and benefit, and were pledged to them for the faithful diſcharge of their truſt." Notwithſtanding the determined oppoſition of the Miniſter and of the Courtiers in general, particularly of the Lord Advocate of Scotland, Henry Dundas, who moved, as an amendment, to prefix the words "it is now neceſſary to declare," it appeared on the diviſion, which took place at midnight, on the amended reſolution, that the numbers were in favor of the motion two hundred and thirty-three, againſt it two hundred and fifteen; ſo that the Court was left in a minority of eighteen *. Mr. Dunning then moved, "that it was competent to that Houſe to examine into and to correct abuſes in the expenditure of the Civil Liſt, as well as in every other branch of the public revenue, whenever it ſhall ſeem expedient to the Houſe to do ſo." This was again oppoſed by Lord North, who, in the ſtrongeſt terms, expreſſed his wiſhes that the Committee would not proceed. The motion was nevertheleſs agreed to by the Houſe. Mr. Thomas Pitt then moved, "that it was the duty of that Houſe to provide, as far as might be, an immediate and effectual redreſs of the abuſes complained of in the petitions preſented to the Houſe from the different counties, cities, and towns, in this kingdom." The Miniſter once more earneſtly implored the Committee to deſiſt, but with no effect; the motion was agreed to. It was laſtly moved by Mr. Fox, "that the reſolutions ſhould be im-

* It is remarkable that, of thirty-three Scotch members who were preſent in the Houſe of Commons on this memorable occaſion, twenty-eight voted againſt the motion of Mr. Dunning—a ſtriking proof how greatly the influence of the Crown was increaſed by the union of the kingdoms; as indeed, through ſome ſtrange fatality, by almoſt every great political event, whether originating in folly or wiſdom, whether terminating in ſucceſs or misfortune, which has taken place in this country during the courſe of the preſent century. The influence of the Crown in its exiſting ſtate is a monſter unknown to the Conſtitution, and which if the Conſtitution is unable to deſtroy muſt ultimately be the deſtroyer of it. "The influence of the Crown," ſaid the Earl of Chatham in an intereſting debate in the Houſe of Lords, May 1771, "is become ſo enormous, that ſtronger bulwarks muſt be erected for the defence of the Conſtitution. The Septennial Act muſt be repealed. Formerly the inconveniences attending ſhort parliaments had great weight with me, but now we are not debating a queſtion of convenience. OUR ALL IS AT STAKE. OUR WHOLE CONSTITUTION IS GIVING WAY; and with the moſt deliberate and ſolemn conviction I profeſs myſelf a convert to Triennial Parliaments."

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mediately reported to the Houſe; which was deprecated and proteſted againſt by Lord North, as violent, arbitrary, and contrary to the eſtabliſhed uſage of Parliament. The motion, however, was carried; and the Chairman reporting the reſolutions accordingly, they were ſeverally agreed to by the Houſe.

On the 10th of April, the Committee being reſumed, Mr. Dunning congratulated the Houſe upon the late deciſions, which he however ſaid could avail little unleſs the Houſe proceeded effectually to remedy the grievances complained of by the people. The alarming and increaſing influence of the Crown being now admitted by a ſolemn deciſion of that Houſe, it was incumbent upon them to go from generals to particulars. With a view therefore of extirpating that corrupt influence, he ſhould move, "that there be laid before the Houſe every ſeſſion, within ſeven days after the meeting of Parliament, an account of all moneys paid out of the civil revenue to, or for the uſe of, or in truſt for, any member of Parliament ſince the laſt receſs." This was objected to by Lord North, the Lord Advocate of Scotland, the Attorney General Wedderburne, &c. but was carried without a diviſion. Mr. Dunning then moved, "that the perſons holding the offices of Treaſurer of the Chamber, Treaſurer of the Houſehold, Cofferer of the Houſehold, Comptroller of the Houſehold, Maſter of the Houſehold, Clerks of the Green Cloth, and their Deputies, ſhould be rendered incapable of a ſeat in that Houſe." This was again oppoſed, and by the ſame perſons as before; but on a diviſion was carried by a majority of two hundred and fifteen to two hundred and thirteen voices. So far the patriotic party in Parliament had triumphantly proceeded, to the infinite joy of the diſintereſted and independent part of the public, when the ſudden illneſs of the Speaker obliged the Houſe to adjourn to the 24th of April; on which day, the Committee being reſumed, Mr. Dunning moved for an Addreſs, "that his Majeſty would be pleaſed not to diſſolve the Parliament or prorogue the preſent ſeſſion until the objects of the petitions were anſwered." When the Houſe, after a vehement debate, came to a diviſion on this important queſtion, it was at once diſcovered that the unfortunate illneſs of the Speaker,

Other motions carried in oppoſition to the Court.

Illneſs of the Speaker.

The efforts of the patriots prove finally abortive.

Speaker, "whoſe health was never better worth than now," had infected "the very life-blood of their enterpriſe;"—the motion being rejected by a majority of 254 to 203.

During the receſs, a ſudden and fatal change had taken place in the temper and diſpoſition of the Houſe, and that influence of the Crown which the Parliament had determined *ought to be diminiſhed*, was, as it now appeared, too firmly eſtabliſhed to be in danger of diminution. Mr. Fox roſe after the diviſion, and in the moſt poignant language reprobated the conduct of thoſe men who had thus receded from the ſolemn engagements they had ſo recently entered into; and Mr. Dunning ſcrupled not to charge theſe members with direct treachery to the nation, conſidering this reſolution as an effectual bar to all future means and efforts of redreſs. So indeed it proved; for when, on a ſubſequent reſumption of the ſubject, he moved, "that the two reſolutions paſſed on the 10th of April be reported," a motion was made from the oppoſite ſide of the Houſe, "that the Chairman leave the chair," which, on a diviſion, was carried by a majority of 177 to 134 voices:—and thus miſerably ended thoſe deliberations, which once diſplayed ſo fair and flattering a proſpect of political reform; and thus contemptuouſly were the petitions of more than one hundred thouſand electors conſigned to everlaſting oblivion.

Riots in London excited by the Catholic Act.

It is neceſſary to recall to our recollection, that an Act of Parliament had paſſed in the courſe of the ſeſſion of 1778, relieving the Roman Catholics from ſome of the heavier penalties inflicted upon them in the laſt century. This Act ſeemed to be well approved in England; but the fanatical ſpirit, unextinguiſhed ſince the days of Knox, and which at the preſent period diſcovered itſelf by unequivocal ſymptoms in Scotland, prevented the extenſion of this very defective and imperfect toleration to that kingdom. On the bare ſuſpicion of the intended indulgence, great tumults took place at Edinburgh and Glaſgow, the Popiſh chapel in the metropolis was deſtroyed, and the houſes of the principal Catholics attacked and plundered; on which the Lord Provoſt publiſhed a

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ſingular Proclamation, aſcribing the riots to the "apprehenſions, fears, and diſtreſſed minds of well-meaning people, and aſſuring them that no repeal of the Penal Statutes would take place." Encouraged by this wretched puſillanimity, the fanatics formed themſelves into a ſociety, ſtyled the "Proteſtant Aſſociation," to oppoſe any remiſſion of the preſent perſecuting laws againſt the Papiſts, and of this aſſociation Lord George Gordon was choſen Preſident—a man in the higheſt degree wild, eccentric, and enthuſiaſtical. This aſſociation was gradually extended to England, and much pains were taken by inflammatory harangues and pamphlets to prejudice the minds of the vulgar againſt the late wiſe and ſalutary relaxation of the penal code. It was at length determined to prepare a petition for a repeal of the law in queſtion, which is affirmed to have obtained one hundred and twenty thouſand ſignatures, *or marks*, of men of the loweſt orders of ſociety, whoſe exceſs of zeal could be equalled only by the groſſneſs of their ignorance;—a combination of qualities at once ridiculous and terrible. Lord George Gordon, who was himſelf a member of the Houſe of Commons, declined to preſent this petition, unleſs he were accompanied to the Houſe by at leaſt twenty thouſand men.

A Public Meeting of the Aſſociation was, in conſequence, convened in St. George's Fields, June 2, 1780, whence it was ſuppoſed that not leſs than fifty thouſand perſons proceeded in regular diviſions, with Lord George Gordon at their head, to the Houſe of Commons, where their petition was preſented by their preſident. Towards evening this multitude began to grow very tumultuous, and groſsly inſulted various Members of both Houſes, compelling them in paſſing to and from the Houſe to cry, No Popery! and to wear blue cockades. During the debates on the petition, Lord George Gordon frequently addreſſed the mob without, in terms calculated to inflame their paſſions, and expreſsly ſtating to them, "that the people of Scotland had no redreſs till they pulled down the Popiſh chapels." After the adjournment of the Houſe, the mob, on this ſuggeſtion, immediately proceeded to the demolition of the chapels of the Sardinian and Bavarian Ambaſſadors. The military being ordered out could not prevent the miſchief, but apprehended various of the ringleaders.

The

The next day, Saturday, paſſed quietly; but on Sunday the rioters reaſſembled in vaſt numbers, and deſtroyed the chapels and private dwellings belonging to the principal Catholics in the vicinity of Moorfields.

On Monday they extended their devaſtations to other parts of the town; and Sir George Saville's houſe, in Leiceſter Fields, was totally demoliſhed by theſe blind and barbarous bigots—that diſtinguiſhed ſenator and patriot having had the honor to be the firſt mover of the bill.

On Tueſday, the day appointed for taking the petition into conſideration, the mob again ſurrounded the Parliament Houſe, and renewed their outrages and inſults. The Houſe, after paſſing ſome reſolutions adapted to the occaſion, and expreſſive of their juſt indignation, immediately adjourned. In the evening the populace, now grown more daring than ever, attacked the priſon of Newgate, where their comrades were confined, with aſtoniſhing reſolution; and, ſetting the building in flames, liberated more than three hundred felons and debtors reſident within its walls. Encouraged by the impunity with which they had hitherto acted, they now proceeded to Lord Mansfield's houſe in Bloomſbury Square, which they totally demoliſhed, his Lordſhip eſcaping not without difficulty. The priſons of Clerkenwell were alſo forced, many private houſes plundered or deſtroyed, and ſcarcely did the night afford any ceſſation of the riots.

On the ſucceeding day, the mob, rendered more deſperate by the miſchiefs and villanies they had already perpetrated, attacked with incredible fury the houſes of various individuals, chiefly Catholics, which they had previouſly marked for deſtruction. In the evening the King's Bench, the Fleet Priſon, and the New Compter, were ſet on fire, and, with a prodigious number of private dwellings in different parts of the town burning at the ſame time, formed a tremendous ſcene of conflagration, to which London, ſince the great fire of 1666, had ſeen nothing parallel or ſimilar.

The ſame day attempts were made by the rioters on the Bank and Pay-Office; but theſe, being ſtrongly guarded, happily eſcaped that deſtruction which muſt have involved the whole nation in irreparable diſtreſs

and

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and ruin. What appeared moſt to excite the public indignation was the criminal ſupineneſs of the Magiſtracy of London * during theſe horrible commotions, apparently threatening to lay the metropolis of the empire level with the ground, and which actually preſented in many parts the image of a city ſtormed and ſacked.

Laudable conduct of the King.

At length the King himſelf declared, with laudable reſolution, in Council, "that, although the Magiſtrates had not done their duty, he would not be deficient in his;" and general orders were immediately tranſmitted to the military to fire upon the rioters, without waiting for directions from the Civil Magiſtrate; in conſequence of which the ſlaughter was terrible: but in a ſhort time the commotions were effectually ſuppreſſed, and by Thurſday noon order and tranquillity were perfectly reſtored.

On that day Lord George Gordon was taken into cuſtody, and, after a ſtrict examination before the Privy Council, committed cloſe priſoner to the Tower on a charge of HIGH TREASON, for which there does not appear to have been ſufficient ground, and on his trial he was ſubſequently acquitted. An impeachment by the Houſe of Commons for High Crimes and Miſdemeanors would have been a mode of procedure far more eligible and efficacious, and would indubitably have inſured that puniſhment which his raſh and inſolent conduct ſo juſtly merited.

A Special Commiſſion was iſſued for the trial of the rioters, of whom a very great number, conſiſting of men very oppoſite in deſcription and character, were apprehended. Lord Chief Juſtice De Grey, whoſe mild and benignant diſpoſition, as well as his infirm health, was ill-ſuited to

* It moſt aſſuredly was not forgotten that Mr. Gillam, an excellent magiſtrate of the county of Surry, was tried at the Old Bailey for his life, in conſequence of the order given by him at the riots in St. George's Fields, A. D. 1768, for the military to fire, after long and patiently enduring the ſevereſt provocations from the rioters, and twice reading the Riot Act. Such a precedent could not but tend, in ſimilar emergencies, moſt dangerouſly to enfeeble the power of the Executive Government.

this

this painful taſk, willingly reſigning his office; the Attorney-General Wedderburne was advanced to the Chief Juſticeſhip, under the title of Lord Loughborough. The multiplicity combined with the precipitate and indiſcriminate ſeverity of the ſentences, paſſed in his judicial capacity by this magiſtrate upon the rioters, far exceeded any thing known in this country ſince the days of Judge Jefferies: ſuch indeed as left the memory of theſe tranſactions impreſſed upon the public mind in indelible characters of blood.

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Sanguinary ſeverities of Lord Loughborough.

On the 19th of June the Parliament met purſuant to their adjournment, and the King, going in ſtate to the Houſe of Peers, made a very judicious ſpeech, "lamenting the neceſſity which had obliged him, by every tie of duty and affection to his people, to employ the force entruſted to him for the ſuppreſſion of thoſe acts of felony and treaſon, which had overborne all civil authority, and threatened the immediate ſubverſion of all legal power, the deſtruction of all property, and the confuſion of every order in the ſtate;—at the ſame time renewing his aſſurances, that he had no other object than to make the laws of the realm, and the principles of the conſtitution, the rule and meaſure of his conduct."

An addreſs of thanks was deſervedly voted in reply to this ſpeech, without a ſingle negative.—The general effect of theſe recent commotions was very favorable to Adminiſtration, by inſpiring a too well-founded dread of popular interpoſition in any ſhape or upon any occaſion, however apparently tending to the accompliſhment of the moſt deſirable and ſalutary purpoſes. After this, nothing of material import paſſed in either Houſe of Parliament, and on the 8th of July 1780 an end was put to the preſent ſeſſion.

The political alienation which had for ſome years taken place between England and Holland became daily more viſible and notorious. A requiſition had been made by the Court of London to the States General, ſoon after the declaration of war againſt Spain, for the ſuccors ſtipulated by the treaty of 1678, confirmed by various ſubſequent agreements;

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but no anſwer could be obtained from their High Mightineſſes. On the contrary, loud complaints were made of the conduct of the Engliſh Court, which had cauſed to be ſeized, and carried into the different ports of Great Britain, ſhips belonging to the ſubjects of the Republic, navigated under the faith of treaties, and not laden with contraband goods.—This, no doubt, was in many inſtances the fact. On the other hand, Great Britain complained, with equal truth, that France received from Holland continual ſupplies of naval and military ſtores, contrary to the faith of treaties; and that the principle of ſelf-defence warranted the ſeizure and detention of all veſſels laden with ſuch exceptionable cargoes.

On the 1ſt of January 1780, Commodore Fielding fell in with a fleet of Dutch merchant ſhips off Portland, convoyed by a ſmall ſquadron of men of war, commanded by Count Byland. Captain Fielding deſiring permiſſion to viſit the merchant ſhips, in order to aſcertain whether they contained any contraband goods, was refuſed by the Dutch Admiral; on which he fired a ſhot a-head of the Count, who returned a broadſide: Commodore Fielding did the ſame, and then the Dutch immediately ſtruck their colors. Such of the merchant ſhips as had naval ſtores on board were ſtopped, and the Dutch Admiral was informed that he was at liberty to hoiſt his colors and proſecute his voyage. But he refuſed to quit his convoy, and accompanied the Commodore to Portſmouth. A memorial in ſtrong and reſentful terms was preſented by Count Welderen, by order of the States, in conſequence of this tranſaction, which was repreſented as a direct attack upon the independence and ſovereignty of their High Mightineſſes, and a peremptory demand made of reparation and redreſs; to which no regard was paid. But on the 17th of April a declaration was publiſhed by the King of Great Britain, by which it was announced, "that repeated memorials having been preſented by his Majeſty's Ambaſſador to the States General, demanding the ſuccors ſtipulated by treaty, to which requiſition they had given no anſwer, nor ſignified any intention of compliance, his Majeſty conſidered their High Mightineſſes as having deſerted the alliance that had ſo long ſubſiſted between

Alliance with Holland diſſolved.

between Great Britain and the Republic: and his Majeſty from this time ſuſpended, proviſionally, all the ſtipulations of the ſeveral exiſting treaties, particularly of the Marine Treaty concluded at London A. D. 1674."

Holland was, however, far from being ſingular in her complaints reſpecting the violated rights of neutrality. The Powers of the Baltic, with a firmer tone, and in more decided language, declared their reſolution to adopt ſuch meaſures as were neceſſary for their own ſecurity. Early in the ſpring, 1780, the Empreſs of Ruſſia addreſſed a declaration to the Courts of London, Verſailles, and Madrid, containing an explicit ſtatement of the principles on which ſhe had determined to act for the removal of thoſe moleſtations which had interrupted the navigation of her ſubjects, and for the protection of the liberty of commerce in general.

The radical principles here laid down were:—I. That neutral ſhips ſhould enjoy a free navigation even from port to port, and on the coaſts of the Belligerent Powers.—II. That all effects belonging to the ſubjects of the Belligerent Powers ſhall be looked upon as free on board ſuch neutral ſhips, excepting only warlike ſtores or ammunition—but neither the veſſels, paſſengers, nor the reſt of the goods, ſhall be liable to ſeizure or detention. "To theſe principles," her Imperial Majeſty declared, "ſhe was firmly reſolved to adhere; and, for the honor of her flag, and the ſecurity of her ſubjects, ſhe had ordered a conſiderable part of her naval forces to be equipped, to act wherever her honor, intereſt, or neceſſity ſhould require."

Armed Neutrality.

Denmark and Sweden acceding in form to this declaration of Ruſſia, and ordering ſimilar equipments of their marine, this confederacy of the Powers of the North acquired the appellation of "the Armed Neutrality;" and the baſis on which it was founded ſeemed to give univerſal ſatisfaction throughout Europe—England alone, againſt whom it was manifeſtly levelled, excepted.

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In the anſwer of the King of France it was ſaid, that what her Imperial Majeſty claimed from the Belligerent Powers was nothing elſe than the rules actually preſcribed to the French navy, and that ſolid advantages muſt reſult from this meaſure, not only to the ſubjects of Ruſſia, but to all nations." The reply of England was cold, and civilly evaſive; but this meaſure in reality excited ſo deep a reſentment, that the conduct of England reſpecting Ruſſia, for ſeveral years ſucceeding this period, may be aſcribed chiefly, or ſolely, to the alienation and hatred originating in the preſent obnoxious procedure.

The war between Great Britain and Spain had ſcarcely commenced when the blockade of Gibraltar was formed by ſea and land, and the hope of recovering that fortreſs probably operated as no inconſiderable inducement with Spain to engage in the preſent war.

Early in the year 1780 Sir George Rodney, an officer diſtinguiſhed by his gallant exertions in the late war, was appointed to the command of a powerful fleet, deſtined for the relief of that place, having on board Prince William Henry, the third ſon of his Majeſty. On the northern coaſt of Spain he fell in with a convoy of twenty-two merchant-ſhips, richly laden, under the protection of a ſquadron of ſeven ſhips of war, to which he immediately gave chace, and in a few hours the whole were taken. This ſucceſs was, however, only the prelude to another and much greater.

Victory off Cape St. Vincent.

On the 16th of January, off Cape St. Vincent, he deſcried a Spaniſh ſquadron, conſiſting of fourteen ſail of the line, which he directly bore down upon, and, notwithſtanding the ſtorminess incident to the ſeaſon, taking the lee-gage, in order to prevent the enemy from retreating into their own ports; at four in the afternoon the action began, and in little more than half an hour one of the Spaniſh ſhips blew up with a dreadful exploſion. The engagement nevertheleſs continued with unabating fury in the midſt of darkneſs and confuſion, and before morning the Phœnix of 80 guns, Don Juan de Langara the Spaniſh Admiral's own ſhip;

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ſhip; the Monarca, the Princeſſa, the Diligenti, of 70 guns each, ſtruck their colors; the St. Julien and St. Eugenio were alſo captured, but through the violence of the tempeſt were afterwards driven on ſhore and loſt. The others eſcaped in a very ſhattered condition, and the whole ſquadron, as to any immediate capability of ſervice, might be conſidered as annihilated. Though the force of Admiral Rodney was greatly ſuperior, his ſkill and courage were fully apparent in the mode of conducting the attack, which the violence of the ſtorm, the darkneſs of the night, and the vicinity of a lee-ſhore every where encircled with ſhoals and breakers, rendered very dangerous. The Admiral's own ſhip, the Sandwich, and ſeveral others, were in extreme hazard of being loſt on the ſhoals of St. Lucar, and did not get into deep water till the next day.

After effecting the primary object of his commiſſion, the relief of Gibraltar, Sir George Rodney proceeded to the Weſt Indies, ſending home his prizes under the care of Admiral Digby, who on his paſſage captured the Prothée, a French ſhip of 64 guns, and part of her convoy of merchant ſhips.

No ſooner had Admiral Rodney taken upon him the command in the Weſt Indies, than every poſſible exertion was made to bring on a general action, which Count de Guichen, who commanded the French fleet, cautiouſly avoided; but intelligence being received that in the night of the 15th of April, 1780, they had put to ſea with their whole force, Admiral Rodney, who was ſtationed at St. Lucie, immediately followed, and early on the morning of the 17th came in ſight of the enemy; at noon the Admiral made the ſignal for a general and cloſe engagement, ſetting himſelf a noble example of courage to the fleet by bearing down upon the French Admiral, whom he fought with unremitting fury till the enemy bore away, leaving the Sandwich, which from cauſes not eaſily or clearly aſcertainable was very ill ſupported in this action, a mere wreck upon the water. Other partial and indeciſive encounters alſo took place, in which little inferiority of ſkill or courage was diſcernible on the part of the French officers or ſeamen.

Indeciſive engagement between Sir Geo. Rodney, and the Count de Guichen.

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1780. West Florida conquered by the Spaniards.

During theſe tranſactions in the Weſt Indies Don Galvez, the Spaniſh Governor of Louiſiana, reduced the Britiſh ſettlements on the Miſſiſippi, and had made great progreſs in the conqueſt of the province of Weſt Florida, though Penſacola held out to the next year.

Fortreſs of Omoa captured by the Engliſh.

East and Weſt India fleets taken by the Spaniards.

As a very inadequate counterbalance to theſe ſucceſſes, an expedition had been undertaken from Jamaica to the Spaniſh main; and the fortreſs of Omoa, which contained a conſiderable booty in ſpecie and merchandiſe, was taken by ſtorm, but ſoon afterwards evacuated. A very heavy misfortune in the autumn of this year took place, in the entire capture of the outward bound Eaſt and Weſt India fleets in the Bay of Biſcay by the Spaniards—a loſs which had no parallel in the naval and commercial hiſtory of Great Britain, ſince the famous capture of the Smyrna fleet in the reign of King WILLIAM.

Military operations in America.

The war in the northern provinces of America ſeemed throughout the whole of the ſummer of 1780 to be almoſt at a ſtand. On the 10th of July, a large body of French troops commanded by the Comte de Rochambeau, under convoy of a conſiderable fleet, arrived at Rhode-Iſland. This the Comte aſſured the States was only the vanguard of a much greater force deſtined by the King, his Sovereign, to their aid. A ſcheme was ſoon after formed by Sir Henry Clinton and Admiral Arbuthnot, of a combined attack againſt the French and Americans at Rhode-Iſland; and a large proportion of the forces ſtationed at New York were embarked for that purpoſe: but General Waſhington, by a rapid movement paſſing the North River, and advancing to New York, compelled them to deſiſt from their purpoſe.

Philanthropic act paſſed by the Legiſlature of Pennſylvania.

It affords a grateful relief from the ſenſations which oppreſs the mind in liſtening to the tale of human folly and wretchedneſs, to revert to an act of the moſt exalted philanthropy paſſed about this period by the Legiſlature of Pennſylvania, to the following purport: "When we contemplate our abhorrence of the condition to which the arms and tyranny of Great Britain were exerted to reduce us—when we look back on the

the variety of dangers to which we have been expoſed, and the deliverances wrought when hope and fortitude have become unequal to the conteſt,—we conceive it to be our duty, and rejoice that it is in our power, to extend a portion of that freedom to others which hath been extended to us,—to add one more ſtep to univerſal civilization, by removing, as much as poſſible, the ſorrows of thoſe who have lived in undeſerved bondage. Weaned by a long courſe of experience from thoſe narrow prejudices and partialities we had imbibed, we conceive ourſelves, at this particular period, called upon, by the bleſſings we have received, to manifeſt the ſincerity of our profeſſion. In juſtice, therefore, to perſons who, having no proſpect before them whereon they may reſt their ſorrows and their hopes, have no reaſonable inducement to render that ſervice to ſociety which otherwiſe they might; and alſo in grateful commemoration of our own happy deliverance from that ſtate of UNCONDITIONAL SUBMISSION to which we were doomed by the tyranny of Britain: BE IT ENACTED, That no child born hereafter ſhall be a SLAVE; that Negro and Mulatto children ſhall be ſervants only till twenty-eight years of age; that all ſlaves ſhall be regiſtered before the firſt of November next; that they ſhall be tried like other inhabitants; and that no Negroes or Mulattoes, other than infants, ſhall be bound for longer than ſeven years."—Such were the ſentiments, and ſuch the conduct, of a people once attached to Britain by every civil and ſocial tie by which either dignity or advantage could be derived or durability be hoped—but whom Britain, in the hour of her inſolence and infatuation, firſt attempted to treat as ſlaves, and then to puniſh as rebels.

Defection of Gen. Arnold.

Towards the autumn of the preſent year, a remarkable event took place in the defection of General Arnold, who commanded a conſiderable body of troops at Weſt Point on the North River, and who had entered into a ſecret correſpondence with Sir Henry Clinton to betray into his hands that important poſt, and the whole of the troops entruſted to him. The military talents and ſucceſſes of Arnold had raiſed his reputation ſo high, that the danger of placing confidence in a man wholly deſtitute of honor and probity in private life was not ſufficiently adverted to.

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The intercourſe between the American and Engliſh Generals was carried on through the medium of Major André, a young man of ſingular accompliſhments, who had paſſed up the river unknown and unſuſpected from the head quarters at New York to the poſt of Weſt Point. But on his return by land, September 23d, after eluding the vigilance of the regular patroles, he was apprehended in diſguiſe, and with a falſe paſſport, by three American privates, to whom he in vain offered great rewards if they would ſuffer him to eſcape. On examination, the papers found upon him, and which he had no opportunity to deſtroy, diſcovered all the particulars of the conſpiracy. His caſe being referred to a board of General Officers, of which the Marquis de la Fayette was one, they unanimouſly determined that he came under the denomination of a ſpy; and that, agreeably to the law and uſage of nations, he ought to ſuffer death; which, notwithſtanding the urgent ſolicitations and the impotent and injudicious menaces of Sir Henry Clinton, was on the 2d of October inflicted upon him in that degrading mode "which gives the brave the keeneſt wound." Such was the noble candor and magnanimity of his conduct conſequent on the diſcovery, that the high character of the American Commander would have derived additional luſtre from indulging the earneſt and ſole requeſt of Major André, to be permitted to die as a ſoldier, not as a felon. General Arnold, with great difficulty, on the apprehenſion of Major André, made his eſcape to New York, and was immediately promoted to the rank of Brigadier General in the King's ſervice.

In the ſouthern provinces the events of the war were of a nature more important and intereſting. After the departure of Sir Henry Clinton from Carolina, Lord Cornwallis was left with a force apparently very inadequate to maintain poſſeſſion of the province againſt the increaſing armies of the Americans, of which General Gates, the conqueror of Burgoyne, had now taken the command. The Britiſh forces, having advanced towards the north frontier of the province, found their farther progreſs intercepted by the enemy, who with far ſuperior numbers were poſted near the town of Camden. Lord Cornwallis, ſenſible that a retreat would

would be equivalent to an abandonment of the recent conqueſts, determined to riſk an engagement; and in the night of the 15th of Auguſt, 1780, the troops were put in motion, in hope of ſurpriſing General Gates in his camp. That Commander, with a view likewiſe to the ſurpriſal of Lord Cornwallis, had marched his troops during the night to the attack of the Britiſh camp, and the advanced parties of the two armies unexpectedly met in a wood near Camden. A ſort of truce was obſerved till day-light appeared, when the action commenced on the part of the Britiſh General, who was well pleaſed to obſerve that the American Commander had been under the neceſſity of taking a very diſadvantageous and confined poſition, bounded by ſwamps on both ſides, which prevented his making any efficacious uſe of his great ſuperiority of numbers. The militia, of whom General Gates's army chiefly conſiſted, unable to reſiſt the new and formidable attack of the bayonet, fled at the firſt onſet. The continental troops maintained, nevertheleſs, their ground with great reſolution; but finding themſelves totally deſerted by the militia, who could never be brought to rally, were compelled to retreat, leaving behind them their cannon, camp-equipage, and ſtores. This victory ſeems to have been the moſt complete which was obtained in the whole courſe of the war. The purſuit continued for more than twenty miles; and Colonel Tarleton coming up with a detached corps at the Catawba fords under General Sumpter, charged them with ſuch vigor that they were inſtantly broken, and the greater part either cut to pieces or taken priſoners.

Victory gained by Lord Cornwallis at Camden.

General Gates, who thus unfortunately at Camden ſaw thoſe laurels fade which he had ſo gloriouſly acquired at Saratoga, now, with little apparent attention to the point of honor, left the ſhattered remains of his army to the care of a General Smallwood, and retired into North Carolina to conſult with the Government of that province upon the means of future reſiſtance and defence.

Lord Cornwallis, eager to improve his victory to the utmoſt, advanced, as ſoon as the exceſſive heats incident to the climate and ſeaſon would

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permit, to the vicinity of Saliſbury, on the frontier of North Carolina, having firſt detached Major Ferguſon to the weſtern ſide of the province to collect and arm the Royaliſts in that quarter. No ſooner was the communication of this officer with Lord Cornwallis interrupted by the extenſion of the diſtance, than a plan was formed to ſurround and cut him entirely off. Divers corps of the provincial militia effected a rapid junction with the mountaineers of the weſtern diſtricts, under the command of Colonels Williams and Cleveland, to the amount of ſeveral thouſand men, and, marching in queſt of Ferguſon, ſoon diſcovered his encampment on an eminence known by the name of King's Mountain.

Defeat of Major Ferguſon at King's Mountain.

The Americans, dividing their force into different columns, aſcended the hill in various directions, and attacked the Royaliſts with great fury. Major Ferguſon was ſucceſsful on whichever ſide he directed his efforts; but no ſooner was one diviſion driven back, than the former reſumed its ſtation, ſo that his exertions were entirely unavailing. But his unconquerable ſpirit diſdained all ideas of ſurrender; and the unequal conflict continued till this officer received a mortal wound; and no chance of eſcape being left, nor proſpect of ſucceſsful reſiſtance remaining, the ſecond in command ſued for quarter, which was granted, and more than eight hundred men laid down their arms, about three hundred being killed or wounded in the action.

This diſaſter was in its conſequences almoſt as fatal to Lord Cornwallis as the affair of Trenton to General Howe. On the firſt intelligence of it, his Lordſhip retreated to Wynneſborough, where he was much haraſſed by the irregular but continual attacks of the Provincials; and General Gates was enabled to write to the Preſident of the Congreſs, "The enemy have ſo far the worſt of the campaign, having loſt conſiderably more men, officers, and arms than your army; and even loſt ground, as they had ſeveral poſts at the beginning of the campaign on the Pedee, all of which are now evacuated." But the exultation of the Court faction in England, on the intelligence of Lord Cornwallis's victory at Camden, was extreme. Untaught by former diſappointments, all the flattering and favorite ideas of abſolute conqueſt and unconditional ſubmiſſion

Extravagant exultation of the Court faction in England.

miſſion ſeemed for a time to be revived. "I have not the leaſt doubt," ſaid the American Secretary of State to Lord Cornwallis in his diſpatch of November 9th, "from your Lordſhip's vigorous and alert movements, that the whole country ſouth of the Delawar will be reſtored to the King's obedience in the courſe of the next campaign;"—this credulous and confident Stateſman thinking, as is evident, that marching through the country was the ſame thing as ſubduing it. It is even poſſible that the animation inſpired by this ſucceſs contributed to the adoption of the violent counſels by which at this period matters were brought to the laſt extremity with the States General.

On the 3d of September, the Mercury, a Congreſs packet, was taken by the Veſtal frigate off the banks of Newfoundland. On board this packet was Mr. Laurens, late Preſident of the Congreſs, charged with a commiſſion to Holland. On being brought to England, he was examined by the Privy Council, and committed cloſe priſoner to the Tower, on an accuſation of high treaſon. His papers, which had been thrown overboard, and by great dexterity and diligence recovered and deciphered, were found to contain the ſketch of a treaty of amity and commerce between the Republic of Holland and the States of America. This treaty appeared to be in a train of negotiation, and to have received the ſanction and approbation of M. Van Berkel, Counſellor and Penſionary of Amſterdam. Such was the high offence taken by the Court of London at this diſcovery, that immediate orders were tranſmitted to Sir Joſeph Yorke, to repreſent to the States General, that the States of Amſterdam, as appeared from the papers of the Sieur Laurens, calling himſelf Preſident of the pretended Congreſs, had entered into a clandeſtine correſpondence with the American rebels, and that inſtructions and powers had been given by them for the purpoſe of concluding a treaty of indiſſoluble friendſhip with the ſaid rebels. His Britannic Majeſty, therefore, required not only a formal diſavowal of ſo irregular a conduct, but alſo inſiſted on ſpeedy ſatisfaction adequate to the offence; and the exemplary puniſhment of the Penſionary Van Berkel and his accomplices, as diſturbers of the public peace and violators of the rights

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of nations; otherwiſe the King would be obliged to take ſuch ſteps as became his dignity and the intereſts of his ſubjects. The States General, though they paſſed without difficulty reſolutions of diſavowal and enquiry, delaying to give a formal and explicit anſwer to this declaration, a ſecond memorial was preſented by Sir Joſeph Yorke on the 12th of December, in which the Ambaſſador requires an immediate and ſatisfactory anſwer from the States. "The King," he ſays, "has never imagined that your High Mightineſſes had approved of a treaty with his rebellious ſubjects. That had been raiſing the buckler on your part. But the offence has been committed by a city which makes a conſiderable part of the State, and it belongs to the Sovereign Power to puniſh and give ſatisfaction for it: and it will not be till the laſt extremity, in caſe of denial or ſilence, that the King will take them upon himſelf." The Ambaſſador was now informed that the memorial would be taken *ad referendum* by the Deputies of the reſpective provinces, according to the received cuſtom and conſtitution of their government. This being regarded as a palpable evaſion, the Ambaſſador received orders immediately to leave the Hague, and a Declaration of War was publiſhed againſt Holland on the 20th of December 1780. This was a meaſure totally unexpected on the part of the States General, who were ill-prepared for ſuch a rupture. Before the departure of Count Welderen, he delivered, by order of the States, a letter to Lord Stormont, which his Lordſhip returned unopened.

Rupture with Holland.

However unjuſt and indefenſible had been the policy of the Britiſh Government, the hoſtile conduct of the Dutch, apparently proceeding leſs from a ſpirit of generous attachment to the cauſe of violated freedom, than from a ſordid and avaricious ſelfiſhneſs, had rendered them the objects of the national reſentment and averſion. The declaration of war, therefore, which carried with it a reſemblance of vigor and even of magnanimity, was received with a great ſhare of approbation and applauſe. There were not, however, wanting thoſe who, without any prejudice in favor of Holland, heſitated not to affirm that this laſt act of the Britiſh Miniſtry filled up the meaſure of their iniquity and abſurdity. "Where," ſaid they, "could be the civil or political offence for the ſubjects of a

foreign ſtate to enter into proviſional agreements with the Americans, which were not and could not be ſuppoſed valid, till the recognition of American independence had taken place, and which, in the very words of the inſtrument itſelf, profeſſed to be merely "outlines of a Treaty of Commerce, ſuch as *might be concluded hereafter*, between their High Mightineſſes and the United States of America?" If to maintain an amicable intercourſe of this indefinite nature with the Americans was criminal in the Dutch, Holland could be regarded in no other light than as a province of England. The King of England ſeemed not to recollect, that the ſubjects of the States General were not his ſubjects, or accountable to him for their actions. They farther affirmed, that a proviſional treaty or ſpeculative project, for it was no more, of peace and amity with America, did by no means neceſſarily imply enmity or ill-will to England:—that this treaty, whether it boded good or ill to England, had been already publicly and unreſervedly diſavowed by the Dutch Government; and that nothing leſs than a direct and poſitive injury could, in the eye of reaſon, juſtify a denunciation of hoſtility.

As to the inſolent requiſition of exemplary puniſhment on the perſon of Van Berkel, who might, for any thing that appeared, be actuated by motives the moſt upright and patriotic; the King of England ought to have reflected, that the laws of England, in ſimilar circumſtances, would not have authoriſed him to have inflicted the ſlighteſt puniſhment on even the meaneſt of his ſubjects, who ſhould have formed the plan of a mere contingent agreement with the revolted provinces of another power, to take effect only when their claim of ſovereignty ſhould be actually recogniſed, and when the conditions ſhould be approved and ratified by the Government to which alone they owed allegiance.

On the whole, it may ſafely be affirmed, that a more frivolous and invalid plea or pretext of national hoſtility has ſeldom been urged even by royal logicians. The folly of the meaſure alſo was no leſs obvious than its injuſtice: for, though Holland was attacked thus ſuddenly and unprepared, there could be no doubt but that ſhe would, in a ſhort time,

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time, become a potent acceſſion to the ſtrength of that formidable confederacy which ſeemed already to threaten the very exiſtence of Britain.

Diſſolution of Parliament.

The FOURTEENTH PARLIAMENT of Great Britain was diſſolved by proclamation on the 1ſt of September, and a new Parliament convened, which met on the 31ſt of October 1780.

Remarkable addreſs of Sir Geo. Saville.

On the event of this diſſolution, amidſt the multiplicity of election advertiſements uſual on ſuch occaſions, a very remarkable addreſs from Sir George Saville, member for the county of York, to his conſtituents, was publiſhed, well deſerving the notice of hiſtory, as exhibiting the ſentiments not merely of that eminently diſtinguiſhed patriot, but of all intelligent, reflecting, and diſintereſted perſons, at this alarming period. In renewing the tender of his ſervices, he confeſſes, that "it has not been without much ſerious conſideration, and more than common heſitation, that he determined upon it. The ſatisfaction and honor," ſays this Ariſtides of Britain, "of attending your buſineſs have ever over-balanced the labor. But my attendance during the laſt Parliament has been ſomething worſe than laborious—it has been diſcouraging, grievous, painful. Look back for a moment upon the things which have been done, or, being done, have been approved of by that body of which I have been a conſtituent part. In comparing the preſent with the paſt ſituation of public affairs, one conſolation only remains, that of being able to aſſert that there has been no meaſure of all thoſe that have proved ſo ruinous and fatal, which I have not, as an individual, reſiſted to the utmoſt of my power:—a poor, barren, ineffectual negative is indeed all the claim I can plead to your favor; and truth obliges me to add, that I at length return to you with hardly a ray of hope of ſeeing any change in the miſerable courſe of public calamities. On this melancholy day of account, in rendering up to you my truſt, I deliver to you your ſhare of a country maimed and weakened—its treaſure laviſhed and miſ-ſpent, its honors faded, and its conduct the laughing-ſtock of Europe;—our nation in a manner without allies or friends, except ſuch as we have hired to deſtroy our fellow-ſubjects, and to ravage a country in which we

we once claimed an invaluable ſhare.—Forbearing as well the forward promiſes as the ſuperficial humbleneſs of phraſe in uſe on theſe occaſions, I make it a ſolemn duty to lay before you, without diſguiſe or palliation, the preſent ſtate of your concerns, as they appear to me, and the gloomy proſpect which lies before us. Some have been accuſed of exaggerating the public misfortunes—nay, of having endeavored to help forward the miſchief, that they might afterwards raiſe diſcontents. I am willing to hope that neither my temper nor my ſituation in life will be thought naturally to urge me to promote miſery, diſcord, or confuſion, or to exult in the ſubverſion of order, or the ruin of property. Truſt not, however, to my report: reflect, compare, and judge for yourſelves. But, under all theſe diſheartening circumſtances, I could yet entertain a cheerful hope, and undertake again the commiſſion with alacrity as well as zeal, if I could ſee any effectual ſteps taken to remove the *original cauſe* of the miſchief: THEN THERE WOULD BE A HOPE. Till the purity of the conſtituent body, and thereby that of the repreſentative, be reſtored, THERE IS NONE. I look upon reſtoring election and repreſentation in ſome degree—for I expect no miracles—to their original purity, to be that without which all other efforts will be vain and ridiculous."

For the accompliſhment of this moſt important purpoſe, he concludes with expreſſing his earneſt wiſh, "that whatever is thought of may be purſued with that true ſpirit of firmneſs and moderation which belongs to the cauſe of juſtice; and above all, that, by every means that can be deviſed, a good underſtanding and union may be inſured amongſt reſpectable men of all ranks and deſcriptions, who agree in the main principles of liberty, whatever differences may ſubſiſt in ſmaller points, or in matters not calling for immediate diſcuſſion."

Meeting of the new Parliament—Mr. Cornwall Speaker.

At the meeting of the new Parliament, Mr. Cornwall was, for reaſons which require no comment, choſen Speaker of the Houſe of Commons in the room of Sir Fletcher Norton, on a diviſion of 203 voices to 134. The KING, in his opening ſpeech, declared "his ſatisfaction in having an

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an opportunity, by the recent election, of receiving the moſt certain information of the diſpoſition and *wiſhes of his people*, to which he was ALWAYS *inclined to pay the* UTMOST ATTENTION! He acknowledged the arduous ſituation of public affairs; but the late ſignal ſucceſſes of his arms in Georgia and Carolina would, he truſted, have important conſequences, in bringing the war to a happy concluſion."

An amendment to the addreſs, conſiſting in the omiſſion of ſeveral complimentary paragraphs, was moved in the Houſe of Commons by Mr. Thomas Grenville. The BLESSINGS of his Majeſty's reign being recogniſed in the propoſed addreſs, in high-flown terms, as inſpiring ſentiments of reverence and gratitude, Mr. Fox declared, "that in this part of the addreſs he could not concur, as he was yet to learn what thoſe BLESSINGS were. The preſent reign had been one continued tiſſue of diſgrace, misfortune, and calamity. As to the honorable mention made of the late ſucceſſes in America, and of the gallant officers by whom they had been obtained, he ſhould anſwer that he would not concur in applauding his own brother, who was now ſerving in America, for any ſucceſs he might obtain. He never had joined, and as long as he lived he never would join, in a vote of thanks to any officer, whoſe laurels were gathered in the American war; for he regarded that war as the fountain-head of all the miſchief and miſery under which this country now labored: and he was well convinced that the miniſterial proſpects of ſucceſs, however tranſiently flattering, would be cloſed in diſappointment and deluſion." The addreſs, as originally moved, was at length carried by a majority of 69 voices, which, when compared with the majorities of former times, afforded ſome faint gleam of hope that better days were gradually, though ſlowly, approaching.

1781. Nothing meriting ſpecific notice paſſed in either Houſe previous to the receſs of Parliament; but on the 25th of Jannary 1781, two days only after they had re-aſſembled, Lord North delivered to the Houſe of Commons a meſſage from the King, in which his Majeſty acquainted them, "that, during the receſs of Parliament, he had been obliged to direct

direct letters of marque and general repriſal to be iſſued againſt the States General of the United Provinces. For the cauſes and motives of his conduct he referred to his public Manifeſto, which, with various other papers, he had ordered to be laid before the Houſe." At the cloſe of a long ſpeech, juſtificatory of the late meaſures of Government, Lord North moved, "That an addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, aſſuring him that the Houſe would, with a firm and determined reſolution, ſupport the juſt and neceſſary war againſt Holland, for the maintenance of the honor of his crown, and the rights and intereſts of his people." This motion was ſeconded by Lord Lewiſham; but it was not carried without a long and animated debate, in which Mr. Thomas Townſhend, afterwards created Lord Sydney, particularly diſtinguiſhed himſelf. He ſeverely cenſured "the late long adjournment, which was only calculated to free the Executive Government from the control and inſpection of Parliament, who had now only to ratify what the raſhneſs of Miniſters had moſt unadviſedly done. In this manner had the Houſe been led into the American war, that fatal ſource of all our calamities. In this manner had the French reſcript been announced; and afterwards the Spaniſh reſcript; and at length the declaration of war againſt Holland, our antient and natural ally. Year after year had the Miniſter acquainted the Houſe with a new enemy, but never had he yet brought them the welcome information of a new friend. Much had been ſaid of the provocations we had received from Holland, and the predominance of a French intereſt in that country—but had Holland received no provocation from us? The inſolence of the Britiſh memorial preſented to the States in 1777, contributed more than any thing elſe to the prevalence of the French faction in Holland. It had been ſtated, as a ſerious ground of offence, that Holland had not complied with the requiſition of troops, which by treaty ſhe had engaged to furniſh. But it was notorious, that, in the event of this compliance, Holland would have been immediately invaded by France; and, in conformity with the ſame treaties, we muſt then have ſent a much greater aid to the aſſiſtance of the Republic. If the Dutch at the preſent period

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had changed their political ſyſtem reſpecting this country, it was owing to the criminal conduct of an Adminiſtration who had precipitated us into a war, whence all our misfortunes had ariſen. In conſequence of that war, our American commerce was loſt; and could it be a matter of ſurpriſe that the Dutch, a people who exiſted by commerce, ſhould be deſirous to ſecure a ſhare of it? We were abandoned, not by the Dutch only, but by all the powers of Europe, who were all equally convinced, that, under the preſent wretched adminiſtration of affairs, whoever became the ally of Great Britain would only ſhare in her diſgrace and her misfortunes."

In the Houſe of Lords, the Duke of Richmond, Lord Shelburne, and Lord Camden inculcated the ſame ideas with great animation and ability. "As to what was called *the treaty* between Holland and America," Lord Camden ſaid, "it was the mere unauthoriſed act of Van Berkel, and betrayed neither directly nor indirectly any intention in the States General of an hoſtile nature. It did not even appear that they knew any thing of this man or his colleagues; and much leſs that they had determined to ratify this pretended treaty, or project of a treaty, by which no one was bound, and no one could be injured."

His Lordſhip contraſted the conduct of the preſent Miniſters to the States General, with that of Lord Chatham, who, in the zenith of his victories, had never deviated from the line of reſpect and moderation. "He was too wiſe and magnanimous, whatever might be the cauſes of complaint, to adopt the ſtyle and language of that provoking, arrogant, and indecent memorial, to which, more than to any other circumſtance whatever, the ſubſequent conduct of the Republic might be attributed. His Lordſhip was of opinion that the manifeſto againſt Holland ought not to receive the ſanction of their Lordſhips, till ſtronger evidence were produced of the neceſſity, juſtice, and policy of that meaſure: and, if no better grounds of hoſtility ſhould be the reſult of a more particular enquiry, Parliament would be bound to order immediate reparation and

ſatisfaction to be given for the injury already ſuſtained by Holland; and an end would be of courſe put to the farther proſecution of hoſtilities."

In both Houſes, nevertheleſs, the addreſſes were carried by great majorities; but the diſſentient Peers recorded their objections in a ſtrong and vigorous proteſt. Their Lordſhips declare, "that they can never believe a rupture ſo contrary to the uniform and approved policy of our ableſt ſtateſmen can have become neceſſary, on our part, without groſs miſmanagement in our councils; and that honeſt and able miniſters might have prevented *this*, amongſt other wretched conſequences of the unfortunate American war." The States General themſelves, in their counter-memorial, affirm, "that the plan or project of a treaty with America, which had excited, to ſuch a degree, the diſpleaſure of the King of England, although it depended altogether on the anterior recognition of American independence, had been, however, without heſitation diſavowed by them. But the puniſhment inſiſted upon was not within their power, and they could not aſſent to it, without ſtriking at the root of the fundamental conſtitution of the State. That, obliged by what is held moſt ſacred to defend the rights and privileges of their ſubjects, the Republic could not forget itſelf ſo far as to ſubmit to the will of his Britannic Majeſty, by attempting to overturn thoſe rights and privileges, and exceeding the limits preſcribed by the fundamental laws of its government. Thoſe laws required the intervention of the judicial department, and thoſe were the means which the States of Holland, to whoſe peculiar cognizance it belonged, had reſolved to uſe, by requiring on this ſubject the advice of the Court of Juſtice eſtabliſhed in their province. Of this the Chevalier Yorke had been formally appriſed:—but what was the aſtoniſhment of their High Mightineſſes, when the ſaid Ambaſſador, calling the ſaid reſolve *illuſive*, flatly refuſed to tranſmit it to his Court! This obliged their High Mightineſſes to ſend it to Count Welderen, their Miniſter in London, with orders to lay it before his Britannic Majeſty, whoſe Miniſters had nevertheleſs returned it unopened to the Ambaſſador."

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The war, thus raſhly and haughtily commenced, was conducted in the bitter ſpirit of animoſity and revenge *. But before the military operations of the year are entered upon, it will be proper to terminate the civil and parliamentary hiſtory of the preſent ſeſſion.

Reform Bill of Mr. Burke revived, and again rejected.

The famous Reform Bill of Mr. Burke was revived ſoon after the receſs: but, on the motion for the ſecond reading, it was rejected, *in toto*, by a majority of 233 voices to 190; though ably and powerfully ſupported by many of the moſt eminent Members of the Houſe.

Amongſt the ſpeeches which attracted moſt ſtrongly the public attention was that delivered with much grace and energy by Mr. William Pitt, ſecond ſon of the late Earl of Chatham, who in very early youth had been elected a member of the preſent Parliament, and who now exhibited himſelf to an admiring nation as equally the heir of his talents and virtues. "One great object," Mr. Pitt ſaid, "of all the petitions which had been preſented, was a recommendation of œconomy in the public expenditure; and the deſign of the preſent bill was, to carry into effect the wiſhes of the people, by introducing a ſubſtantial ſyſtem of œconomy. Beſides the benefits which would reſult from the bill in this reſpect, it had another object ſtill more important, and that was the reduction of the influence of the Crown—an influence which was the more to be dreaded, becauſe more ſecret in its attacks, and more concealed in its operations, than the power of prerogative." Mr. Pitt

* It is a remarkable fact, poſitively affirmed by Rendorp, burgomaſter of Amſterdam, in a political publication, called *Memorien dienende tot Opheldering*, and ſtill uncontradicted, that Sir Joſeph Yorke, when he left the Hague, went to Antwerp, and inſtigated the inhabitants of that city to petition the Emperor to inſiſt upon the free navigation of the Scheldt. And it is notorious, that when this demand was, ſome years afterwards, actually made by the Emperor, England, far from taking any alarm, looked on with calm indifference, or rather with pleaſure. But when the ſame thing was, more recently, attempted by France; the balance of Europe was diſcovered to be in imminent danger of ſubverſion: and England and Holland, without allowing any time or opportunity for explanation or retractation, were plunged into a moſt ruinous and deſtructive war, under the pretext of defending the violated rights of the treaty of Weſtphalia.

adverted

adverted to the extraordinary objections which had been made to the bill; it propoſed to bring no more than 200,000l. per annum into the public coffers, and that ſum was inſignificant, in compariſon of the millions annually expended. "What then is the concluſion we are left to deduce? The calamities of the preſent criſis are too great to be benefited by œconomy. Our expences are ſo enormous, that it is uſeleſs to give ourſelves any concern about them; we have ſpent and are ſpending ſo much, that it is fooliſh to think of ſaving any thing. Such is the language which the opponents of this bill have virtually employed. It had alſo been ſaid, that the King's Civil Liſt was an irreſumable parliamentary grant, and it had been even compared to a private freehold. The weakneſs of ſuch arguments was their beſt refutation. The Civil Liſt revenue was granted to his Majeſty, not for his private uſe, but for the ſupport of the Executive Government of the State. His Majeſty, in fact, was the truſtee of the public, ſubject to parliamentary reviſion. The Parliament made the grant, and undoubtedly had a right to reſume it when the preſſure of the times rendered ſuch reſumption neceſſary. Upon the whole, he conſidered the preſent bill as eſſential to the being and independence of this country, and he would give it his moſt determined ſupport."

Corrupt and extravagant loan of Lord North.

Early in March, the Miniſter, Lord North, brought forward the annual ſtatement of the Public Account. The entire expenditure of the year his Lordſhip calculated at twenty-one millions,—twelve of which it would be neceſſary to raiſe by a public loan: as to the terms of which, his Lordſhip had contracted with the ſubſcribers, to grant 150l. capital ſtock at three per cent. and 25l. capital ſtock at four per cent. for every 100l. in money; thus creating a new capital of eighteen millions three per cent. and three millions four per cent. being nine millions more than the ſum actually paid into the Exchequer. To defray the intereſt of this loan, new taxes would be wanting to the amount of 660,000l. annually, i. e. 60,000l. more than the legal eſtabliſhed intereſt of five per cent.: excluſive of which, as the ſubſcription to the loan bore a premium of ten per cent. the farther ſum of 1,200,000l.

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1,200,000l. was loſt to the nation. The terms of this extraordinary contract were, even by ſeveral of the friends of the Miniſter, declared to be extravagantly high; and it was by Mr. Fox reprobated in the moſt indignant expreſſions of ſeverity, as "the moſt corrupt in its origin, the moſt ſhameful in its progreſs, and the moſt injurious in its conſequences, that ever came under the contemplation of that Houſe. In order to carry on a wicked, impolitic, and bloody war, the Miniſter would not ſcruple," ſaid this formidable ſpeaker, "to extort the laſt guinea from the pockets of the people. The noble Lord ſtands convicted of having made, in the character of agent and truſtee for the nation, an improvident, ſcandalous, and profligate bargain, for which he deſerves public execration and exemplary puniſhment." On a diviſion, the motion of the Miniſter was carried by a majority of 169 to 111 voices.

In the Houſe of Lords, it was again vigorouſly oppoſed by Lord Rockingham, the Duke of Portland, and other Peers, who in a joint proteſt recorded their names, to adopt the language of their Lordſhips, "in teſtimony of their ſtrongeſt condemnation of the terms of this loan, and of the MOTIVES which they conceive dictated terms ſo very diſadvantageous to the Crown and Nation." All the influence and all the activity of the Miniſters of the Crown were now indeed obviouſly neceſſary to prevent a parliamentary abandonment of the preſent ſyſtem. Some weeks afterwards, the ſubject was again revived in the Houſe of Commons, by a motion of Sir George Saville, that a ſelect committee be appointed, to enquire into the circumſtances of the laſt loan, to make an eſtimate of its terms, and report the ſame to the Houſe. "Though the bargain of the Miniſter had been irrevocably ratified by the Houſe, this diſtinguiſhed patriot obſerved, that it was not yet too late, on diſcovering the ſhameleſs prodigality of the terms on which it was concluded, to paſs a vote of cenſure, or even of impeachment, on the man who had ſacrificed the public in ſo groſs and daring a manner." This gave riſe to a vehement debate, at the concluſion of which the motion was rejected by a majority of 46 only, in a Houſe conſiſting of near

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400 Members. And thus were the loud calls of the nation, for an œconomical reform in the public expenditure, ſet at contemptuous defiance by the unprincipled effrontery of the Miniſters.

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Towards the end of the ſeſſion, Mr. Fox moved the Houſe, to reſolve itſelf into a committee, to conſider of the American war, for the purpoſe of deviſing ſome means of accommodation. This motion was ſupported in an animated ſpeech by Mr. Pitt, who expreſſed his utter abhorrence of a war, "which was conceived," he ſaid, "in injuſtice, nurtured in folly, and whoſe footſteps were marked with ſlaughter and devaſtation. It exhibited the height of moral depravity and human turpitude. The nation was drained of its beſt blood and its vital reſources, for which nothing was received in return but a ſeries of inefficient victories or diſgraceful defeats,—victories obtained over men ſtruggling in the holy cauſe of liberty,—or defeats which filled the land with mourning for the loſs of dear and valuable relatives, ſlain in a deteſted and impious quarrel." The motion was rejected by a majority of 73 voices.

Pacificatory motion of Mr. Fox.

A very conſiderable proportion of the preſent ſeſſion was occupied in the conſideration of the affairs of India, of which the interval between the civil and military tranſactions of the preſent year affords a proper opportunity to take a general review, from the period in which the memorable bill of regulation framed by the Miniſter Lord North, A. D. 1773, paſſed into a law.

In the month of April 1772, took place, in conſequence of the removal of Governor Cartier, the memorable appointment of Warren Haſtings, Eſq. as Governor-General of India; a man, whoſe conduct throughout all the inferior gradations of office ſtood confeſſedly unimpeached *. The members of the Supreme Council appointed under the new

Review of the adminiſtration of Mr. Haſtings in India.

* When Lord Clive embarked for Europe, February 1760, he left the government in the hands of Mr. Holwell *pro tempore*; Mr. Vanſittart being then actually appointed, and arriving at Calcutta in the month of July. Mr. Vanſittart remained in Bengal till the beginning of 1764, and was ſucceeded by Mr. Spencer, who was quickly ſuperſeded by Lord

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new Act were, Sir John Clavering, Colonel Monſon, and Philip Francis, Eſq. than whom perſons of more inflexible probity and enlightened beneficence could not have been ſelected by the wiſdom of Parliament, for the purpoſe of ſtemming that tide of corruption and rapacity which inundated the government of India throughout all its departments and ramifications; and which, when opportunities and temptations ariſe to a certain height, ſhall ceaſe to "overleap the mounds of right" when the Ganges ſhall ceaſe to flow. It is remarkable, that theſe three gentlemen were impreſſed with ſo high an idea of the merits of Mr. Haſtings, upon whoſe powerful aid and local experience they depended to give efficacy to their exertions in the public ſervice, that Sir John Clavering, with the approbation of his co-adjutors, had actually addreſſed the King, previous to their departure from England, to beſtow upon the Governor ſome diſtinguiſhed mark of his royal favor, with a view to induce him to relinquiſh the intention which he was ſuppoſed to entertain of reſigning the government.

On the arrival of the new Counſellors in India, in the autumn of 1774, their aſtoniſhment was great to find the whole ſyſtem and policy of Mr. Haſtings diametrically contrary to their pre-conceived ideas of his character. His manners alſo were marked by a coldneſs and *hauteur* wholly incompatible with the cordiality of friendſhip; and they had the chagrin to perceive, that they were regarded by him not as aſſociates in the great and neceſſary work of reform, but in the odious light of detectors, ſpies, and rivals. The project ſo univerſally and juſtly execrated in England, of ſetting up the lands of the zemindars, polygars, &c. to pub-

Lord Clive. On the ſecond reſignation of Lord Clive, Mr. Verelſt was advanced to the government of Bengal. To him ſucceeded Mr. Cartier. Both theſe gentlemen entered into the views, and acted upon the ſyſtem eſtabliſhed by Lord Clive. At length the Sullivan party prevailing in the Direction, Mr. Haſtings was, in oppoſition to the influence of his Lordſhip, appointed Governor of Bengal: and the more ſecret tranſactions, with the concomitant intrigues and cabals, which diſtinguiſhed his adminiſtration, can be perfectly underſtood only by thoſe who have waſted their time in developing the complex and claſhing intereſts, and never-ceaſing contentions and animoſities, of the Clive and Sullivan factions.

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lic auction, appeared, from the immediate and unqualified adoption of this odious ſyſtem by the new Governor, to be the favorite policy of Mr. Haſtings himſelf. In the ſpace of about 200 years, during which the kingdom of Bengal and its appendages had been under the Mahomedan government, the original ground rents or heriots, *auſſil jumma*, of the zemindars, and other great hereditary landholders who held under the Government, had never been raiſed; and a permanent intereſt being thus created in the land, the talookdars, polygars, and ryots, who poſſeſſed the ſubordinate rights of property under the zemindars, were neither themſelves oppreſſed, nor allowed to oppreſs the actual occupants and cultivators of the ſoil. But from the fatal period that Bengal fell into the hands of the Engliſh, the ſecurity of property was no more *. After being ſubject for a ſucceſſion of years to every depredation and invaſion, Mr. Haſtings, amongſt the firſt acts of his government, inſtituted a COMMITTEE of CIRCUIT, inveſted with the tranſcendent power to diſpoſe of all the lands in the kingdom, from the higheſt zemindar down to the loweſt ryot, by public auction, or farm for the term of five years. The pretext for this enormous outrage was the decay of the public revenue, of which, in conſequence of this meaſure, Mr. Haſtings had the courage to promiſe the Court of Directors an immediate and progreſſive augmentation; acknowledging, nevertheleſs, the country at the ſame time to be in a very languiſhing ſtate, and that the population had decreaſed in the proportion of ONE THIRD ſince the grant of the dewannee from the Emperor. The moſt dreadful confuſion, as might well be imagined, inſtantly enſued; and Mr. Haſtings,

* In the reign of the Emperor Akber, famed for the wiſdom and equity of his government throughout Hindoſtan, a general and regular aſſeſſment of revenue was formed in Bengal, and the quotas payable by each diſtrict of the province, and each village of the diſtrict, clearly and ſpecifically aſcertained. No deviation from the eſtabliſhed rule and mode of aſſeſſment, as we are aſſured, took place from the reign of Akber to the elevation of Jaffier Ali Khan, who, in order to raiſe the ſum which he had ſtipulated as a reward to the authors of the revolution of 1757, departing wholly from the fundamental Conſtitutions of Akber, multiplied exactions, and introduced that ſyſtem of oppreſſion, which under the ſubſequent government of the Engliſh produced univerſal conſternation, calamity, and ruin.

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in his minute of April 1773, confeſſes, "that the expected improvement had not taken place, being obſtructed by a circumſtance which COULD NOT BE FORESEEN, viz. the farmers having engaged for a higher revenue than their diſtricts could afford. It is true, ſays he, that the lands were almoſt all over-bid for; and many let to indigent and deſperate adventurers; but this was UNAVOIDABLE IN SUCH A MODE." But this conſequence being *confeſſedly unavoidable*, candor would degenerate into folly, to credit the declaration that it was not *foreſeen*. The deficiency in the revenue was in fact enormous, falling, in five years, no leſs than two millions and a half ſhort of the ſettlement. But the ſubſequent conduct of Mr. Haſtings furniſhed the moſt ſatisfactory clue to this buſineſs. The lands being on all hands admitted to be partially over-rated, the Governor and Council were of courſe called upon to exerciſe a diſcretionary power of remiſſion. This opened an immenſe field of fraud and peculation, and could not fail to prove to individuals in certain ſituations an exhauſtleſs ſource of wealth. The Court of Directors declared themſelves, in the ſequel, "fully aware of the duplicity which had been practiſed in the letting of the lands in Bengal; that flagrant corruption and great oppreſſions had been committed;" and they ordered a proſecution to be commenced againſt the perſons who compoſed the Committee of Circuit. But after long and ſtudied delays, Mr. Haſtings ultimately propoſed, and carried his propoſition in Council, "that orders ſhould be given for withdrawing the ſaid proſecution." It is worthy of remark, that the *banyan* or black ſteward of Mr. Haſtings, Cantoo Baboo, rented, under the new tenure, lands to the value of 150,000l. per annum; and remiſſions to a very great amount were granted to this man, as well as to all thoſe whoſe reaſons appeared to the Governor and Council equally valid. The zemindary of Baharbund, taken from the rannee of Radſhi, was alſo given in perpetuity to Cantoo Baboo, at a rent of 82,000 rupees, although the value of it was rated at 350,000. The ſame Cantoo Baboo was alſo permitted to contract largely for the proviſion of the Company's inveſtments; "but this," the Court of Directors, in their general letter of December 1776, ſay, "we poſitively forbid in future." The aſtoniſhment into which Sir John Clavering and

his colleagues were thrown, on being appriſed of this extraordinary ſtate of things in Bengal, was much increaſed by the alarming information of a war, into which the Governor General had recently entered, in conjunction with the Vizier Sujah ul Dowla, Nabob of Oude, for the abſolute conqueſt and EXTIRPATION of the nation of the Rohillas, inhabiting the fertile and beautiful province of Rohilcund, ſituated to the northward of the dominions of the Vizier, and bounded by the high range of mountains dividing Hindoſtan from Tartary. It was not pretended by Mr. Haſtings, that the Company had received any injury whatever from the Rohilla nation; but that we engaged in the war ſolely as allies of the Nabob Vizier. The cauſes or pretexts of the quarrel, with reſpect to the Vizier himſelf, were of a nature palpably unreaſonable and unjuſt. The Rohilla nation, being involved in hoſtilities with the Mahrattas, had applied to the Vizier for aſſiſtance, who agreed to furniſh them with a large body of troops for an equivalent in money. But, through the dilatory, or perhaps inſidious, policy of the Vizier, the auxiliary troops did not arrive till the enemy were repulſed. The Rohilla Government, therefore, objected to the payment of the promiſed ſtipend; on which the Vizier, with the previous and eager concurrence of Mr. Haſtings, determined to declare war againſt the Rohillas*, a brave, free, and generous people, for the purpoſe of adding ſo deſirable a territory to his dominions. The Rohillas, in the higheſt degree alarmed at this confederacy, offered to ſubmit the whole cauſe of diſpute to the arbitration of the Engliſh; but this was peremptorily refuſed by Mr. Haſtings, who urged the Vizier, already wavering in his purpoſe, in ſtrong terms to the execution of his deſign, declaring to him, "that it would be abſolutely neceſſary to perſevere in it until it ſhould be accompliſhed; and

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* This is the Rohilla ſtatement of the caſe. Nevertheleſs it muſt be acknowledged that Sir Robert Barker and the other officers employed in this expedition ſtrongly atteſt the performance of the ſervice contracted for by the Vizier, in their reſpective examinations at the bar of the Houſe of Commons. But if the object of the Rohilla war had been merely the recovery of a ſum of money, whether juſtly or unjuſtly claimed, it would, in a moral and political view, have been a "trifle light as air," and ſpotleſs as innocence, in compariſon of that "blackneſs of darkneſs" in which it is now enveloped.

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that he could not hazard or anſwer for the diſpleaſure of the Company, if they ſhould find themſelves engaged in a fruitleſs war, or in a ruinous expence for proſecuting it." This apprehenſion was founded on very reaſonable grounds; for the Court of Directors, in their inſtructions to the Supreme Council, had laid it down as an unalterable maxim, "that they were to avoid taking part in the political ſchemes of any of the country princes, *particularly* of the Nabob of Oude, of whoſe ambitious diſpoſition they were well appriſed." A conſiderable body of troops under Colonel Champion, being detached to the aid of the Vizier, entered the province of Rohilcund, and a pitched battle took place, in which Hafiz Rhamel, the principal leader of the Rohillas, and many other of their chieftains were ſlain. The whole country, deſcribed as "a garden not having one ſpot in it of uncultivated ground," was, in conſequence of this victory, converted into a frightful waſte, and in a great meaſure depopulated, either by the rigors of military execution, or by forcing the wretched inhabitants beyond the mountains, to wander and periſh in the Tartarian deſerts. For this ſervice, the Vizier had agreed to pay into the treaſury of Calcutta the ſum of forty lacks of rupees; and Mr. Haſtings, in vindication of his conduct, alleged, and in his ſubſequent memorable PARLIAMENTARY DEFENCE entered upon record, the following very extraordinary reaſons: "The acquiſition of this ſum to the Company, and of ſo much ſpecie added to the exhauſted currency of our provinces; that it would give wealth to the Nabob of Oude, of which we ſhould participate; that he ſhould be always ready to profeſs, that he did reckon the probable acquiſition of wealth among his reaſons for taking up arms againſt his neighbors; that it would eaſe the Company of a conſiderable part of their military expence, and preſerve their troops from inactivity and relaxation of diſcipline; that the Rohillas are not a *nation*, but a body of foreign adventurers, who had made a conqueſt of the country about ſixty years before; that this province would be a moſt commodious acquiſition, and the weakneſs of the Rohillas, with the open and defenceleſs ſtate of the country, promiſed an eaſy conqueſt; and finally, that ſuch was his idea of the Company's diſtreſs at home, added to his knowledge of their wants abroad, that he ſhould have

have been glad of *any occaſion* to employ their forces which ſaved ſo much of their pay and expences." The principal of the Rohilla chieftains, who eſcaped from the deciſive battle of St. George, was Fyzoola Khan, who retired to a remote part of the country with his treaſures, and the ſhattered remains of the Rohilla army; and after the death of Hafiz, renowned throughout the Eaſt for the ſuperiority of his intellectual talents and perſonal accompliſhments, Fyzoola Khan was very generally acknowledged as the head of this unfortunate and devoted nation. Finding his utter inability to continue the war, he ſued in very ſubmiſſive terms for peace; which the Vizier, through the interceſſion of Colonel Champion, thought proper to grant; and a treaty was accordingly ſigned at Lall-Dang, October 1774, agreeably to which Fyzoola Khan was confirmed in the poſſeſſion of Rampore, Shawabad, and ſome adjoining diſtricts; on condition of giving up half his treaſure, and of furniſhing a certain ſtipulated quota of troops when called upon. This indulgence was, however, little to the ſatisfaction of Mr. Haſtings, who had previouſly declared with reſpect to Fyzoola Khan, "that he appeared not to merit *any* conſideration. The petty ſovereign of a country eſtimated at ſix or eight lacks, ought not *for a moment* to prove an impediment to any of our meaſures, or to affect the CONSISTENCY of our conduct *."

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* The anxiety with which Mr. Haſtings endeavored, by every means in his power, to prevent the Vizier from acceding to equitable terms of accommodation with the Nabob Fyzoola Khan is very remarkable. This prince, as poſſeſſor of the dependent diſtricts of Rampore and Shawabad, had been reluctantly forced into the war, and made early overtures for peace after the fatal battle of St. George. Theſe advances met with a very favorable acceptance from Colonel Champion, who declared, in his letter of the 28th of May 1774, to Mr. Haſtings, "that he wiſhed for nothing ſo much as for the adoption of ſome meaſure that might ſtrike all the powers of the Eaſt with admiration of our juſtice, in contraſt to the conduct of the Vizier." In this inſtance, however, the Vizier himſelf appears to have lent no unwilling ear to the ſolicitations of Colonel Champion in favor of a man, who, to uſe his own words, "had never acted in ſuch a manner as for the Vizier to have taken hatred to his heart againſt him"—whoſe general character was eminently mild and blameleſs, and whoſe innocence with reſpect to the origin of the war Mr. Haſtings himſelf did not pretend to queſtion. Nevertheleſs, in reply to Colonel Champion's letter, the Governor General did not ſcruple to affirm, "that, inſtead of ſoliciting the Vizier to relinquiſh his conqueſt of

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The Rohilla war was ſubſequently condemned in deciſive terms by a formal reſolution of the Court of Directors, paſſed November 1775, "as contrary to the expreſs and repeated orders of the Court, and inconſiſtent with the principles both of policy and juſtice;" and this reſolve was, with the ſingularly complaiſant omiſſion of the laſt word, confirmed by a vote of the Court of Proprietors. But this extraordinary tranſaction, ranking among the firſt and moſt important acts of Mr. Haſtings's adminiſtration, and affording a deciſive and infallible criterion of its general tenor and ſpirit, demands a yet farther and more diſtinct inveſtigation. After the conqueſt of Bengal, the Company at home ſeemed fully ſatisfied with the extent of their acquiſitions; and the diſpatches of the Court of Directors were from that period filled with rigorous injunctions to avoid all offenſive wars, in which they appear with good reaſon per-

Fyzoola Khan, every argument ſhould be uſed to diſſuade him from ſuch an intention, and that it was his deſire that Colonel Champion would diſcourage it as much as was in his power." In the month of September following, Mr. Haſtings, in contradiction to this declaration, thought proper, in conjunction with the Select Committee of Council, to expreſs to Colonel Champion "their ſatisfaction at the Vizier's intentions of terminating the war by an accommodation with the Rohillas, and hoping that his Excellency would be diſpoſed to conciliate their affections to his government by acceding to lenient terms." But in a very few days after the date of this diſpatch, he with the groſſeſt duplicity tranſmitted a private letter to Colonel Champion, ſignifying "his hope and expectation that the Commander in Chief had reſolved to proſecute the war to a final iſſue, becauſe it was plain that Fyzoola Khan and his adherents lay at his mercy; adding, that he apprehended much inconvenience from delays; and was morally certain that no good would be gained by negotiating. He therefore wiſhed that the Vizier would loſe no time in ſeeking for an accommodation. Happily, before the receipt of this letter the treaty between the Vizier and the Nabob was concluded, through the beneficent and efficacious interpoſition of Colonel Champion, who himſelf ſigned and ſealed the treaty as a witneſs thereto. But though in relation to the former treaty, ſuppoſed to be violated by the Rohillas, Sir Robert Barker's ſignature was pronounced by Mr. Haſtings to be equivalent to a formal and explicit guarantee; in the preſent caſe he, in his defence delivered at the bar of the Houſe of Peers, poſitively denies "that Colonel Champion did thereby engage the United Company to guaranty the ſame, or that he was inveſted with power ſo to do." And in the ſequel a large ſum was obtained, or more properly extorted, from the Nabob Fyzoola Khan as a compenſation for the Company's guarantee. Such and ſo palpable is the inconſiſtency of Mr. Haſtings's language and conduct!

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petually apprehenſive that the ambition, temerity, and avarice of their ſervants in INDIA would involve them. Nevertheleſs, at the diſtance of half the globe from the ſcene of action, it was impoſſible not to allow in the execution of their orders ſome latitude of diſcretion. "The ſituation of affairs," ſay they, in their general letter of the 30th of June 1769, "may be varied by unforeſeen events at the very moment we are writing:—whenever you think yourſelves OBLIGED for our SECURITY upon EMERGENT OCCASIONS to adopt meaſures of a contrary, i. e. hoſtile tendency, you are to give us very full reaſons for ſuch deviation." In another letter they ſay, "You muſt undoubtedly act according to the EMERGENCY of affairs:" and again in another diſpatch, "As we know not what alliances may be formed to juſtify us in carrying our arms beyond the bounds of the provinces, we are prevented from propoſing any PRECISE PLAN for your guidance in this reſpect."

Theſe neceſſary though reluctant conceſſions on the part of the Directors, Mr. Haſtings in his MINUTES of DEFENCE prepoſterouſly perverts into a juſtification of the Rohilla war; although the Rohillas were notoriouſly as unwilling as they were unable to do any injury to the Company. The real grounds of the war appeared from the firſt ſufficiently obvious. The pretext held out was, that the Vizier, as an ally of the Company, was entitled to our aſſiſtance; and that, as *guarantees* of the treaty between him and the Rohilla chiefs, we were bound to grant it. Without adverting to the juſtice or injuſtice of the Vizier's demand on the Rohillas, it is enough to ſay, that this pretended guarantee conſiſted only in the treaty being ſigned at the requeſt of the Rohillas themſelves, from their well-grounded diſtruſt of the Vizier, in the *preſence* of Sir Robert Barker, Commander in Chief of the Company's Forces, as a witneſs of the ſame. It is not pretended that Sir Robert Barker had authority to pledge the Company as guarantees of the treaty; and that he ſhould take upon him to bind the Government by ſo ſerious and important an act, without ſpecial inſtruction and direction, is an incredible ſuppoſition; and in fact, Sir Robert Barker, being interrogated at the bar of the Houſe of Commons—"Whether he conceived that he had

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had by any act of his bound the Company to a guarantee of the treaty by war?" anſwered poſitively, "I DID NOT." Alſo in a letter written even before the actual concluſion of the treaty, he declares, "that it was the fartheſt from his intention that the Company ſhould in any reſpect whatever be mentioned in the agreement between the Vizier and the Rohillas."

From the firſt ſuggeſtion of this project of conqueſt and extirpation by the Vizier, *if indeed the Vizier were the original projector*, it is evident that Mr. Haſtings urged its proſecution with an ardor far ſuperior to that diſcovered by the Nabob, whoſe ambition was counteracted by his avarice, and who on cool reflection appears to have thought the prize ſcarcely worth the purchaſe. "I availed myſelf," ſays Mr. Haſtings, "of his eager ſolicitude for the attainment of this point, to engage his aſſent to another meaſure of much greater value to the Company—that is to ſay, the increaſe of his annual payments or ſubſidy to the amount of two hundred and ten thouſand rupees per month." But it is ſufficiently evident, that when this conceſſion was once extorted from the Vizier, his "eager ſolicitude" ſubſided into a ſtate of mind which the artifices of Mr. Haſtings only prevented from ſinking into coldneſs and indifference; and when Mr. Haſtings affirms, "that this war derived its *propriety* from circumſtances of nice relation and various detail *," he undoubtedly confounds its *propriety* with its *exiſtence*.

In a letter written by Mr. Haſtings to the Vizier, April 21, 1773, he enlarges on the great advantage which would reſult to the Vizier from the reduction of the Rohilla country, "becauſe, ſays he, by that means

* MINUTES of DEFENCE.—It is pleaſant enough, when enquiry is made into the cauſes of a war, the object of which is the extirpation of a nation, to be told, "that it derives its propriety from circumſtances of nice relation and various detail." The cauſes of ſuch a war, juſtice and humanity out of the queſtion, muſt, upon any ſolid ground of mere policy, be obvious and important. And it muſt be confeſſed, that the cauſes enumerated by Mr. Haſtings in his defence are extremely clear and intelligible. "The circumſtances of nice relation and various detail," therefore, are to be referred merely and ſolely to the impoſitions and artifices by which the Vizier was inveigled into this nefarious undertaking againſt the Rohillas.

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the defenſive line of your dominions would be completed, by including within it all the land lying on that ſide of the river Ganges."—"The ALLUREMENT (to adopt the language of Mr. Haſtings in his Defence) thus held out to the Vizier ſucceeded. He propoſed in reply a meeting with me at Benares. I found him ſtill equally bent on the deſign of reducing the Rohillas, which I ENCOURAGED as I had before done, by dwelling on the advantages which he would derive from its ſucceſs; by objecting with great force the ORDERS of the COMPANY reſtricting us from ſuch remote ſchemes of conqueſt, to which I therefore could not aſſent without ſuch conditions obtained in return for it as might obviate their diſpleaſure, and win their ſanction to ſo hazardous and UNAUTHORISED a meaſure. Having at length obtained this point, viz. *the increaſe of the ſubſidy*, I eaſily yielded my *aſſent* to the Rohilla plan, i. e. to the plan which the Vizier had been thus *allured* and *encouraged* to undertake, on the ſtipulation of forty lacks for its accompliſhment. As a precaution againſt any effects which were to be apprehended *from the Vizier's* IRRESOLUTION, the conditions originally accepted were dictated to him in the form of a letter, to be written by him, in which a clauſe was inſerted, 'that whether the country was conquered, or a peace concluded between him and the enemy, the ſtipulation for the forty lacks ſhould become EQUALLY DUE.' Thus at laſt, ſays Mr. Haſtings exultingly, an occaſion took place, when, by a *ſlight deviation* from the defenſive plan, our alliance with the Vizier might be converted into ſolid advantages. In effect, the ſame reaſons which before urged us to ſhun every military expedition, now operated in the contrary direction, and recommended the employment of our army for the purpoſe of REDUCING our EXPENCES, and ADDING to our CURRENCY."

Surely the public accuſers of Mr. Haſtings would not wiſh to heighten the colors of the picture he has here drawn of himſelf! As to the mode in which this WAR of EXTIRPATION, or, to uſe that more ſoft and gentle phraſeology which gives a ſpecious gloſs to deeds of the blackeſt villany, "this ſlight deviation from the general plan of defence," was conducted, we are well aſſured that Colonel Champion never mentioned the ſervice

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on which he was employed without the deepeſt expreſſions of grief and abhorrence. "Whilſt all ASIA knows, ſays this commander, that the Engliſh gave him, i. e. the Nabob Vizier, the rod, will they not reaſonably conclude that the ſcourges which the agent gives are connived at?—will they not ſay every Engliſh chief is another Sujah?"—"The authority given to the Vizier over the army, ſays the Colonel in a letter to Mr. Haſtings, dated May 10, 1774, has totally abſorbed that degree of conſequence due to my ſtation. My hands have been tied up from giving protection or aſylum to the miſerable. I have been obliged to give a deaf ear to the lamentable cries of the widow and the fatherleſs, and ſhut my eyes againſt a wanton diſplay of violence and oppreſſion, of inhumanity and cruelty. The Company's intereſt conſtrained me in public to ſtifle the workings of my feelings, but I *muſt* give way to them in private—it would affect your SENSIBILITY too much, were I to deſcend to particulars. The family of Hafiz, the Begums included, have been driven to the neceſſity of making ſupplications for a little rice and water; and of the priſoners, many have died for want of ſuſtenance. I wiſh to leave ſcenes which none but the mercileſs Sujah can bear without heart-bleeding pain—relieve me therefore as ſoon as poſſible."

In a moving repreſentation to the Colonel from the ſons of Hafiz, of their manifold diſtreſſes, they ſay of the Vizier, "He has deprived us of our country, of our riches, and even of our HONOR; and, not ſatisfied with that, he is going to ſend us priſoners to Fyzabad. We deſire no country, no riches, no palaces; but at Biſſoulee are the tombs of our noble anceſtors—near them, under ſome ſhade, we beg permiſſion to ſpend the remainder of our days as faquiers." Theſe things the Colonel ſays he is compelled to ſtate, although the ungracious reception of his former repreſentations gave him but little encouragement to plead the cauſe of the unhappy.

In a ſubſequent letter, dated June 15, 1774, the Colonel deſires that he may be empowered to withdraw the Engliſh troops, in caſe the Vizier will not otherwiſe be prevailed upon to deſiſt from his enormities; but

but this Mr. Haſtings, in his reply, declares to be "obviouſly inadmiſſible. Where, ſaid he, is our authority to judge or control the conduct of the Vizier, farther than reſpects his engagement with us? Even granting we had an authority to control the Vizier's conduct in the manner you propoſe, we muſt have demonſtration of the *infallibility* of the perſon we entruſted with ſuch an authority before we could be vindicated in the delegation of it. All the country ſubdued becomes abſolutely the Vizier's. On the terms you propoſe, the Engliſh commander would ſuperſede his authority in the government of his new poſſeſſions." In lieu therefore of the expedient ſuggeſted by the good ſenſe and humanity of Colonel Champion, the Governor General ordered his Reſident Mr. Middleton, in whom fortunately no "demonſtration of infallibility" was required, to *remonſtrate* and *expoſtulate* with the Vizier concerning his conduct towards the Rohillas, "in order to exculpate the Engliſh Government from the IMPUTATION, as Mr. Haſtings well expreſſes it, of aſſenting to ſuch a procedure." But ſo little did the Vizier regard theſe feeble and formal remonſtrances, that in the ſequel the family of Hafiz, after ſuffering the moſt dreadful and ſhocking indignities, were carried in captivity to Fyzabad.

In a ſubſequent letter from the Nabob Mahub Ulla Khan, eldeſt ſon of Hafiz, he moſt earneſtly ſupplicates, in the name of GOD and Chriſt, the interpoſition of the Engliſh commander for their releaſe. "O my guardian," ſays he, "turn your face to the buſineſs of a ſlave, and have us enlarged, and it will not go unrewarded." As to the extravagant plea ſet up by Mr. Haſtings in defence of this moſt infamous and unprovoked invaſion, "that the Rohillas were not a nation, but a body of foreign adventurers, who poſſeſſed the country by a preſcription of *only* ſixty years," it is ſurely ſufficient to reply; that the inhabitants of Rohilcund under their preſent government enjoyed peace and proſperity —that theſe people, whom he will not allow to be a nation, were able to bring an army of fifty or ſixty thouſand men into the field; and that it might with infinitely more force be retorted on the Engliſh themſelves —that THEY were a body of "foreign adventurers," who had been at

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this time ſcarcely ſeven ſummers in poſſeſſion of the country they occupied. With equal feeling and animation it has been ſaid in relation to the general merits of the Rohilla war, "There is no power in this world that can annihilate ſuch a queſtion—THOUGH IT WERE DEAD, YET SHALL IT LIVE. The cauſe by its own energy ſhall turn upon the force that oppreſſes it, and ſting to deſtruction the vulnerable heel that endeavors to keep it down."

Another very important tranſaction, of which the new counſellors were alſo for the firſt time appriſed at their arrival in India, left no room for doubt, if doubt could otherwiſe have ſubſiſted, as to the real character and ſyſtematic policy of the Governor General. In the ſolemn treaty of peace concluded Auguſt 1765 at Illahabad, between the Nabob Vizier of Oude and the Eaſt India Company, it is ſtipulated that the Emperor Sha Allum ſhall remain under the guarantee of the Company in full poſſeſſion of the provinces of Corah and Illahabad, as a royal demeſne; in conſideration of which the *dewannee* of Bengal was granted by the Emperor in perpetuity to the Company.

About the year 1772, the Emperor, who had hitherto reſided at Illahabad, removed to the antient capital of Dehli; but engaging ſoon after this period in unſucceſsful hoſtilities with the Mahrattas, this people compelled him while in their power to grant *ſunnuds* for the ſurrender of Corah and Illahabad to them. But Mr. Haſtings, in his letter of March 1773 to the Court of Directors, ſays, "In no ſhape can this compulſatory ceſſion by the KING releaſe us from the obligation we are under to defend the provinces which we have ſo particularly guarantied to him;" and they were accordingly occupied by the troops of the Company, and taken under its immediate and avowed protection. In a ſhort time however the ideas of Mr. Haſtings ſuffered a total change; for by an act of the Governor and Council, paſſed in *June following*, the engagements between the Company and the Emperor are declared to be DISSOLVED by his alienation from them and their intereſts, manifeſted by his removal to Dehli. Nevertheleſs, "if the KING ſhould make overtures

to renew his former connection, his right to reclaim the diſtricts of Corah and Illahabad could not, ſay they, be diſputed; and the Governor is authoriſed to reſtore them to him, on condition that he ſhould RENOUNCE his CLAIM to the ANNUAL TRIBUTE of twenty-ſix lacks of rupees, reſerved to the Emperor out of the revenues of Bengal, and to the arrears which might be due." Yet in the treaty concluded in perſon by the Governor General with the Vizier, in *September* 1773, it is aſſerted, "that his Majeſty having abandoned the diſtricts of Corah and Illahabad, and given a *ſunnud* for Corah and Currah to the Mahrattas, had thereby *forfeited* his right to the ſaid diſtricts." And in his ſubſequent report of this interview and negotiation with Sujah ul Dowla, the Governor declared, "that the Adminiſtration would have been culpable in the higheſt degree for retaining poſſeſſion of Corah and Illahabad for any other purpoſe than that of making an advantage by the diſpoſal of them, and therefore he had ceded them to the Vizier for fifty lacks of rupees—the nett annual revenue of theſe provinces being eſtimated at twenty-five lacks." At the ſame time the Governor and Council determined to withhold the tribute of twenty-ſix lacks of rupees from the Emperor, pretending "that they were not ſatisfied of his amicable intentions, and that the reduced ſtate of the treaſury rendered ſuch payment impracticable."

Such was the treatment which the Emperor of Hindoſtan received from the ſervants of a foreign mercantile company, although Mr. Haſtings himſelf, in a minute recorded in the Council-book on another occaſion, declared, "that, fallen as the Houſe of TIMUR is, it is yet the relic of the moſt illuſtrious line of the eaſtern world—that its ſovereignty is univerſally acknowledged, though the ſubſtance of it no longer exiſts—and that the Company itſelf derives its conſtitutional dominion from its oſtenſible bounty."

The diſintereſtedneſs of Mr. Haſtings in all points of pecuniary concern had in England been the theme of high panegyric; but certain facts which came to the knowledge of the new Counſellors on or ſoon

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after their arrival in India, ſet this part of his character alſo in a light which could ſcarcely be conſidered as problematical. Of theſe it will ſuffice to touch on two or three of the moſt conſpicuous. By the Regulating Act of 1773, a ſalary of 25,000l. per annum was ſettled on the Governor, and he was in the moſt poſitive and peremptory manner prohibited from receiving any preſent or donation in any manner, or on any account whatever. And on his acceſſion to the government, Mr. Haſtings in the oſtentation of his generoſity had declared, "that this prohibition admitted neither of refinement nor miſconſtruction, and that in his opinion an oppoſition would be to incur the penalty."

On the 30th of March 1775, a petition was laid before the Board, ſetting forth, "that Khan Jehan Khan, then Phouſdar of Houghley, had obtained that office from the Governor, with a ſalary of 72,000 ſicca rupees per annum; and that the ſaid Phouſdar *had given a receipt of bribe to the patron of the city*, to pay him annually 36,000 rupees out of the ſalary above mentioned." It being moved, "that the petitioner ſhould be ordered to attend the next day to make good his charge," Mr. Haſtings objected to the motion; which being nevertheleſs carried, the Governor declared, "that he would not ſuffer a judicial enquiry into his conduct at the Board of which he was Preſident," and pronounced the meeting of the Board diſſolved. Other ſums from various perſons, ariſing in the aggregate to a vaſt amount, were acknowledged by Mr. Haſtings in his confidential diſpatches, doubtleſs to guard againſt the effects of ſimilar informations, to be *privately received*; but, as the Governor General *alleged*, ſubſequently converted to the Company's uſe. This however did by no means ſatisfactorily appear. As an apology for his original intention of concealment, he ſays, "Having had occaſion to diſburſe from my own caſh many ſums which, though required to enable me to execute the duties of my ſtation, I have hitherto omitted to enter in my public accounts, and my own fortune being unequal to ſo heavy a charge, I have reſolved to reimburſe myſelf in a mode the moſt ſuitable to the ſituation of your affairs, by charging the ſame in my Durbar account of the preſent year, and crediting them

in a ſum *privately received*." On the firſt ſuggeſtion of ſuſpicion as to the motives of this conduct, he profeſſed to the Court of Directors, September 1775, "that it was his fixed determination moſt fully and liberally to explain every circumſtance." Being called upon by the Court, after a very long interval, for this promiſed explanation, he declared, "that he had been prevented from the execution of this deſign by a variety of *more important occupations*; and that the ſubmiſſion which his reſpect would have enjoined him to pay to the command impoſed upon him was LOST to his RECOLLECTION." But by far the moſt remarkable accuſation of this nature againſt Mr. Haſtings, was that preferred by the Rajah Nund-comar to the Supreme Council, in the month of March 1775, of various ſums, amounting to many hundred thouſand rupees, received by the Governor General for offices and employments corruptly diſpoſed of by him; and of this the Rajah, who was a native Hindoo of the Brahman caſte, and of the higheſt rank, offered to produce incontrovertible evidence. Inſtead of ſtating any thing in his defence, Mr. Haſtings declared, "that he would not ſuffer Nund-comar to appear before the Board as his accuſer," and diſſolved the meeting *.

Soon after this an attempt was made by the Governor to indict the Rajah, before the Supreme Court of Judicature, for a conſpiracy againſt the Government; but the Grand Jury refuſing to find the bill, it was determined to proceed againſt the Rajah in a different mode: and while the charge againſt the Governor was yet pending before the Council, he was indicted, upon the Engliſh ſtatute of forgery, for a certain counterfeit bond pretended to have been iſſued by the Rajah many years be-

* The legality of the power, thus aſſumed by the Governor General, of diſſolving the Council at pleaſure, being deemed queſtionable, the Court of Directors thought proper, for ſatisfaction on this point, to take the opinion of a man very eminent in his profeſſion, who, although he decided in favor of Mr. Haſtings, at the ſame time remarked, "that he believed him to be the firſt Governor that ever diſſolved a Council enquiring into his behaviour when he was innocent." And the Court of Directors, in the reſult, poſitively forbade the Governor General to diſſolve any Council in future, againſt the conſent of the majority of the members actually preſent.

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fore; and which, if the charge could be imagined to have any foundation, amounted, by the laws of India, only to a miſdemeanor. On this accuſation he was brought to trial before Sir Elijah Impey, Chief Juſtice of the Supreme Court, and condemned to ſuffer capital puniſhment. Being committed to cloſe cuſtody in the common gaol at Calcutta amidſt a crowd of felons, a petition was preſented from the Rajah to the Supreme Council, ſetting forth, "That after having been honored with the confidence of the Nabob Jaffier Ally Khan, and after having diſcharged the firſt office in the Subahdary, and being now ten years retired from public life, it might perhaps ſtartle the Honorable Board to receive an addreſs from him, dated from the common gaol at Calcutta, had he not prepared them for ſome fatal change in his ſituation, by the repreſentation he had before made of the ſevere menaces thrown out againſt him by the Governor General. Should my life," ſaid the Rajah, "be taken away by the flagitious charge now laid againſt me by men the moſt abandoned, the facts before alluded to will remain upon record; the witneſſes will be ready, and the proofs producible whenever the Governor General has COURAGE ſufficient to hear them. My only intention in ſetting forth the ſervices I have done, and the character I have to an advanced age ſupported, is to introduce my requeſt, that I may not ſuffer, from the bare accuſation, a puniſhment equal to that of death, the violation of the moſt ſacred duties of my religion; the inſtitutions of which ſtrictly enjoin a number of ablutions, prayers, and other ceremonies to be performed by the ſect of Brahmans before they can take any kind of food:—nothing of this can be performed in the place where I now am. I therefore humbly requeſt that I may be permitted to reſide, under as ſtrict a guard as may be judged requiſite, in ſome place where theſe objections may be obviated."

This petition being tranſmittted to the Chief Juſtice, and it being at the ſame time repreſented that the Rajah had remained for 80 hours without ſuſtenance, permiſſion was obtained to fix a tent on the outſide of the priſon-gate for the purpoſe of waſhing and eating. Mobaric ul Dowlah,

Dowla, Subah of Bengal, being appriſed of the deplorable ſituation of the unfortunate Rajah, tranſmitted a letter to the Governor and Council, interceding in his favor *.

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"The affair of Maha Rajah Nund-comar," ſaid the Subah, "is really hard and rigorous. The Maha Rajah has tranſacted affairs of the greateſt importance. When Meer Coſſim Ally Khan had taken the reſolution to ruin and expel the Engliſh, the Maha Rajah exerted himſelf to the utmoſt in ſupplying them with grain and money. The ſervices of the Maha Rajah are well known to the KING of Hindoſtan. Certainly he never could have committed ſo contemptible a crime. People employed in important affairs will, undoubtedly, have many enemies; and thoſe who have been active in the affair of Nund-comar have long been his declared foes. Taking therefore into conſideration the welfare of the people, I beg, with reſpect to this affair, that the Rajah's execution may be ſuſpended till the pleaſure of his Majeſty the King of England ſhall be known."

This interceſſion, however, proved wholly unavailing and uſeleſs. In a paper written by Nund-comar, for the inſpection of the Supreme Council, he ſays, "Now that the hour of death approaches, I ſhall not, for the ſake of this world, be regardleſs of the next. The forgery of the bond, of which I am accuſed, never proceeded from me. For the fault of repreſenting a juſt fact, my enemies, having no other means to conceal their own actions, deeming my deſtruction of the utmoſt expediency for themſelves, revived an old affair of Mohun Perſaud, which had been formerly found to be falſe; and LORD IMPEY and the other Judges have tried me by the Engliſh laws, which are contrary to the cuſtoms of

* Though it is ſcarcely worth while in any other view to notice the rapid ſucceſſion of theſe paſſing ſhadows, the regularity of dates is preſerved by remarking, that Najim ul Dowla, eldeſt ſurviving ſon of Jaffier Ally Khan, died in May 1766, fifteen months after his advancement to the muſnud. His brother Syef ul Dowla ſucceeded, and lived till May 1770. The preſent Nabob, Mobaric ul Dowla, was the youngeſt ſon of Meer Jaffier, and thirteen years of age only at the period of his mock elevation to the throne of Bengal.

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this country—and, taking the evidence of my enemies, have condemned me to death. In my laſt moments I requeſt, that you, General, will write my caſe to the juſt King of England.—I ſuffer, but my innocence will certainly be made known to him."

On the 5th of Auguſt 1775, the day fixed for the execution of the Rajah, he appeared on the public ſcaffold without diſcovering the leaſt ſymptom of diſcompoſure. He deſired the Sheriff to preſent his laſt reſpectful ſalutations to General Clavering, Colonel Monſon, and Mr. Francis; and pray for their protection of Rajah Gourdaſs, and that they would pleaſe to look on him now as head of the Brahmans. When not engaged in converſation aloud, his lips continued moving as if engaged in prayer, his beads hanging in his hand. The Brahmans who attended him on this melancholy occaſion were in agonies of grief and deſpair; and the ſurrounding crowd teſtified their horror and conſternation at this event, by clamorous howlings and lamentations. The Rajah embraced the attending Brahmans cloſely, and ſaid he was ready. "My own ſpirits ſunk," ſays the Sheriff, Mr. Mac-Raby, in his intereſting narrative of this extraordinary ſcene, "and I ſtepped into my palankeen; but before I was well ſeated he had given the ſignal, and the ſtage was removed. His ſteadineſs, compoſure, and reſolution throughout the whole of the melancholy tranſaction, were equal to any examples of fortitude I have ever ſeen or read of. The body was taken down, after HANGING the uſual time, and delivered to the Brahmans for burning."—Thus miſerably periſhed the moſt diſtinguiſhed and illuſtrious of the Hindoo inhabitants of Bengal: and in the ſubſequent council minute of Sir John Clavering, Colonel Monſon, and Mr. Francis, theſe gentlemen with good reaſon ſay, "After the death of Nund-comar, the Governor we believe is well aſſured, that no man who regards his ſafety will venture to ſtand forth as his accuſer;—and they remark, that in the interim which had elapſed ſince the alleged offence of the Rajah he had been promoted and employed by the Governor General; that his ſon the Rajah Gourdaſs was appointed to one of the firſt offices in the Nabob's houſehold;

houſehold;—and that the accuſation, which ended in his deſtruction, was not produced till he came forward and brought a ſpecific charge againſt the Governor General, of corruption in his office."

The conduct of the Governor General in relation to Mahomed Reza Khan, a muſſulman of the higheſt diſtinction, was ſcarcely leſs extraordinary; though to attempt to develop the ſecret motives which led to it, would open a ſcene of dark and complex intrigue totally foreign to the purpoſes of general hiſtory *. This diſtinguiſhed perſonage was, through the influence of the Engliſh Government, on the deceaſe of the late Nabob Meer Jaffier Ally Khan, conſtituted guardian of his children, and adminiſtrator or regent of the Subahdary during the minority of his ſon Nudjah ul Dowla. As to his general character, the late Preſident, Lord Clive, in his letter to the Supreme Council of July 3d, 1765, ſays, "It is with pleaſure I can acquaint you, that the more I ſee of Mahomed Reza Khan, the ſtronger is my conviction of his honor and moderation." Alſo the Preſident and Council, in their diſpatch to the Court of Directors, June 1767, ſay, "Mahomed Reza Khan has purſued the Company's intereſt with ſteadineſs and diligence; his abilities qualify him to perform the moſt important ſervices." And the Court of Directors, in their letter of February 1768, ſay, "We muſt, in juſtice to Mahomed Rheza Khan, expreſs the high ſenſe we entertain of his abilities, and of the indefatigable attention he has ſhewn in the execution of the important truſt repoſed in him." Nevertheleſs, the cabals of his enemies after a time ſo far prevailed, that the Court of Directors tranſmitted orders to deprive Mahomed Reza Khan of his office, and to inſtitute an enquiry into his conduct. In conformity to his ſecret inſtructions, Mr. Haſtings cauſed this Miniſter to be arreſted in the city of Moorſhedabad, and to be brought down to Calcutta, where he was, by various artifices of delay, kept in priſon for two years.

* The true ſolution of Mr. Haſtings's conduct reſpecting Mahomed Reza Khan is, that this Miniſter was elevated to the high ſtation he occupied by the intereſt of Lord Clive; and that Mr. Haſtings was, on the other hand, intimately connected with the Anti-Clive or Sullivan faction, to whom he owed his advancement.

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At length being brought to trial, he was completely and honorably acquitted of the charges preferred againſt him: and the Court of Directors, in their ſubſequent diſpatch, teſtify their ſatisfaction in the reſult of this enquiry; at the ſame time ordering him to be reinſtated in the offices which he had heretofore held. This was accordingly done by General Clavering, Colonel Monſon, and Mr. Francis, who now conſtituted the majority of the Council:—not, however, without a formal proteſt from the Governor General Haſtings; though the Court of Directors again declared their high approbation of this re-appointment, giving him an aſſurance of their favor and protection. This was, however, of little avail; for no ſooner did Mr. Haſtings obtain a majority in the Council, by the deaths, firſt of Colonel Monſon (Sept. 1776), and in the following year of Sir John Clavering, than Mahomed Reza Khan was again removed from his offices, the principal of which was filled by Sudder ul Hock Khan, a man wholly devoted to the Governor, who wrote to the Nabob, that nothing could retrieve the confuſion into which the country was thrown, but an unlimited power lodged in the hands of the Superintendant: to which the Nabob, now become, to uſe the words of Mr. Haſtings, "a mere pageant without even the ſhadow of authority," his annual revenue alſo being arbitrarily reduced from 42 to 16 lacks—expreſſed in abject terms his entire acquieſcence and ſubmiſſion. The Court of Directors, on being informed of theſe proceedings, in a tone of high diſpleaſure declared, "that NO DOUBT could be entertained of the true deſign of this extraordinary buſineſs," and poſitively commanded the immediate reſtoration of Mahomed Reza Khan to the office of Naib Soubadar. After much ſtudied evaſion and delay, this order was complied with. But, on the departure of Mr. Francis from India, Mahomed Reza Khan was a third time diſmiſſed from his office, by Mr. Haſtings, without any ſpecific charge, trial, or enquiry whatſoever.—On a retroſpective view of theſe tranſactions, it cannot but excite our aſtoniſhment to hear Mr. Haſtings affirm in his Minutes of Defence, reſpecting Mahomed Reza Khan, "I am ſure his ſentiments for me are thoſe of GRATITUDE and AFFECTION." On the laſt diſmiſſion of Reza Khan, Sir John Doyley was placed near the perſon of

of the Nabob Mobaric ul Dowla, to ſuperintend his expences, with a particular inſtruction to the Nabob, not to admit any Engliſh, but ſuch as the ſaid Sir John Doyley ſhould approve, to his preſence. Such was the ſpirit of Mr. Haſtings's internal adminiſtration. The moſt remarkable events relating to his external policy yet remain to be inveſtigated.

The Mahratta States are the only people of Hindoſtan who were not ſubdued by the Moguls, or who never acknowledged allegiance to the houſe of Timur. Secure amidſt their inacceſſible mountains, they preſerved unimpaired their liberty and independency, and were at all times regarded by the moſt powerful of the Mahomedan Emperors as very formidable adverſaries. This nation conſiſted of a number of diſtinct tribes, governed by their reſpective chieftains, but who all recognized as their ſupreme head, a prince ſtyled the Sou or Ram Rajah, i. e. the Great Rajah, whoſe throne was eſtabliſhed at Setterah. Since the decline of the Mogul power, that of the Mahrattas had riſen rapidly on its ruins.

At this period their dominions extended from Travancore, near the ſouthern extremity of the peninſula, to the province of Guzzerat, northward, divided from the Perſian territories by the river Paddar, the Jumna ſeparating them from the empire of the Mogul. To the eaſt they ſtretch to the Carnatic, and the dominions of the Nizam of the Decan, the province of Catac carrying their poſſeſſions irregularly acroſs the peninſula to the Bay of Bengal. Their revenues were computed to amount to more than twelve millions ſterling; and their military eſtabliſhment, which was compoſed chiefly of cavalry, to 300,000 men.

It is a ſingular circumſtance in this government, that the ſovereignty of the Sou or Ram Rajah exiſts at this day only in name. Nana Row, peiſhwa or prime miniſter of the country at a period not very remote, ſeizing the perſon of the Rajah, confined him in a fortreſs near Setterah; and, uſurping the powers of the government, continued to adminiſter them in the name of the Sovereign. Nana Row, dying, left the ſuc-

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ceſſion to his ſon Mada Row, who finding a rival in the perſon of Ragonaut Row, his uncle, a man of an intriguing diſpoſition and moſt flagitious character, kept him in cloſe confinement till near the time of his own death; when, being anxiouſly deſirous to enſure the quiet ſucceſſion of the peiſhwaſhip to his brother Narrain Row, he became reconciled to Ragonaut, in conſequence of the moſt ſolemn promiſes of the latter to aſſiſt the young Narrain Row with his moſt tender care, protection, and advice. The credulous Mada Row ſhed tears of joy and ſatisfaction at this happy event, and cloſed his eyes in peace. But the vile and unnatural wretch, thus generouſly liberated, immediately engaged in new plots againſt his nephew Narrain; and in a few months after his acceſſion, September 1773, the young peiſhwa was aſſaſſinated by the villanous contrivance of his uncle, who expected to have ſucceeded without difficulty to the government. But the horror and deteſtation excited by a crime of this enormous magnitude occaſioned an oppoſition ſo general, that the parricide Ragonaut was compelled to fly his country.

Unhappily he directed his courſe to the iſland of Bombay, the Government of which not only granted him, without heſitation, their protection; but, affecting to admit the validity of his claims, they commenced open hoſtilities againſt the Mahrattas, indulging the moſt ambitious and ſanguine hopes, if the reſtoration of Ragonaut Row could be accompliſhed by their aid, to rival Madras and Calcutta in opulence and power.

The iſland of Salſette and the city of Baroach were quickly reduced by the valor of the Company's troops; but it does not appear that at this period the Preſidency of Bombay received any encouragement from Mr. Haſtings to proſecute theſe nefarious projects of aggrandiſement. On the contrary, the Governor joined with the new Counſellors, Clavering, Monſon, and Francis, in reprobating theſe proceedings; declaring by an act of Council, paſſed May 1775, that the meaſures adopted by the Preſidency of Bombay had a tendency to a very extenſive and indefinite ſcene of troubles; and that their conduct was unſeaſonable,

ſeaſonable, impolitic, unjuſt, and unauthoriſed." And availing themſelves of the ſuperiority veſted in them by the late act, Colonel Upton was ſent on an embaſſy to the Mahratta Court, for the purpoſe of negotiating a peace, which was concluded at Poonah, and ratified March 1ſt, 1776, upon terms very honorable and advantageous. By this treaty Salſette, Baroach, and various adjoining diſtricts in the Guzzerat provinces, were ceded to the Company, and the ſum of twelve lacks of rupees allotted to them as an indemnification for the expences of the war.

On the other hand, it was ſtipulated that Ragonaut Row ſhould withdraw from Bombay, and that no protection or aſſiſtance ſhould be granted to him or any other ſubject of the Mahratta State, who may cauſe any diſturbance or rebellion in that country. Notwithſtanding the ſolemnity of this engagement, Ragonaut Row ſtill continued at Bombay, and by means of his agents fomented parties and diſſenſions in the Court of Poonah, until the Mahratta Government, jealous in the higheſt degree of the deſigns of the Engliſh, were provoked to receive with marked diſtinction the Chevalier de St. Lubin, Agent or Ambaſſador from the French Preſidency of Pondicherry.

Mr. Haſtings was now completely emancipated from the control of the new Commiſſion, by the ſucceſſive deaths of Colonel Monſon and General Clavering; and even previous to the deceaſe of the latter, being aſſured of the invariable ſupport of Mr. Barwell, his own caſting vote gave him on all occaſions a decided majority.

It is very remarkable, that during the whole courſe of the contention between the Governor General and the new Counſellors, the proceedings of the Governor were, in almoſt every diſpatch from England, cenſured and condemned in ſevere terms, while the conduct of his opponents was as uniformly applauded; yet the Governor General was unaccountably continued in office, and ſuffered ultimately to carry his romantic projects into unreſtrained and ruinous execution. In their letter of April 1776, the Court of Directors highly commend the indefatigable aſſiduity which,

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they ſay, appears in the laborious reſearches of the *majority* of the Council, and their zeal for the intereſt of the Company, and the welfare of the inhabitants, as well natives as Europeans. In a ſubſequent letter, addreſſed to Sir John Clavering, in the expectation of his ſpeedy return to Europe, the Court expreſs the deep ſenſe they entertain of his ſingular ſervices, and the great concern they felt at the proſpect of loſing ſo invaluable a ſervant. And in their general letter of May 7, 1778, they lament the death of Sir John Clavering in warm and affectionate terms, as a great and public loſs to the Eaſt India Company and to his country. So indeed it proved: for the Governor General, no longer reſtrained by the preſence of this inflexible CENSOR, fixing his eyes on the weſtern ſide of the continent, perceived an immenſe field in which his ambitious and reſtleſs diſpoſition might find a boundleſs ſcope of activity and exertion *.

On

* Soon after the death of Sir John Clavering, Mr. Francis tranſmitted to the Miniſter, Lord North, a letter or memorial, dated September 1777, excellently written, and ſtating in the cleareſt manner the nature and pernicious effects of the policy purſued by the Engliſh Government in Bengal, and the meaſures neceſſary to eſtabliſh permanent peace and proſperity in India. In diſcuſſing the intereſting queſtion—"To what extent, and in what form, the actual ſovereignty of Great Britain over thoſe provinces ſhall be avowed?" he obſerves, "that the principal branches of the ſovereign power are exerciſed by the Eaſt India Company, partly under the authority of the Subahdar, partly under that of the King of Great Britain. At the ſame time, the natives in general acknowledge no King but the Mogul, in whoſe name the revenues are collected, and the current money of Bengal coined. Hence ariſe all the evils which flow from a divided dominion. The ſafeſt, the moſt ſimple, and the leaſt invidious principle on which this territory could be held, Mr. Francis pronounces to be that of a fixed tribute from the native Prince of the country, avoiding all interference with the internal government. Circumſtances, ſays this ſagacious Counſellor, inſeparable perhaps from the Conſtitution of the Eaſt India Company, diſqualified them in every ſenſe for the duty and office which the acquiſition of a territory in India impoſed upon them. A body of merchants had intereſts to provide for, beſides thoſe which belonged to them in their aſſumed character of Sovereign. Profit, being the only object of a trading company, became the ſole object of Government when the two characters were united. Commercial principles of the worſt quality, as derived from the conſtitution of an excluſive Company, were all the principles which the India Company brought with them into the government of a great kidgdom, and IT HAS BEEN GOVERNED ACCORDINGLY.

"After

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On the 28th of January, 1778, the Governor introduced the ſubject at the Supreme Board in a very long minute, unfolding in a ſufficiently unequivocal manner his vaſt and daring projects.—"If REPORT could be believed," Mr. Haſtings ſaid, "written engagements had paſſed between the Mahratta Court and M. St. Lubin, the object of which, whatever

"After raiſing the revenues as nearly as poſſible to the level of the rents, for the ſupport of their GOVERNMENT, they monopolized the produce and labor of the country for the ſupport of their TRADE. To obtain the higheſt poſſible revenue from the land, they were obliged to avow, or countenance, a principle ſubverſive of all national proſperity, and not leſs falſe in fact than abſurd in theory and dangerous in practice—'that the ruling power was proprietor of the ſoil.' On this principle they univerſally diſpoſſeſſed the hereditary and lawful owners, and farmed the country to ſtrangers. In a few inſtances, where the proprietors were employed, it was not in their true character, but as farmers of Government. *There is* NO EXAMPLE, *I believe, of ſuch an* ACT OF POWER *in the* HISTORY *of* HINDOSTAN. 'Of all deſpotic governments,' M. Monteſquieu tells us, 'there is none more oppreſſive than that where the prince declares himſelf proprietor of the ſoil, and heir of all his ſubjects. It always follows that the cultivation of the earth is abandoned; but if, beſides this, the prince is a merchant, every ſpecies of induſtry is ruined.'

"Your Lordſhip will ſoon perceive how much it is the general object of this repreſentation to eſtabliſh an opinion, that to make the poſſeſſion of Bengal beneficial and permanent, we ſhould revert to the antient inſtitutions of the country, as far as we are acquainted with them, and preſent circumſtances will permit. If it were not for the experience of ſome years paſt, it might be ſuperfluous to ſay, that we provide for our intereſts when we conſult the happineſs and proſperity of the people who labor for us.

"It appears to have been the Company's original policy, or that of Lord Clive, to govern theſe provinces through the medium of the Subahdar, and the beſt they could adopt, ſuppoſing them to interpoſe in any ſhape in the internal government. This ſyſtem was ſoon violated in fact, and not long afterwards avowedly renounced. The predominant power of the Council at Calcutta neceſſarily reduced the Subahdar to a cypher, and left him and his ſubjects, as it always will do, a prey to individuals. Forms and appearances were, however, in ſome degree preſerved till the death of Syef ul Dowla, in 1770. From that period we ſee nothing in the adminiſtration of public affairs but enormous abuſes on one ſide, and an abſolute want of power or perſeverance to correct them on the other. The Subahdar's authority, ſince the Company's acceptance of the dewannee, has been gradually reduced under three ſucceſſive Nabobs, and is now merely titular in the perſon of Mobarek ul Dowla. The adminiſtration of criminal juſtice is, however, ſtill exerciſed in his name by the Naib Subah Mahomed Reza Khan, and we ſometimes avail ourſelves of the pretence of his authority in our differences with the foreign factories.

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ever it be, muſt, if attempted, prove deſtructive to the Britiſh trade and influence in India. Although the Mahratta power, unallied with other States, was unable to cope with the Company, yet, ſuſtained by the French, they are qualified to refuſe acquieſcence with our demands, which demands the iſland of Baſſeen offers as the only proſpect of a ſecurity: that no obligation precludes us from demanding it, nor can any blame be imputed to us, if, as the ſuperior power, we preſcribe the terms of accommodation."

In addition to this demand, Mr. Haſtings, in the plan ſubſequently laid

" The Company hold the dewannee by grant of the Mogul, Sha Allum. The treaty concluded by Lord Clive, Auguſt 1765, not only acknowledges him as King of Bengal, but ſecures to him the full poſſeſſion of Korah and Illahabad, as a royal demeſne for the ſupport of his dignity and expences; and by a particular agreement between him and the Company, of the ſame date, they engage themſelves to be ſecurity for the payment of twenty-ſix lacks a year, out of the territorial revenue, *in conſideration* of his Majeſty's having been graciouſly pleaſed to grant them the dewannee of Bengal. Your Lordſhip knows how little theſe treaties have been regarded. His tribute was ſtopped, and his country, though avowedly entruſted to our good faith, and accepted as a depoſit, ſold to Suja ul Dowla.

" The Britiſh power is now unqueſtionably the firſt in India, at leaſt for defence. To make it reſpectable in itſelf, and beneficial to mankind, it muſt be guided by ſolid, judicious principles of policy, and they muſt be ſteadily purſued. Enough has been done to eſtabliſh the reputation of our arms. If we mean to keep what we have acquired, *ſome* care muſt be taken to eſtabliſh an opinion of our ſteadineſs and juſtice.

" With reſpect to the amount and collection of the revenues, the principal queſtions are—1ſt, Whether the lands ſhall be reſtored to the hereditary owners? 2dly, Whether the revenues payable to Government ſhall be fixed immutably at a certain ſum? and 3dly, By what rule or ſtandard that ſum ſhall be aſcertained? To the two firſt queſtions I have invariably given an affirmative anſwer, founded on reaſons which I deem incontrovertible. The third muſt be determined by the capacity of the country, eſtimated from an average of the actual collections, and combined with the indiſpenſable demands of Government. The *farming ſyſtem* was adopted as the act of a proprietor, with a profeſſed view of diſcovering the ultimate value of the eſtate, or the utmoſt that could be obtained from it. Your Lordſhip will judge how far the end, ſuppoſing it attainable, could juſtify the means. To General Clavering, Colonel Monſon, and myſelf, it always appeared an arbitrary, unexampled act of power, without a ſhadow of right to ſupport it. The principle on which it went annihilated every idea of private property, while in fact it has been ruinous to the country, for the

laid by him before the Board, required "that the Mahratta Government give ſuch ſecurity for the perſonal ſafety of Ragonaut Row as *he himſelf* ſhall require; that a ſpecific ſum be demanded to reimburſe the Company for their late military charges; that a grant of territory be made contiguous to Baſſeen; and that no European ſettlement be allowed on the Mahratta coaſts without conſent of the Company." At the ſame time he communicated a plan formed by the Preſidency of Bombay, to reinſtate Ragonaut Row in the peiſhwaſhip by force of arms, being invited to this enterpriſe by ſundry members of the Mahratta Government.

the ſole benefit of the Company's ſervants and their banyans. But even if the farms had in every inſtance been fairly allotted to the higheſt bidders, the meaſure could have produced no other conſequence than that of forcibly alienating the whole landed property of the country in favor of indigent ſtrangers and adventurers, equally ignorant of the value and circumſtances of the farm, and careleſs how much they offered for immediate poſſeſſion. The laſt ſettlement made by the COMMITTEE of CIRCUIT promiſed an immoderate increaſe of revenue, at a time when the famine had ſwept away ONE THIRD of the inhabitants, and when the country was repreſented to be in a general ſtate of decay. What the real object of the meaſure was, may be collected from the ſucceſs of it.

"The balances and remiſſions on the ſettlements of the laſt five years amount to the enormous ſum of two hundred and thirty lacks of Sicca rupees. The plain truth is, that overrateement and remiſſion play into each other's hands. If the country be exorbitantly taxed, the Governor and Council *muſt* be truſted with a diſcretionary power to make remiſſions. This latitude once given, or aſſumed, it may be impoſſible to determine in what manner it is applied, or where the remiſſions centre at laſt, ſince the diſtribution may be ſo formed as to intereſt all parties in concealing it.

"If we had no facts or experience to guide our conjectures, it is apparent that a country expoſed to arbitrary variations in the annual aſſeſſments, at the diſcretion of a Council of State, eſpecially at this immenſe diſtance from the ſeat of empire, offers temptations which will not be ALWAYS reſiſted. Improvements in ſuch a ſtate of things are not to be expected, for who will employ his money or his labor in the cultivation of a ſoil that does not belong to him? or when he has no ſecurity that the whole produce may not be extorted from him by a new aſſeſſment?—The ſame ſyſtem of taxation which annihilates the property, attacks the induſtry of the ſubject, and invades the *ſources* of production.

"A NEW PRINCIPLE muſt be aſſumed for the government of the country, or it MUST FALL. The plain and ſimple remedy is, to oblige the Company to revert to their original principles, to renounce the unnatural character in which they have lately acted, and, if it be poſſible, TO BECOME MERCHANTS AGAIN."

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After much oppoſition from Mr. Francis and Mr. Wheeler, who had recently ſucceeded Sir John Clavering as a member of the Board, the Governor's propoſals were carried in Council by his own caſting vote; and it was finally determined to ſupport Ragonaut Row, in the event of the infraction of the Poonah or Poorunder Treaty, AS NOW EXPLAINED. Aſſerting that "the Preſidency of Bengal was in a condition to aſſiſt Bombay abundantly with men and money to carry on the Mahratta war," Mr. Haſtings propoſed to march a large detachment of the Company's troops acroſs the continent, for the purpoſe of reinforcing the Bombay army. This alſo being carried in the ſame manner, the deſtined reinforcement under Colonel Leſlie commenced this unprecedented march of 1100 miles early in May 1778.

Previous to this event, a letter was received from the Court of Directors, poſitively enjoining a ſtrict adherence to the Treaty of Poorunder. But Mr. Haſtings, in a haughty and peremptory tone, declared "his unalterable determination to proſecute the meaſures in which he had now engaged to the utmoſt of his power."

In order to promote and corroborate the ſucceſs of his project, Mr. Haſtings had for ſome time paſt moſt aſſiduouſly courted the friendſhip and alliance of the Rajah of Berar, Moodajee Booſla, whoſe dominions occupied the intermediate ſpace between thoſe of the Company and of the Mahratta States, inciting and urging that prince, who was far advanced in years, and of a mild and pacific diſpoſition, openly to avow his claim to the ſovereignty of the Mahrattas, to which the Rajah had ſome obſcure and remote pretenſions. "In the whole of my conduct," ſays the Governor General in a letter addreſſed to the Prime Miniſter of the Court of Naigpore (November 1778), "I have departed from the common line of policy, and have made advances when others in my ſituation would have waited for ſolicitations; but I truſt to the approved bravery and ſpirit of the Maha-Rajah, hat he will *ardently catch* at the objects preſented to his *ambition*."

Moodajee

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Moodajee Booſla was, however, ſo far from being willing to embark himſelf and his fortunes in the wild and crude projects of the Engliſh Governor, that he wrote with his own hand a letter to Mr. Haſtings, inculcating, in very reſpectful terms, and in a manner which did equal honor to his head and his heart, the moſt juſt and ſalutary maxims of conduct both moral and political:—"Your friendly letter," ſays the Rajah, "of the 19th Ramzan informs me that you have given directions to Colonel Leſlie to co-operate with the forces which I ſhall unite with his; that as you offer me the forces of the Circar to promote my views, you in return requeſt the aſſiſtance of mine to effect your purpoſes; that having thus explained to me your ſentiments and views, you wait only to know mine.—The having cauſed a tranſlation to be made into Engliſh of the Hindoo books called the Shaſta, &c. and keeping the pictures of the former kings of Hindoſtan before your eyes, from their lifeleſs ſimilitudes to diſcover which of them were worthy of rule and poſſeſſed of good faith—alſo the endeavor to preſerve the bleſſing of peace till *forced* to relinquiſh it—the ſupporting of every one in his hereditary right, and revenging the breach of faith and engagements, but, on the ſubmiſſion of the offenders, the exerciſe of the virtues of clemency and generoſity—the not ſuffering the intoxication of power to ſeduce you into a breach of faith, and the giving ſupport to each illuſtrious houſe, in proportion to its reſpective merits—theſe are the ſure means of exalting your greatneſs and proſperity to the higheſt pitch. The ALMIGHTY diſpoſes of kingdoms, and places whomſoever he pleaſes on the ſeats of power and rule; but makes their ſtability to depend on their peaceable, juſt, and friendly conduct to others. MY conduct is framed on theſe principles—I have not yet recovered the ſhock of Mr. Elliot's death: had he ſurvived, ſuch ſtrokes of policy would have been employed, that the ſuſpicions of the Poonah Miniſters, from apprehenſions of ſupport being given to Ragonaut Row, which have cauſed them great uneaſineſs, would have been entirely removed."

Notwithſtanding the failure of this negotiation, Mr. Haſtings was not to be deterred from the proſecution of his project. In proportion as difficulties

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difficulties preſented themſelves, his perſeverance and pertinacity ſeemed to increaſe.

Colonel Leſlie, who commanded the army now on its march to Bombay, dying October 1778, was ſucceeded by Colonel Goddard. This able officer, after ſurmounting great and various obſtacles, reached the ſouthern banks of the Narbudda, within the territory of Berar, January 1779; and immediately detached Lieutenant Wetherſtone to the Court of Naigpore, again to urge the Rajah's acceſſion to the propoſed plan of operation. But the Lieutenant, in his letters to Colonel Goddard, declares that the Government of Berar were determined not to take any active part whatever with the Company's armies; that they had a thouſand arguments to oppoſe to thoſe he urged in favor of the plan for aſſuming the dignity of Ram Rajah of Setterah, *particularly* the faith pledged, and the alliance of friendſhip they had *ſworn to*, with the preſent Peiſhwa; that the aſſerting their pretenſions to the ſovereignty would meet with numberleſs oppoſitions; and that ſucceſs could not be obtained without ſhedding much blood, and at the expence of violating the *ſacred engagements* before entered into with them."

Mr. Wetherſtone farther ſays, "that it ſeemed now to be the firſt wiſh of the Court of Berar to ſet aſide our connection with Ragonaut Row, the ſupporting of whom they aſſerted to be highly impolitical, and that in the end it would be fully proved ſo; that this chief, Ragonaut Row, was held in univerſal abhorrence; and that the prejudices againſt him in the Decan would not eaſily, if ever, be removed. And the Rajah earneſtly offered his mediation to make up all the exiſting differences."

About this period, likewiſe, letters were received by the Governor General from Siccaram Pundit, Prime Miniſter of the Poonah Government, containing heavy complaints of the conduct of the Engliſh ſince the conclusion of the treaty of Poorunder. "The Government of Bombay from that period has, in every inſtance, he aſſerts, excited troubles and commotions, in violation of the ties of friendſhip; and notwithſtanding

ſtanding the expreſs ſtipulation to expel Ragonaut Row from the dominions of the Company, they have performed nothing thereof. Out of regard to the friendſhip and alliance of the Company, I call God to witneſs that the Envoy of France was diſmiſſed without negotiating with him. It is mutually incumbent upon us to obſerve the terms of the treaty."

And again, in a ſubſequent diſpatch, the ſame Miniſter ſays, "Notwithſtanding the concluſion of the treaty, the Bombay Government kept Ragonaut Row with them. It even appears to a conviction, that they *perſuaded* Ragoba, i. e. Ragonaut Row, to the meaſures he has purſued. How then does the ſupreme authority of the Council of Calcutta from the King of England appear, ſince the Chiefs of the different ſettlements do not regard engagements made by you as binding on them? And YOU, Sir, paying no regard to your own acts, take your meaſures on the repreſentations of the Government of Bombay. This is indeed aſtoniſhing to the higheſt degree! It is the dictate of ſound policy, that you withdraw your troops to your own territory. This will be a convincing proof of the ſincerity of your friendſhip, and will ſpread the fame of your good faith throughout the univerſe. From the commencement of the government of the family of the Peiſhwa, they have entered into treaties with many of the chiefs of the Eaſt and Weſt, *and have never before experienced ſuch a want of faith from any one.*"

In the mean time, pending theſe negotiations and the march of the Bengal army, the Preſidency of Bombay, poſſeſſed with high ideas of their own ſtrength, confident of ſucceſs, and jealous leſt, by the arrival of the expected reinforcements, they ſhould be obliged to divide the honor and profit of the expedition into the Mahratta country, with thoſe of whoſe aſſiſtance they had no need, having made all the previous military preparations, and formally declared the treaty of Poorunder void, put their troops in motion November 1778.

The event of this expedition cannot be better related than in the words

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of Row Ghee, Reſident at the Court of Poonah from the Nabob of Arcot: "The Engliſh *Surdars*," ſays this intelligent obſerver, in a letter to the Nabob, "with an army conſiſting of 700 Europeans, eight battalions of ſepoys, and 40 pieces of cannon, marched, as I have already wrote to your Highneſs, from Bombay to the paſſes. Siccaram Pundit and Nana Furneſe joined their forces, and ſatisfied the diſcontented chiefs, Scindia and Holkar, by giving them money, jaghires, and other preſents. All the chiefs having met to conſult, agreed unanimouſly 'not to receive Ragonaut Row, ſince he came with an army of Engliſh, who were of a different nation from them, and whoſe conduct in Sujah Dowla's country, the Rohilla country, Bengal, and the Carnatic, *they were well acquainted with.* Otherwiſe, in the end they would be obliged to forſake their religion, and become the SLAVES of EUROPEANS.' Upon this they exchanged oaths, and a great army was ſent to occupy the ghaut or paſs of Tullicanoon. Mr. Martyn, the Bombay Reſident at Poonah, had encouraged the Engliſh to believe, that as ſoon as their army ſhould arrive at the ghaut, Holkar would join them with all his forces. The Engliſh, truſting to this, waited there with impatience for a whole month, but no one appeared to join their ſtandard. They then marched forward, although much haraſſed by the Mahrattas, who at length completely cut off their ſupplies of proviſions.

"The Engliſh then determined upon retreating back to the ghaut; but Siccaram, gaining intelligence of their march, detached a large body of troops to intercept them. An obſtinate engagement enſued on the 13th of January 1779, in which the Engliſh, being ſurrounded and overpowered, loſt 200 Europeans and 1200 ſepoys. No poſſibility of eſcape now remained; and on the renewal of hoſtilities on the 15th by a heavy cannonade from the Mahrattas, a gentleman, Mr. Farmer, advancing from the Engliſh camp, the firing ceaſed. The chiefs of the Mahrattas ſent for him into their preſence, and Mr. Farmer addreſſed them in the following words:—'We are only MERCHANTS—when diſputes prevailed with you, Ragonaut Row came to us and demanded our protection. We thought he had a right to the government, and gave

him our assistance.—Nothing but ill fortune attends him, and we have been brought to this miserable state by keeping him with us. You are masters to keep him from us. We shall henceforth adhere to the treaties that have formerly taken place between us; be pleased to forgive what has happened.'

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"The Minister answered, 'Ragonaut Row is one of us—what right could you have to interfere in our concerns with him? We now desire you to give up Salsette and Bassein, and what other countries you have possessed yourselves of. Adhere to the treaty made in the time of Bajalee Row *, and ask nothing else.'

"Next day at noon Mr. Farmer returned, and told Scindia 'that he had brought a blank paper signed and sealed, which the Mahratta Chiefs will fill up as they pleased.' Scindia told the Chiefs, 'that although they had it in their power to make any demands they pleased, it would not be advisable to do it at this time. For our making large demands would only sow resentment in their hearts, and we had better demand only what is necessary. Let Ragonaut Row be with us—let Salsette and the pergunnahs in Guzzerat be restored—let the Bengal army return back.'

"These articles being written out on paper, in Persian, Mahratta and English, sealed with the Company's seal, were signed at Worgaum by General Carnac and seven officers. Hostages were given for the due performance of them. After this the Mahratta Surdars sent them victuals, which they needed much. The English and sepoys, grounding their arms, marched out escorted by 2000 Mahratta horse."

Intelligence of this disastrous event having reached Calcutta, Mr. Hastings declared in Council, that General Goddard, in case of the failure of the Poonah expedition from Bombay, had his express orders to recur to his negotiations with Moodajee Boosla, which implied his return to Berar.

* This treaty was made in September 1761.

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But that officer, regardleſs of this ſtrange inſtruction, proceeded by forced marches to Surat, agreeably to the requiſition of the Preſidency of Bombay.—This Government, in their diſpatches to the Supreme Council, after ſtating the defeat of their army, have the effrontery to ſay, "that they did not think themſelves obligated by the conditions of the ſubſequent treaty; but that, having intentions to enter into another, they had tranſmitted directions to General Goddard accordingly."

Mr. Haſtings expreſſed his approbation of the tenor of this diſpatch, and, declaring "that the treaty, being made by perſons unauthoriſed to ſubſcribe to ſuch conditions, was invalid, propoſed that General Goddard be commiſſioned to negotiate at the Court of Poonah for the renewal of the treaty of Poorunder—and that the Preſidency of Bombay be required to prepare for ſervice, whether offenſive or defenſive."

Mr. Francis entered in the council-book his reaſons for diſſenting from the Governor General, in a minute replete with good ſenſe and ſound policy. He admitted "the probability that peace might be obtained on the terms of the treaty of Poorunder, provided this Government be itſelf in earneſt in purſuit of its preſent object, and ſuffered not itſelf to be entangled in the deſperate ſchemes of thoſe who now conſtitute the Government of Bombay. The re-eſtabliſhment of peace on the Malabar coaſt, I deem," ſaid this wiſe and faithful counſellor, to be eſſential, not merely to the proſperity of the India Company, but to their exiſtence. Let a war upon that coaſt be conducted how it may, the difference between conqueſt and defeat, in my judgment, is little more than the delay or acceleration of the ruin of all our reſources. The annexed account ſhews that during the laſt five years they have received little leſs than 116 lacks of current rupees directly out of the revenues of Bengal. Yet their bond-debt accumulated daily, and now amounts to 38 lacks. By the month of October, the Preſident Hornby ſays, their finances will be utterly exhauſted—in the interval they will want a ſupply of 30 lacks. Of this ſum the Preſident propoſes to borrow 20 lacks, but doubts the poſſibility of raiſing ſo large a

ſum;

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ſum;—and if it could be borrowed, he ſays, they have no funds to pay even the intereſt. We ſhould do well to conſider how long we can maintain a war on ſuch a footing, before we engage in it. I will not ſuppoſe the caſe of new miſcarriages. Let it be admitted, that ſucceſs and conqueſt are as certain as the moſt ſanguine expectation can imagine, it does not follow that the objects to be obtained by them are ſuch as we ought to aim at in our preſent circumſtances, or that victory will pay its own expences. By extending our territorial poſſeſſions, we create irreconcileable enmity in the minds of thoſe powers whom we immediately rob of their property. We fill every other Indian State with jealouſy and alarm, and the territory we acquire comes waſted and depopulated into our hands. The nation now perhaps looks to Bengal as its laſt and greateſt external reſource. But if this demand upon us from home were not ſo preſſing, and ſo likely to increaſe as I think it is, it is time for us to conſider whether there be in Great Britain a fundamental force equal to the tenure of unbounded acquiſition at this diſtance from the ſeat of empire; or whether we are not arrived at a point at which common prudence dictates to us to fix once for all the limits of our dominion. If my judgment were to prevail, it ſhould be our object to CONTRACT them." To the whole of this moſt judicious and weighty minute of Mr. Francis, the Governor General was pleaſed to declare, in very laconic terms, "that, from his anxiety to avoid controverſy, he ſhould decline any reply."

A letter was then read by the Governor, in anſwer to the diſpatches from Bombay, which, though ſtrongly objected to by Mr. Francis and Mr. Wheeler, received the ſanction of Mr. Barwell, and of Sir Eyre Coote, who had now taken his place at the Board as Commander in Chief of the Company's forces. In this letter, which is written in a ſtyle of ſuch artful and ſtudied confuſion as to be in many parts really unintelligible, the Governor, in name of himſelf and Council, acquaints the Preſidency of Bombay, in terms which have at leaſt the merit of being plain and explicit, "that the Government of Bengal refuſes to ratify even the ſmalleſt tittle of the treaty or convention of Worgaum; that

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General Goddard was invested with full powers to conclude a pacification with the Court of Poonah, on the terms prescribed in his instructions; and that, if the Mahratta ministers shall reject those proposals, and the Company be reduced to the necessity of defending its rights by an open war, a latitude of action is left to General Goddard to avail himself of the situation which fortune shall present to him. With respect to Moodajee Boosla, it is confessed that little hope is at this time entertained of his concurrence; but if, beyond expectation, the Rajah shall discover a willingness to accept of the proposed alliance, instructions for that purpose are given to General Goddard. "This negotiation is left," to adopt the strange and perplexed phraseology of this letter, "to the sole management of General Goddard, in the authority of those instructions, until the period of their suspension by the refusal or such hesitation of Moodajee Boosla as he shall deem sufficient to warrant his declaring the negotiation suspended. The future renewal of this negotiation we reserve to be determined by our express orders, but without revoking the credentials and instructions already granted to General Goddard respecting it." It would be hard indeed if the Governor, in the event of any sinister catastrophe, could not, under the impenetrable veil of such mysterious ambiguity of direction, screen himself from any disagreeable responsibility.

Mr. Hastings, in order to enforce the general system of policy contained in this letter, moreover declared to the Council, "that he never would suffer the object to be lost, for which the detachment now commanded by General Goddard was first appointed." This passed in the month of June 1779; and by a letter from General Goddard, dated October following, the Governor and Council are informed, as they had every reason to expect, that the Peishwa's Minister had, in plain and positive terms, declared to him that his master would not accede to the proposals made by General Goddard, or conclude peace with the English, unless Ragonaut Row, who had escaped, was delivered up to him, and Salsette surrendered to the Mahratta Government; that, in consequence of this declaration, General Goddard had broken off the negotiation,

and prepared for war." As was predicted by Mr. Francis, the whole Mahratta race, including the RAJAH of BERAR, together with Hyder Ally Khan, and the Nizam or Subah of the Decan, in the higheſt degree exaſperated and inflamed at the treachery of the Engliſh Government, now entered into an alliance, in conjunction with the French, to expel the Engliſh nation from India;—a combination of powers truly formidable, and which eventually ſhook the Britiſh empire in the Eaſt to its centre.

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BOOK

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Ravages of Hyder Ally in the Carnatic. Naval Encounters in the Eaſt Indies. Parliamentary Proceedings againſt Sir Thomas Rumbold. Sir Elijah Impey recalled from India. Ineffectual Reſolutions of the Houſe of Commons, and of the Court of Directors, for the Recall of Mr. Haſtings from India. Military Operations in India. Reſignation of Mr. Haſtings. His Character. Attempt on the Iſle of Jerſey. Capture of St. Euſtatia. Tobago taken by the French. Euſtatia retaken by the French. Naval and Military Operations in America. Colonel Tarleton defeated at the Cowpens. Victory of Lord Cornwallis at Guildford. General Green's maſterly Conduct. Lord Cornwallis's Succeſſes in Virginia. Reverſe of Fortune. Lord Cornwallis and his Army made Priſoners of War. Triumph of the Americans on the Capture of a ſecond Royal Army. Commodore Johnſtone's Expedition to the Cape of Good Hope. Obſtinate Engagement between the Engliſh and Dutch Fleets off the Dogger Bank. Spirited Proceedings of the Parliament and People of Ireland.

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IN the progreſs of the war, thus wantonly provoked, the Government of Bengal ſoon found itſelf reduced to the extremeſt neceſſity for money to defray the enormous expence of its complex and extended operations. "Rolling his baleful eyes around," the Governor General at length fixed them on the territory of Benares, a province depending on the Vizieriate of Oude, highly cultivated and populous, and the capital city of which, ſituated on the Ganges, has for ages been regarded by the Hindoos as a place of peculiar and indelible ſanctity, as the ſeat and centre of their ſcience, their laws, their philoſophy and religion. The late

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late Rajah of Benares, Bulwant Sing, during the wars between the Vizier and the Company, had zealouſly attached himſelf to the Engliſh intereſt; and the Court of Directors, in their letter of May 26, 1768, acknowledge "the ſignal ſervices he had rendered them; and they expreſs their hope, that the attention paid to thoſe who have eſpouſed their intereſts in this war will *reſtore* their reputation in Hindoſtan, and that the Indian Powers will be convinced that no breach of treaty will ever have their ſanction."

Two years after this Bulwant Sing died, leaving the ſucceſſion to his ſon, Cheyt Sing; and the Council of Calcutta, Mr. Cartier being then Preſident, interpoſed their influence and authority at the Court of Lucknow, in order to procure from the Vizier juſt and reaſonable terms of ſettlement. It was finally agreed, that the Rajah ſhould pay to the Vizier a *peſhcuſh*, or fine, equivalent to about 200,000l. and that an annual advance of 30,000l. ſhould be made to the ſtated tribute. A ſolemn deed of confirmation was then paſſed by the Vizier, and the Rajah was inveſted with the government, amid the loud acclamations of a numerous and happy people.

In the year 1773, at the immediate inſtance of Mr. Haſtings, this grant was anew confirmed and ratified by the Vizier, with the additional and expreſs proviſion, that no increaſe of tribute ſhall ever hereafter be demanded; and that the government of Benares ſhall deſcend, on the terms of this agreement, to the heirs of the preſent Rajah.

The Governor General, knowing the enmity which had long ſubſiſted between the Vizier and the late Rajah, declared himſelf "to be well convinced that the Rajah's inheritance, and perhaps his life, are no longer ſafe than while he enjoys the Company's protection, which is his due by the ties of juſtice and the obligations of public faith." In the following year, 1774, the Governor General and Council obtained the aſſignment of the ſovereignty paramount of the province of Benares by treaty with the Nabob Vizier of Oude, "without any encroachment,"

to

to adopt the words of the act of Council, "on the juſt rights of the Rajah, or the engagements actually ſubſiſting with him." And at the expreſs recommendation of Mr. Haſtings, by a new grant, farther privileges were conferred upon the Rajah—viz. the ſovereignty of the mint, and the rights of criminal juſtice in the laſt reſort—the Governor, in the record of this tranſaction in the council-book, making uſe of theſe remarkable words: "The Rajah of Benares, from the ſituation of his country, which is a frontier to the provinces of Oude and Bahar, may be made a ſerviceable ALLY to the Company; but, to inſure his attachment, his intereſt muſt be connected with it, which cannot be better effected than *by freeing him totally from the remains of his preſent vaſſalage, under the guarantee and protection of the Company;* and, at the ſame time, guarding him againſt any apprehenſions from this Government, by thus PLEDGING its FAITH, that no encroachment ſhall ever be made on his rights by the Company." Such were, at this period, the good-will and even generoſity of Mr. Haſtings, that he propoſed to receive the tribute of the Rajah, amounting to 260,000l. per annum, punctually and cheerfully paid in monthly aſſeſſments—not at Benares, but at Patna, the neareſt provincial ſtation, "leſt the preſence of a Reſident ſhould in any manner fruſtrate the intention of rendering the Rajah INDEPENDENT—eventually reducing him," as Mr. Haſtings's extreme ſolicitude apprehended, "to the mean and depraved ſtate of a mere zemindar *."

In this ſtate things remained till, in the year 1777, the Rajah had the misfortune to give great and mortal offence to the Governor General—an offence, however unintentional, for which his final and utter ruin only could atone. In order to comprehend the nature of his delinquency, it is neceſſary to obſerve, that in the courſe of the preceding year, 1776, Mr. Haſtings, whether actuated by motives of paſſion, caprice, or tem-

* It may be tranſiently remarked, without making any invidious application, as the time and occaſion do not coincide with theſe conceſſions and indulgencies of the new Governor, that amongſt the preſents privately received by Mr. Haſtings, and which he originally meant, as he acknowledges, for ever to conceal, but which circumſtances afterwards induced him to diſcloſe, was the ſum of 23,000l. or two lacks of rupees, from the Rajah Cheyt Sing.

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porary diſcontent, had, in his private and confidential correſpondence, authoriſed Mr. Maclean, his agent in England, to ſignify to the Court of Directors his deſire to reſign his office, and to requeſt their nomination of a ſucceſſor to the vacancy which would be thereby occaſioned in the Supreme Council. The Court, after appointing a committee to examine into the powers veſted in Mr. Maclean, unanimouſly reſolved to accept the ſaid reſignation, and named Mr. Wheeler to fill the vacancy occaſioned by the ſame. A regular notification of this acceptance was immediately tranſmitted to India, and the diſpatches were read in Council, June 19, 1777. Mr. Haſtings obſerving a profound ſilence on the ſubject of theſe diſpatches, General Clavering addreſſed a letter to him on the following day, containing a formal requiſition to the Governor General to ſurrender the keys of Fort William and of the Company's treaſury. But Mr. Haſtings, affecting ſurpriſe and indignation, peremptorily refuſed to comply with this demand—denying that his office was vacant, aſſerting that Mr. Maclean had exceeded his powers, and declaring his reſolution to maintain his authority by every legal means. General Clavering, on the contrary, conceiving the office to be irrevocably vacated, and that he himſelf had legally ſucceeded to the government, iſſued ſummonſes to the other members of the Council, Mr. Barwell and Mr. Francis, and in the preſence of Mr. Francis took the oaths as Governor General. On the other hand Mr. Haſtings, ſupported by Mr. Barwell, iſſued directions to the Commandant of the garriſon of Fort William, to the Provincial Councils, and to the officers on the different military ſtations, enjoining them, at their peril, to obey no orders but ſuch as ſhould be ſigned by him or a majority of his Council. Sir John Clavering, perceiving that Mr. Haſtings was determined rather to riſque a civil war than to reſign the government, propoſed a reference to the Supreme Court of Judicature; to which Mr. Haſtings, confiding in the *known integrity* of Sir Elijah Impey, readily conſenting, a deciſion was given in favor of Mr. Haſtings.

But this judicial confirmation of his authority by no means ſatisfied the haughty and revengeful ſpirit of the Governor. Omitting, therefore,

fore, to ſummon Sir John Clavering and Mr. Francis to the next meeting of Council; the Governor, ſupported by the faithful Barwell, entered in the council-book a formal reſolve, importing, "that General Clavering having USURPED the Preſidency of Bengal, had thereby relinquiſhed and vacated the office of Senior Counſellor and Commander in Chief of the Company's Forces—and that, for the preſervation of the legality of their proceedings, the ſaid General Clavering be not in future ſummoned or admitted as a Member of the Council." This reſolve was notified to Sir John Clavering, and iſſued in general orders to the officers civil and military of the three provinces. At the enſuing meeting of Council, Mr. Francis moved the reverſal of theſe proceedings; but Mr. Haſtings declared his determination to adhere to them, ſaying, "That they were not the precipitate effects of an inſtant and paſſionate impulſe; but the fruits of long and *temperate deliberation*, and of the ſtricteſt ſenſe of public duty." The Chief Juſtice Impey having his reaſons for declining to ſupport the Governor in this exerciſe of his PUBLIC DUTY, Mr. Haſtings thought proper to move a ſubſequent reſolution in Council, conformably to the advice of the Judges, "That all parties be replaced in the ſame ſituation in which they ſtood before the receipt of the laſt advices from England."

Thus terminated this extraordinary buſineſs: but, moſt unfortunately for the Rajah Cheyt Sing, on the firſt intelligence of General Clavering's advancement to the government, he had, with officious complaiſance, deputed a *vakeel*, or ambaſſador, to congratulate the new Governor on his acceſſion. This, Mr. Haſtings, in his ſubſequent juſtification, urges as a preſumptive proof of the Rajah's diſaffection to the Engliſh Government; and the affront thus offered to him appears to have rankled in his proud and malignant mind, till he found a fit opportunity for gratifying his dire revenge. Conſcious of his unlimited and uncontrollable power, the Governor propoſed in Council, July 9th, 1778, Sir John Clavering being now deceaſed, "That the Rajah of Benares ſhould *conſent* to the eſtabliſhment of three battalions of ſepoys, to be raiſed and maintained at his own expence;" and, notwithſtanding the alarm of the

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Rajah at the firſt intimation of this deſign, and the vigorous oppoſition of Mr. Francis and Mr. Wheeler, the reſolve was carried into effect by the caſting vote of the Governor. The ſum of five lacks of rupees, which was ſuppoſed to be equivalent to the expence of raiſing the three battalions, was demanded of the Rajah to be paid in ſpecie within five days; and in caſe of non-compliance, the Reſident Fowke was peremptorily enjoined to refrain from all further intercourſe with him. The affrighted Rajah paid the money without delay or heſitation. But the ſame demand being renewed the following year, he ventured to remind the Governor in a moſt reſpectful letter, "that he was encouraged to believe the former demand would not be drawn into precedent. I am therefore hopeful," ſaid he, "you will be kindly pleaſed to excuſe me the five lacks now demanded, and that nothing may be demanded of me beyond the amount expreſſed in the *pottah*." In reply to this ſubmiſſive application, the Governor repeated his demand that the Rajah ſhould, without evaſion or delay, pay the five lacks of rupees—in caſe of his refuſal informing him that meaſures would be taken to oblige him to a compliance. The third year the ſame demand being made, the Rajah again entreated a remiſſion, but without effect; and as a puniſhment for his *continued contumacy* the Governor General, of his own authority, impoſed upon him an additional fine or mulct of 10,000l. Theſe outrages failing to produce the effect intended on the mild and timid temper of the Rajah, a ſudden demand was made, in addition to the tribute and ſubſidy, to provide a body of 2000 cavalry for the ſervice of the Company. It was in vain that the Rajah proteſted he had no more than 1300 horſe in his ſervice; 500 of which, and 500 burkundaſſes or match-lock men, ſhould be ready to march to whatever place they ſhould be ſent. Mr. Haſtings deigned no anſwer whatever to this repreſentation, but declared, "that he was determined to convert the faults of the Rajah into a public benefit—that he would exact the ſum of 500,000l. as a puniſhment for his breach of engagements and other acts of miſconduct—and that if the Rajah ſhould refuſe the demand he would deprive him of his government."

Mr. Barwell

Mr. Barwell and Mr. Francis having by this time returned to England, and Mr. Wheeler only remaining in Council, the ſole power and reſponſibility of Government centred in the perſon of Mr. Haſtings. For the purpoſe of executing more effectually theſe preconcerted deſigns, the Governor determined upon a journey to Benares; previous to which he veſted in himſelf, by a formal act, the entire powers of the Supreme Council. At the eve of his departure, however, he condeſcended to inform Mr. Wheeler, "that the offences of the Rajah required puniſhment; and as his wealth was great, and the Company's exigencies preſſing, it was a meaſure of policy and juſtice to exact from him a large pecuniary mulct for their relief."

On the entrance of the Governor General into the province, he was met by the Rajah in perſon with a magnificent attendance. Nevertheleſs, to ſhew his confidence in the juſtice of the Governor, he entered alone the pinnace in which the Governor had proceeded up the Ganges, and, in a lowly and ſuppliant manner, putting his turban in his lap, entreated his favor. He was, however, repulſed with great arrogance; and, on the arrival of the Governor at Benares, he received an injunction from Mr. Haſtings not to enter his preſence without his permiſſion.

On the ſucceeding day, the Governor ſent articles of accuſation in writing to the Rajah, importing, 1. That he had endeavored to excite diſorders in the Government on which he depended. 2. That he had ſuffered with impunity the perpetration of robberies and murders, even in the ſtreets of Benares, to the great and public ſcandal of the Engliſh name. 3. That he had delayed the payment of the ſums required of him for the Company's ſervice: and, 4. That he had not complied with the demand of cavalry—all of which amounted, as the Governor aſſerted, to a direct charge of diſaffection and *infidelity* to the Government on which the Rajah depended—And to theſe articles of impeachment he demanded an immediate anſwer. On the evening of the ſame day, the Rajah ſent in his defence, denying, in the moſt poſitive manner, the truth of the aforeſaid articles. "My enemies," ſaid he, "with a

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view to my ruin, have made falſe repreſentations to you. Now that, *happily for me*, you have yourſelf arrived at this place, you will be able to aſcertain all the circumſtances: 1. relative to the horſe; 2. to my people going to Calcutta; 3. the dates of the receipts of the particular ſums above mentioned. I have never ſwerved in the ſmalleſt degree from my duty to you. It remains with you to decide on all theſe matters. I am in every thing your ſlave. What is juſt I have repreſented to you. May your proſperity increaſe!" At this reply the Governor expreſſed great wrath, declaring it to be leſs a vindication of the Rajah than a recrimination on him; and that it was couched in terms of defiance, manifeſting a dangerous ſpirit of independency.

In conſequence of the Rajah's offenſive and audacious conduct, Mr. Haſtings conceived himſelf obliged to adopt ſome deciſive plan—and an order was therefore immediately iſſued to put the Rajah under an arreſt in his own palace. To this indignity the Rajah, ſhocked as he appeared to be, ſubmitted with the moſt paſſive humility: "He hoped," he ſaid, "that the Governor would allow him a ſubſiſtence in conſideration of his father's ſervices—but as for his zemindary, his forts and his treaſures, he was ready to lay them at his feet, and his life if required." Being at once dejected with the ignominy, and diſmayed with the danger of his ſituation, ſurrounded by a guard of ſepoys with their ſwords drawn, he wrote to the Governor—"Whatever be your pleaſure, do it with your own hands. I am your ſlave. What occaſion can there be for a guard? It depends on you alone to take away, or not to take away, the country. out of my hands."

The higheſt alarm and aſtoniſhment being excited in the city of Benares by this arreſt of the Rajah, great numbers of people aſſembled round the palace, nor could the earneſt and repeated entreaties of their Prince reſtrain them from acts of violence—and believing the perſon of the Rajah, who was much beloved by his ſubjects, to be expoſed to extreme hazard, they at length broke through the encloſure, and falling ſuddenly upon the guard of ſepoys and Engliſh officers, nearly the whole

whole were cut to pieces. In the tumult the Rajah made his eſcape over the walls of his palace by means of a cord formed of turbans tied together; and, croſſing the Ganges in a boat, fled to a place of refuge, whence he directed a ſuppliant letter to Mr. Haſtings, to which the Governor affirmed "he did not think it becoming him to reply." On the contrary, leaving Benares with precipitation, he ordered the Rajah's troops to be every where attacked, as if the Rajah had been in avowed and open rebellion. So inconſiderable, notwithſtanding, was the force by which he was attended, that the Governor acknowledged the fate of the Britiſh empire in India to be expoſed, by theſe daring, or, to ſpeak more properly, theſe raſh and frantic meaſures, to the moſt imminent danger; for the fate of the empire he ſuppoſed, at this critical moment, to be cloſely connected with that of his own perſon. "Mean as its ſubſtance may be, its accidental qualities," ſays the Governor General, "were equivalent to thoſe which, like the characters of a taliſman in the Arabian mythology, formed the eſſence of the State itſelf." By a confeſſion humiliating in proportion to its truth he declares, "*that* EVERY STATE *around would have* RISEN IN ARMS *againſt the* ENGLISH; *and* EVERY SUBJECT *of their own dominion would, according to their ſeveral abilities, have become an* ENEMY." Theſe few lines contain perhaps the bittereſt ſatire ever written upon any government, or upon any ſyſtem of deſpotiſm and oppreſſion that has impudently aſſumed the name.

The troops in the province of Benares being, however, quickly reinforced, the territories of the Rajah were completely reduced. The Rajah having himſelf made his eſcape to the camp of the Mahrattas, orders were given by Mr. Haſtings to ſeize upon the fortreſs of Bidjegur, the reſidence of the Rannee Pauna, mother of Cheyt Sing, repreſented as a woman ſingularly amiable and virtuous, and againſt whom no delinquency was even pretended. The treaſures of the Rannee being very conſiderable, ſhe was deſirous to capitulate upon conditions, in order to ſave ſomething from the wreck of her fortunes. But Mr. Haſtings wrote to the commander, Major Popham, "I think every demand the Rannee has made to you, except that of ſafety and reſpect for her perſon,

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perſon, unreaſonable.—I apprehend that ſhe will contrive to *defraud* the captors of a conſiderable part of the booty, by being ſuffered to retire without examination. But this is your conſideration, and not mine. As to making any conditions with her for a proviſion, I will never conſent to it." In a ſecond letter he ſays, "If ſhe delays the ſurrender beyond the term of twenty-four hours, it is my poſitive injunction that you put a ſtop to the negotiation, *and on no account renew it*—Nor will I grant her ANY CONDITIONS WHATEVER; but leave her expoſed to thoſe dangers ſhe has choſen to riſque, rather than truſt to the CLEMENCY and GENEROSITY of *our* Government."

The caſtle being accordingly ſurrendered within the time ſpecified, the articles of the capitulation, by which an allowance of 15 per cent. was reſerved to the Rannee, were nevertheleſs ſhamefully and outrageouſly broken, the perſon of the Rannee and her attendants groſsly inſulted, and their effects plundered. Notwithſtanding the efforts and repreſentations of Major Popham, the commander, a man of humanity and honor, no redreſs was obtained from the Governor, who, now wholly intent upon the vindication of his conduct, evidently reſulting from the moſt obdurate pride and ſteadfaſt hate, had cauſed a great number of affidavits and depoſitions, aiming to prove the exiſtence of a conſpiracy againſt the Engliſh Government, to be taken by Sir Elijah Impey, who *happened* at this time, in the courſe of *an excurſion for the benefit of his health*, to be fortunately reſident at Benares.

In his ſubſequent famous narrative of this tranſaction to the Court of Directors, Mr. Haſtings heſitated not to aſſert, "that the Rajah of Benares had no claim to the title or privileges of a Prince—that the deeds which paſſed between him and the Board upon the transfer of the zemindary in 1775 were not to be underſtood to bear the quality and force of a treaty between equal States—that the payments to be made by him were not a tribute, but a rent—that, being nothing more than a *common zemindar*, he owed a perſonal allegiance and *an implicit and unreſerved obedience* to the authority of the Company, at the forfeiture of his

his zemindary, and even of his life and property*." Conceiving it poſſible, nevertheleſs, that theſe extraordinary poſitions might ſtagger the faith of ſome perverſe or ſceptical perſons, he thought proper to ſubjoin an argument which could not fail to operate in his favor, viz. "That, if he *had* acted with an unwarrantable rigor, and even INJUSTICE, towards Cheyt Sing; yet, firſt, if he did believe that extraordinary means were neceſſary, and thoſe exerted with a ſtrong hand, to preſerve the Company's intereſts from ſinking under the accumulated weight that oppreſſed them—or, 2dly, if he ſaw a political neceſſity for curbing the overgrown power of a great member of their dominion, and to make it contribute to the relief of their preſſing exigences—that his error would be excuſable, as prompted by an *exceſs of zeal* for the Company's intereſt operating with too ſtrong a bias upon his judgment.

After the depoſition of the Rajah Cheyt Sing, Mr. Haſtings, in virtue of the commiſſion with which he had inveſted himſelf, exerciſed an au-

* Perhaps the records of hiſtory do not exhibit a poſition more enormouſly extravagant, that that the ſovereign of a province in the interior parts of Hindoſtan, exerciſing the powers of government over a happy and conſenting people, ſhould owe *implicit and unreſerved obedience* to a company of traders inhabiting a *barbarous iſland* on the other ſide of the globe. In vindication of the arbitrary and exceſſive fine of 500,000l. impoſed by Mr. Haſtings on the Rajah, the Governor, in his MINUTES of DEFENCE, pretends, "that, notwithſtanding the privileges guarantied to the Rajah, the *right of fine* was expreſsly reſerved to the Company:"—and he affirms this right to be woven into the texture of the Mogul Government. If ſo, it is evident that all ſtipulations for the payment of a ſpecific tribute are trifling and ridiculous. But his authorities moſt egregiouſly fail him. 1. He tells us that the Vizier Sujah ul Dowla levied a fine on the death of the father for the inveſtiture of the ſon.—True: but the agreement was, in this caſe, on both ſides optional—the zemindary or principality not being hereditary in the family of Bulwant Sing till ſo declared by the ſubſequent treaty of 1773. 2. He alleges, that when the right of the mint was transferred to the Rajah, it was articled, that the proper weight and ſtandard ſhould be preſerved by the Rajah, under pain of forfeiting the mint, and being *liable to any penalty* the Board might think proper to impoſe. But in this, as in the former inſtance, the Rajah voluntarily accepted the grant with the condition annexed. Yet from theſe premiſes Mr. Haſtings prepoſterouſly infers, that the enormous fine arbitrarily impoſed by him was "conſonant to the engagements between the Company and the Rajah."

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thority over the province of Benares nothing leſs than deſpotic. Setting aſide all former agreements, although evidently made with the Rajahs not in their perſonal but political capacity, he increaſed the tribute, or ſtated rent-charge, from 260,000 to 400,000l. per annum. Having beſtowed the government on a youth called Mehip Narrain, a deſcendant by the mother from the Rajah Bulwant Sing; he, in addition to the tribute, impoſed ſuch heavy and grievous duties on merchandize, as threatened the abſolute annihilation of their commerce; charging moreover penſions on the revenues of the province, and ſending large bodies of troops into the territory of Benares, to be maintained by the oppreſſed and impoveriſhed inhabitants.

The father of the new Rajah, Durbitzee Sing, who was appointed guardian and adminiſtrator to his ſon, was by Mr. Haſtings in a ſhort time depoſed from his office, on a vague and general charge of mal-adminiſtration and DEFICIENCY in his PAYMENTS, and thrown into priſon. His property being confiſcated, and his perſon endangered, he in a ſhort time died, overwhelmed with diſtreſs and ruin.

"When a new ſyſtem was to be formed with the ſucceſſor of Cheyt Sing," ſays Mr. Haſtings, "I ſaw no objection to making the Company's intereſts my *firſt principle of action.* The eaſy accumulation of too much wealth had been Cheyt Sing's ruin. It had buoyed him up with extravagant and ill-founded notions of independency, which I much wiſhed to diſcourage in the future Rajah. Some part, therefore, of the ſuperabundant produce of the country I turned into the coffers of the Sovereign, i. e. the Company, by an augmentation of the tribute."

Here the grand object of the Britiſh Government in India, as adminiſtered by Mr. Haſtings, is openly and undiſguiſedly avowed—*The filling the Company's coffers with money* was by him held to be the *firſt principle of action.* Happy would it indeed have been for the inhabitants of Hindoſtan, if even this abominable and infamous principle had been

been purſued by rational and politic means, ſuch as would have ſecured, unimpaired, the *ſources of proſperity*, though for the mere purpoſe of ſubſequent plunder and emolument.

On the depoſition of Durbitzee Sing from the regency, a man of obſcure origin, one Jagher Deo Sheo, was exalted to this dangerous pre-eminence. This new miniſter, warned by the fate of his predeceſſor, extorted the tribute money and other duties impoſed by the Governor, with the moſt rigorous ſeverity. The trade and cultivation of the province having in a ſhort time declined in an incredible degree, the Reſident at Benares declared to the Board at Calcutta, that the collection of the revenue was become very difficult. But of this fact the Governor General himſelf gave the moſt deciſive atteſtation. Paſſing through the province of Benares, in his progreſs to Lucknow, in the ſpring of 1784, he declares, in a letter addreſſed to the Council at Calcutta, "that he was *fatigued* with the clamors of the diſcontented inhabitants. Though the drought of the preceding ſummer might contribute to heighten the diſtreſs, the Governor acknowledges there is reaſon to believe that the cauſe exiſted principally in a defective, if not corrupt and oppreſſive, adminiſtration. The avowed principle, ſays he, on which the preſent Adminiſtration acts, is, that the whole ſum fixed for the revenue of the province *muſt* be collected, and that the deficiency ariſing in places where the crops have failed, muſt be ſupplied from the reſources of others where the induſtry of the cultivators has been more ſucceſsfully exerted.

"In the management of the cuſtoms, the exorbitant rates exacted by an arbitrary valuation of the goods, the practice of exacting duties twice on the ſame goods, firſt from the ſeller, and afterwards from the buyer, and the vexatious diſputes and delays drawn on the merchants by theſe oppreſſions, were loudly complained of. Under ſuch circumſtances, we are not to wonder if the merchants of foreign countries are diſcouraged from reſorting to Benares.

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"One evil I muſt mention, becauſe it has been verified by my own obſervation, and is of that kind which reflects an UNMERITED REPROACH on our general and national character. When I was at Buxar, the Reſident, at my deſire, enjoined the Naib to appoint creditable people to every town through which our route lay, to *perſuade and encourage* the inhabitants to remain in their houſes, promiſing to give them guards, as I approached, for their protection.—But to my great diſappontment, I found every place through which I paſſed ABANDONED. I am ſorry to add, that from Buxar to the oppoſite boundary, I have ſeen NOTHING but TRACES of COMPLETE DEVASTATION in EVERY VILLAGE.—I cannot help remarking, that, except the city of Benares, the province is in effect without a government. The adminiſtration of the province is miſconducted, and the people oppreſſed; trade diſcouraged, and the revenue in danger of a rapid decline from the violent appropriation of its means."

Such is the picture, drawn by the hand of the maſter artiſt, of the bleſſed effects of Britiſh Government in India!—In order to remedy theſe evils, the Governor propoſed to eject the new Adminiſtrator from his office; which was ſoon afterwards accordingly done, and a temporary Adminiſtration for the government of the province ſubſtituted, without however making any proviſion for a reduction of taxes, or a remiſſion of tribute. The oppreſſion of Jagher Deo Sheo being doubtleſs, in the eyes of the Governor, a crime of much leſs magnitude than the impunctuality of his predeceſſor Durbitzee Sing, he eſcaped with a ſimple diſmiſſion, without incurring the penalties of fine, impriſonment, and death.

If the conduct of Mr. Haſtings in relation to the province of Benares ſhould be deemed liable to ſerious exception, it is to be feared that an examination of his ſyſtem of policy reſpecting the Vizieriate of Oude, a far more extenſive ſcene of operation, will tend but little to redeem his character. It muſt ſuffice, for this is not a profeſſed hiſtory of the adminiſtration of Mr. Haſtings, lightly to touch upon a few leading points of this too fertile topic.

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The terms of the treaty concluded in the year 1765 with the Vizier Sujah ul Dowla, by the late Lord Clive, left that great and powerful province in a conſiderable meaſure dependent upon the Company. From this fatal period the decay and deſolation of the Vizieriate commenced. For to come into contact with the Engliſh Government, ſeemed univerſally and inſtantly to produce a ſort of political paralyſis. The annual revenue, which was eſtimated at more than three millions, had ſunk in the year 1779 to leſs than one million and a half. The Vizier had contracted to maintain at his own expence a brigade of the Company's troops in his ſervice, for ſo long time as he might deem them neceſſary for the defence of his country. But the Court of Directors, in their letter to the Governor and Council of the 15th of December 1775, expreſsly ſay, "If you intend to exert your influence, firſt to induce the Vizier to acquieſce in your propoſal, and afterwards to compel him to keep the troops in his pay during your pleaſure, your intents are unjuſt, and a correſpondent conduct would reflect great diſhonor on the Company." But Mr. Haſtings had long learnt to hold the orders of his ſuperiors in contempt, and to ſet their authority at defiance. The Nabob Aſoph ul Dowla, who had ſucceeded his father in the Vizieriate, February 1775, making very earneſt ſupplication to be relieved from this burden, which the reduced ſtate of his revenue rendered him utterly unable to ſupport; Mr. Haſtings without heſitation declared "the relief deſired to be totally inadmiſſible;"—farther affirming, "that the *tone* in which the demands of the Nabob were aſſerted, gave cauſe for the moſt alarming ſuſpicions;" though it is difficult to conceive how language more ſubmiſſive and humble could have been adopted.

"During three years (ſays the Nabob) the expence occaſioned by the troops in brigade, and others commanded by European officers, has much diſtreſſed the ſupport of my houſehold, inſomuch that the allowances made to the ſeraglio and chiklren of the deceaſed Nabob have been reduced to one-fourth of what it had been. The attendants and ſervants of my court have received no pay for two years paſt, and applications from my father's private creditors are daily preſſing upon me.

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All these difficulties I have for three years struggled through, and found this consolation therein, that it was complying with the pleasure of the Honorable Company, and in the hope that the Supreme Council would make enquiry, from impartial persons, into my distressed situation: but I am now FORCED to a representation. From the great increase of expence, the revenues were necessarily farmed out at a high rate, and deficiencies followed yearly. The country and cultivation are ABANDONED; and as to the European troops, the Nabob declares that they brought nothing but confusion into the affairs of his government, and were entirely their own masters."

Far from being moved by these representations, the Governor General declared, in his instructions transmitted to the Resident Purling at the court of Lucknow, "that the Nabob stands engaged to our Government to maintain the English armies formed for the protection of his dominions, and that it was OUR part, and not HIS, to judge and determine in what manner and at what time these shall be reduced and withdrawn." And in a minute of consultation on this subject, at the Council Board, Mr. Hastings asserted "that the arrangement of measures between the British Government and the native Powers of India must, in case of disagreement about the necessity thereof, be decided by the STRONGEST."

This being his avowed system of policy, it can excite no wonder that the government and country of Oude should proceed, with rapid and accelerated progress, to the extremity of political distress and ruin. Mr. Hastings himself, towards the close of his administration, thus, in a minute of Council, expresses his situation of the Vizier:—"Our alliance has proved the extinction of his sovereignty, and the impoverishment of his country and revenue."

In the year 1781, a commission of delegation having been executed at Calcutta, investing Mr. Hastings with the entire powers of the Supreme Council, the Governor General resolved to visit the province in person.

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At a meeting which took place at Chunar, on the confines of Benares, a ſecret treaty was concluded by the Governor with the Vizier, containing ſeveral articles of an extraordinary nature; and it has been ſaid, that no treaty ever contained ſo much treachery in ſo ſmall a compaſs. By this time the claims upon the Nabob, on various grounds and pretences, aroſe to the enormous ſum of 2,785,000l. ſterling, which was conſiderably more than two years nett produce of the Nabob's revenues. In order to liquidate this debt, Mr. Haſtings urged the Nabob, and an article to this effect was inſerted in the treaty of Chunar, to a general reſumption of the jaghires, or government aſſignments upon land, throughout the province, to the amount of many hundred thouſand pounds annual rent, including the proviſions made by the former Nabob-Viziers for the princes of their blood, and the antient friends and dependents of their family. The eſtates thus confiſcated were re-let on rack rents and at the ſame time mortgaged to rich bankers of Benares, to ſupply the immediate wants of the Engliſh Government.

A GIFT from the Vizier of 100,000l. was alſo at this period accepted by Mr. Haſtings; which being, as he confeſſed, a ſum of too great magnitude to be concealed, he, after ſome deliberation, thought proper to appriſe the Court of Directors of this violation of *their* commands, and of his *own oath*. But he nevertheleſs had the preſumption to expreſs his hope "that, in conſideration of his long and faithful ſervices, and the ſums he had expended from his private fortune upon their account, they would permit him to apply this donation to his own uſe."

The confuſion and diſtreſs conſequent on the late violent expedient of reſumption, and other devices of extortion, it is impoſſible in adequate terms to deſcribe. The whole fabric of civil government ſeemed to totter, and verge upon annihilation and anarchy. The regular authority of the magiſtracy, and the adminiſtration of juſtice, totally ceaſed; and no power was viſible but that of the farmers of the revenue, attended by bodies of troops to enforce the collections. The country was declared by one of the Nabob's miniſters to be "a ſpeaking picture

of

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of famine and woe." "From the total want of police," ſays the Reſident Briſtow, "hardly a day eſcapes but I am informed of ſome tragical event, whereof the bare recital is ſhocking to humanity:" and he confeſſes that his feelings are ſenſibly hurt, and his compaſſion ſtrongly excited, by the diſgraceful and miſerable ſtate of poverty to which the brothers of the Nabob are reduced. From three of theſe princes, Mirza Ali, Mirza Hyder, and Mirza Sief, the Reſident received an affecting repreſentation, or memorial, in which they ſay, "Our ſituation is not fit to be told—For two years we have not received an *hubba* on account of our *tuncaw* (aſſignment on the revenue). It is ſurpriſing, having ſuch a friend as you, our ſituation is arrived at that paſs that we ſhould be in diſtreſs for bread and clothing—YET we are the SONS of Sujah ul Dowla!" But the heart of Mr. Haſtings never in any inſtance counteracted the deſigns of his head, and the wretched inhabitants of Oude were deſtined to ſee yet greater abominations than theſe.

The mother and wife of the late Nabob kept their court at the city of Fyzabad, where, after the cuſtom of the Eaſt, they lived in much magnificence, having the charge of educating the numerous offſpring of the deceaſed ſovereign, and of maintaining a houſehold conſiſting of 2000 perſons. To ſupport this vaſt expence, the Nabob had left them a large proportion of his treaſures, and had ſettled upon them *jaghires* ſuitable to their high rank and dignity, and to the importance of the truſt committed to them; ſolemnly and earneſtly recommending at the ſame time the intereſts of his family to the guardian care and protection of the Company, by whom their poſſeſſions had been ſubſequently and authentically guarantied. By the treaty of Chunar, nevertheleſs, the preſent Nabob was authoriſed by Mr. Haſtings to ſeize upon the jaghires, or landed eſtates, of theſe illuſtrious relatives, and to allow them *penſions* equal to the amount; and this the Governor pretended was conformable to the Mahommedan law *. The Nabob appearing nevertheleſs manifeſtly reluctant

* Soon after the deceaſe of Sujah ul Dowla, a diſpute aroſe between Aſoph ul Dowla his ſucceſſor, and the Begums his relations, reſpecting the proportion of treaſure which legally appertained

tant to carry this odious project into execution, Mr. Haſtings ſignified his pleaſure to *his own* Reſident at Lucknow, Mr. Middleton, "that as this meaſure originated with the Engliſh, and was intended for their benefit, the execution was to be FORCED upon him,"—although the expreſs words of the treaty of Chunar were merely, "that the Nabob be *permitted* to reſume ſuch jaghires as he may think neceſſary."

In order to impart ſome color of juſtice to this outrage, depoſitions the moſt futile and ridiculous were, as recently at Benares, extra-judicially made before Sir Elijah Impey, who unexpectedly preſented himſelf in the courſe of his progreſs, after leaving Benares, firſt at Chunar, then at Lucknow. For this magiſtrate ſo miſerably degraded his character and ſtation, as to become a principal agent in this buſineſs. And ſuch was the ſilent celerity of his movements, that the Chief Juſtice has been with humorous alluſion compared to the Ghoſt in Hamlet, exclaiming in almoſt every quarter at the ſame inſtant, "SWEAR!" Theſe affidavits, founded on vague and incoherent rumors, were deſigned to prove, that the Princeſſes of Oude fomented the inſurrection at Benares, and were even engaged in a plot for the dethronement of their own ſon, and the utter extirpation of the Engliſh nation. Very little ſtreſs, however, was at this criſis placed by Mr. Haſtings on the validity of theſe proofs,

appertained to them; and the Board of Calcutta, taking cognizance of this matter, unanimouſly decided (Sir John Clavering, Colonel Monſon, and Mr. Francis, then ſitting at the Board) that by the Mahommedan law the Princeſſes were entitled only to the property of their huſbands within the zenana or ſeraglio where they reſided. The Begums cheerfully acquieſced in this deciſion; in conſequence of which, a vaſt ſum was refunded by them, and their remaining treaſure ſecured by a formal guarantee, in which Mr. Haſtings concurred, though, as he inſinuates, without reſponſibility, "being then an inefficient member of the Board." But for Mr. Haſtings to appeal to the KORAN as a ſanction for his ſubſequent enormities, is, to adopt the language of Mr. Sheridan, in his famous ſpeech of February 7, 1787, "as if there were ſomething in the inſtitutions of Mahommed, that made it meritorious for a Chriſtian to be a ſavage—that rendered it criminal to treat the inhabitants of India with humanity or mercy—that even made it impious in a ſon not to plunder his mother!"

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which were evidently calculated to anſwer a different and diſtant purpoſe *.

"Your pleaſure," ſays Mr. Middleton, "reſpecting the Begums I have learnt from Sir Elijah Impey.—Finding the Nabob wavering in his determination about the reſumption of the jaghires, I this day ordered the neceſſary *perwannahs* for that purpoſe. But before they were tranſcribed, I received a meſſage from the Nabob, entreating that I would withhold them till the morning. As it is poſſible that the Nabob, ſeeing the buſineſs will at all events be done, may make it an act of his own, I have conſented to *indulge* him in this requeſt."

The Nabob at length iſſued his *perwannahs*, but with extreme reluctance, and, to uſe the language of Mr. Middleton, "after much trifling evaſion and puerile excuſes;"—the irreſiſtible effuſions, no doubt, of that natural affection which it is ſo difficult totally to eradicate from the human heart, but which by men hardened in villany is regarded as fond and childiſh imbecility. "At the ſame time the Nabob declared," ſays Mr. Middleton, "both to me and his miniſters, that it was an ACT of COMPULSION."

In a ſubſequent letter Mr. Middleton informs the Governor, that the Vizier, wiſhing to evade the meaſure of reſumption, ſuggeſted to him,

* Major Marſack, in the courſe of his examination at the bar of the Houſe of Commons, May 8, 1786, being aſked whether there was any reaſon to believe that the Begums had, in conjunction with other powers, formed a plan for the extirpation of the Engliſh, anſwered, "that ſuch a thing was too abſurd to be credited by any perſon knowing the poſition of affairs at that time in India." He acknowledged, "that a univerſal diſaffection prevailed throughout all the provinces of Oude, owing to the meaſures of our Government, and the unheard-of oppreſſions of Colonel Hannay, the commander of the Engliſh troops; the effects of which appeared in deſerted villages and uncultivated tracts of land from one end of the country to the other.—That on Colonel Hannay's departure for Benares, the inhabitants aroſe in a tumultuous manner; and he profeſſed his belief that all men under their ſituation and circumſtances, who poſſeſſed the feelings and ſpirit of men, would have extirpated us if in their power."

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that the debt of the Company might be better and more expeditiously liquidated by taking the amount at once from the treasures left by his father. With all the eager rapacity of a bird of prey, which in the act of seizing with out-stretched beak its helpless quarry aims to grasp another victim also in its talons, Mr. Hastings, still insisting upon the resumption of the jaghires, declared his resolution also to seize the treasures; enjoining upon the Agent Middleton, under menaces of a dreadful responsibility, the execution of this barbarous act, in the following peremptory terms:—"You yourself must be personally present. You must not allow any negotiation or forbearance, but must prosecute BOTH SERVICES until the Begums are at the entire mercy of the Nabob." In conformity to this order, the British Resident, at the head of a body of troops, accompanied by the terrified Vizier, marched to Fyzabad, and with little or no resistance stormed first the town and then the castle. The chief officers of the household, the eunuchs Jewar Ali Khan and Bahar Ali Khan, persons of distinguished rank, who had been in high trust and favor with the late Nabob, were ignominiously thrust into confinement, in order to extort from them the discovery of the treasures and effects committed to their care. In consequence of these severities, the Bhow Begum, i. e. the mother princess, at length consented to the surrender of her treasures, hid in the most secret recesses of the palace, to the amount of the bond debt due from the Nabob to the Company. But avarice is insatiable as the grave. Another demand of 120,000l. was made for the balance pretended to be due *since* the execution of the bond: and to enforce compliance, the two eunuchs were, by order of the Resident Middleton, committed to close custody, put in irons, and kept from all food. To raise this sum, great part of the furniture of the palaces, the jewels and other effects of the Begums, even to the wardrobe, were disposed of by public sale.

Fully apprised of the distressful situation of the Princesses, Mr. Hastings could, nevertheless, write at this period to the Resident Middleton as follows:—"The Nabob having consented to the resumption of the jaghires held by the Begums, and to the confiscation of their treasures, and

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thereby involved my own name, and the CREDIT of the COMPANY, in a participation of both meaſures, I have a right to require and inſiſt on the complete execution of them, and I look to you for their execution, declaring that I hold you accountable for it *."

It may eaſily be imagined, that the penſions allotted to the Begums and other Jagheerdars, in lieu of their jaghires, would be very ill and defectively paid. In the month of March, 1782, the officer on duty at Fyzabad, Major Gilpin, wrote to the Reſident:—"The women belonging to the Khord Mohul, or leſſer palace, are in want of every neceſſary of life, and are driven to that deſperation, that they threaten to throw themſelves from the walls of the zenana." In a ſubſequent letter it is ſaid, "The women in the zenana aſſembled laſt night on the tops of the building, crying in a moſt lamentable manner for food."—And in a third letter—"The repeated cries of the women for ſubſiſtence have been truly melancholy. They beg moſt piteouſly for liberty, that they may earn their daily bread by laborious ſervitude, or to be releaſed from their miſery by immediate death." At length the Company's Reſident, Mr. Briſtow, ventured, of his own authority, very little to the ſatisfaction of Mr. Haſtings, to order the removal of the troops, and the releaſe of the priſoners Bahar and Jewar Ali Khan, who had now been confined and in irons for near twelve months. "The quivering lips," ſays the Commander of the troops at Fyzabad, ſpeaking of their enlargement, "and the tears of joy ſtealing down the poor men's cheeks, was a ſcene truly affecting."

* Mr. Haſtings has indeed in his defence alleged, that he was *ignorant* of many tranſactions imputed to him reſpecting this buſineſs. But of thoſe which were in any degree material to ſubſtantiate the charge of criminality, he could NOT plead ignorance. "If Mr. Middleton did not give him an exact account of the groans that were heaved, the tears that were ſhed, the weight of the fetters, or the depth of the dungeon, he ſtated," ſays Mr. Sheridan (vide his ſpeech June 1788), "every important ſtep that was taken in the progreſs and winding up of this relentleſs tragedy." In fact, nothing of moment was done without the expreſs command of Mr. Haſtings; for even Mr. Middleton, "a fellow by the hand of Nature marked to do a deed of ſhame," diſcovered no ſymptoms of alacrity in the execution of his direful commiſſion.

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The diſtreſſes of the zenana nevertheleſs ſtill continued, and the women, breaking by frantic violence the ſacred bounds of the palace, exhibited themſelves in this ſtate of degradation and deſpair to the aſtoniſhed inhabitants of Fyzabad, in the public bazar or market-place of that great and populous city. But after this act of deſperation they do not appear to have been permitted to ſuffer equal extremity.

In a letter from the Bhow Begum to the Reſident Briſtow, this unfortunate princeſs ſays: "An accuſation was framed againſt me, which I had never conceived even in idea, of rendering aſſiſtance to Rajah Cheyt Sing. Having ſeized my head eunuchs, Jewar Ali Khan and Bahar Ali Khan, they obliged them to ſign a bond for ſixty lacks of rupees. They were thrown into priſon with fetters about their feet, and denied food and water. I, who had never even in my dreams experienced ſuch an oppreſſion, gave up all I had to preſerve my honor and dignity.—My ſufferings did not terminate here. The diſturbances of Colonel Hannay and Mr. Gordon were made a pretence for ſeizing my jaghire. The ſtate of the matter is this: When Colonel Hannay was by Mr. Haſtings ordered to march to Benares, during the troubles of Cheyt Sing, the Colonel, *who had plundered the whole country*, was incapable of proceeding from the union of thouſands of zemindars, who had ſeized this favorable opportunity. They haraſſed Mr. Gordon near Junivard, and oppoſed his march. Mr. Gordon forded the river upon his elephant. In the mean time a letter was received by me from Colonel Hannay, deſiring me to eſcort Mr. Gordon to Fyzabad. As my friendſhip for the Engliſh was always ſincere, I readily complied, and ſent ſome companies of Nejeebs to eſcort Mr. Gordon and all his effects to Fyzabad; where having provided for his entertainment, I effected his junction with Colonel Hannay. The letters of thanks I received from both theſe gentlemen are ſtill in my poſſeſſion. But is it not extraordinary that, notwithſtanding the juſtneſs of my cauſe, nobody relieves my misfortunes?"

In the letter of Colonel Hannay, referred to by the Begum, that officer,

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in the oriental phraſeology, ſays: "Begum Saib of exalted dignity! Your exalting letter, fraught with grace and benevolence, I had the honor to receive in a fortunate moment. Your faithful ſervant repoſeth his moſt unbounded hopes and expectation upon your Highneſs, that Mr. Gordon may arrive at Fyzabad without apprehenſion or danger." And Mr. Gordon expreſſes himſelf in a ſtill higher ſtrain of reſpect and gratitude—"Begum Saib of exalted dignity and generoſity! Your gracious letter, in anſwer to the petition of your ſervant from Goondah, exalted me. The welfare of your ſervant is entirely owing to your favor and benevolence. Continue to exalt and honor me with your gracious letters—May the ſun of proſperity continually ſhine!"

When the intelligence of theſe aſtoniſhing tranſactions reached the Court of Directors, that aſſembly, in which an high ſenſe of honor and virtue, *occaſionally diſcoverable*, too unavailingly contended againſt the ſuggeſtions of ambition and intereſt, ordered a letter to be written to the Governor and Council, in which they ſay, with reference to the iniquitous and enormous plan of ſeizure and reſumption, "WE HOPE and TRUST, for the honor of the Britiſh nation, that this meaſure appeared FULLY JUSTIFIED in the eyes of all Hindoſtan. It no where appears, from the papers *at preſent* in our poſſeſſion, that they, the Begums, excited any commotions previous to the impriſonment of Cheyt Sing; and only armed themſelves in conſequence of that tranſaction; and it is probable, that ſuch a conduct proceeded from motives of ſelf-defence, under an apprehenſion that they themſelves might likewiſe be laid under unwarrantable contributions." And the Court expreſsly ordered an ENQUIRY to be inſtituted into this matter, and, if the charge proved to be unfounded, that their jaghires ſhould be reſtored.

If the Directors of the Company really entertained any ſerious doubt as to the light in which this daring act of atrocity appeared in the view of the inhabitants of Hindoſtan, it would be inſtantly decided by the teſtimony of Major Brown, Mr. Haſtings's *own Reſident* at the Court of Dehli, who, in a letter addreſſed to Mr. Briſtow, Reſident at Oude,

informs him, that in a conference he had lately held with Mirza Shuffee Khan, Prime Miniſter of the Mogul, ſpeaking of the ſituation of the Begums, that Miniſter told him, "There is not a man in HINDOSTAN who will attribute the act to the Vizier of Oude, but EVERY ONE will fix the odium on the Engliſh, who might eaſily, by the influence they ſo largely exerciſe, have prevented ſuch unnatural conduct. This ſtep," he ſaid, "muſt DESTROY ALL CONFIDENCE in the Engliſh nation throughout Hindoſtan, and excite the bittereſt reſentment in all thoſe who by blood are connected with the houſe of Suſdar Jung. If," ſaid this generous Muſſulman, "the Vizier can ſo little regard his honor or his duty, as to wiſh to diſgrace his father's mother for a ſum of money, let him plunder her of all ſhe has, and ſend her ſafe to Dehli or Agra; and, poor as I am, I will furniſh ſubſiſtence for her, which ſhe ſhall poſſeſs with ſecurity, though it cannot be adequate to her rank." As to the ENQUIRY enjoined by the Court of Directors, Mr. Haſtings poſitively refuſed compliance, alleging "that it was in effect an order for the juſtification and acquittal of the Begums; and that it would be productive of evils greater than any which exiſt in the conſequences which have already taken place, and which time had almoſt obliterated. "Let us," ſaid the Governor in his minute of Council, "at leaſt permit them to be judges of their own feelings, and prefer their complaints before we offer to redreſs them. The MAJESTY of JUSTICE ought to be approached with ſolicitation, not deſcend to provoke or invite it." And wrapped in the veil of conſcious innocence, he declares with calm and intrepid countenance, "that whatever may happen of the events which he dreads, he had at leaſt this conſolation remaining, that, in the annals of the natives of India, HE ſhall not be remembered amongſt their oppreſſors."

His general ſyſtem of policy muſt therefore be preſumed in his own opinion right; yet in his diſpatch of April 30, 1784, he paſſes the ſevereſt and moſt unequivocal cenſure upon it, by recommending to the Court of Directors, "as his laſt and ultimate hope, that their wiſdom would put a final period to the ruinous and diſreputable ſyſtem of INTERFERENCE,

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FERENCE, whether avowed or ſecret." And he heſitates not to aſſert in his ſubſequent diſpatch of October 1784, a very ſhort time before his departure from India, and which may therefore be regarded as a ſort of dying confeſſion extorted by the reſiſtleſs force of truth, "that to no other purpoſes than thoſe of VENGEANCE and CORRUPTION will Agents armed with authority exerciſe their powers."

The affairs of Oude cannot with propriety be diſmiſſed, without tranſiently noticing the caſe of the province of Ferruckabad, a territory, like Benares, depending upon the Vizieriate. Ahmed Khan, late Nabob of Ferruckabad, in the war between the Vizier and the Company, had, as well as Bulwant Sing, ſhewed a marked and too partial predilection for the Engliſh intereſt. After the commencement of the ſyſtem of peace, alliance, and *ſubſidy*, the tribute due to the Vizier from this province was aſſigned over to the Engliſh in part of payment; and a *Sezawall*, i. e. a ſequeſtrator, appointed by the Vizier, at the inſtance of the Engliſh Government, in order to enforce the collection; which in conſequence of this arrangement was paid, not to the Nabob, but to the Engliſh Reſident at Oude. The effects of this plan ſoon became viſible.

In the month of May 1780, Mr. Haſtings ſtated to the Board at Calcutta the condition of the province in the following terms:—"To the total want of all order, regulation, or authority in this government, it may, among many other obvious cauſes, no doubt be owing, that the country of Ferruckabad is become an almoſt entire waſte, without cultivation or inhabitants; that the capital, which but a very ſhort time ago was diſtinguiſhed as one of the moſt populous and opulent commercial cities in Hindoſtan, at preſent exhibits nothing but ſcenes of the moſt wretched deſolation and miſery—the Nabob himſelf ſcarcely commanding the means of bare ſubſiſtence." On account of the hardſhips and indignities to which the Nabob was ſubjected by the conduct of the Sezawall, and of which he had preferred frequent complaints, Mr. Haſtings propoſed the removal of the Sequeſtrator, and the appointment of

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an Engliſh Reſident in his room, declaring "that a LOCAL INTERFERENCE was indiſpenſably neceſſary for realizing the Vizier's juſt demands." But by an article of the treaty of Chunar, in the following year, it was ſtipulated that the Engliſh Reſident be recalled. And in excuſe of his conduct, Mr. Haſtings declared to the Board of Council, "that if the Nabob of Ferruckabad, Muzuffer Jung, *muſt* endure oppreſſion, and he DARE NOT at this time propoſe his total relief, it concerns the reputation of our Government to remove *our* participation in it." As to theſe oppreſſions, however, he on another occaſion unaccountably aſſerted, that "whether they were well or ill founded, he never had an *opportunity* to aſcertain."

The Sezawall being thus reinſtated, the country was again ſubjected to the moſt ſhocking ravages, inſomuch that Mr. Haſtings himſelf, of his own authority, ordered the collector to be removed, and the territory of Ferruckabad to be left to the ſole management of its natural Prince. But of this *ſingular* act of goodneſs Mr. Haſtings afterwards complained, "that the Reſident of the Nabob Muzuffer Jung at Calcutta had the inſolence to report that it was PURCHASED." He therefore formally withdrew his protection, and the Sezawall was a third time re-appointed to his former office. "This was attended," to adopt the words of the Governor General, "with an aggravated renewal of the ſeverities formerly exerciſed;" and the Prince himſelf, in a letter addreſſed to Mr. Haſtings, ſays: "The miſeries which have fallen upon my country, and the poverty and diſtreſs which have been heaped upon me by the re-appointment of the Sezawall, are ſuch that a relation of them would, I am convinced, excite the ſtrongeſt feelings of compaſſion in your breaſt; but it is impoſſible to relate them. On the one ſide, my country ruined and uncultivated to a degree of deſolation which exceeds all deſcription: on the other, my domeſtic concerns and connections involved in ſuch a ſtate of diſtreſs and horror, that even the relations, the children and wives of my father are ſtarving in want of daily bread, and are on the point of flying voluntary exiles from the country, and from each other." This letter, written in February 1783,

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Mr. Haſtings did not lay before the Board till October following, being, as he then aſſerted, withheld from cauſes not neceſſary to mention.

He now, however, thought it once more incumbent upon him to propoſe the removal of the Sezawall, and the re-appointment of a Britiſh Reſident at Ferruckabad. But the end and purpoſe of this appointment were completely fruſtrated by a ſubſequent letter, rendering him liable to diſmiſſion at the pleaſure of the Vizier. And the Reſident Willes, a man of acknowledged probity, declared, in his letter of the 24th of April 1785, "that the ſituation of the country was more diſtreſsful than when the Nabob addreſſed himſelf for relief in 1783; and that he was ſorry to ſay that his appointment at Ferruckabad was of no uſe. Ferruckabad," ſays he, "once the ſeat of great opulence and trade, is now daily deſerted by its inhabitants—its walls mouldering away, without police, without protection. The ruin that has overtaken this country is not to be wondered at, when it is conſidered, that there has been no ſtate, no ſtable government for many years;—no authority ſufficiently predominant to eſtabliſh any regulations for the benefit of the country, whilſt each authority has been exerted, as opportunity offered, for temporary purpoſes *."

Such

* The tranſactions at Ferruckabad, which conſtitute the third article of impeachment actually exhibited againſt Mr. Haſtings at the bar of the Houſe of Lords, are there detailed with much preciſion and energy; and the anſwer of Mr. Haſtings to this charge is unuſually feeble and defective. Although Mr. Haſtings had, in relation to the powers exerciſed by the Sezawall, declared it "incompatible with the dignity and honor of the Government over which he preſided, to *appear* to countenance the exerciſe of an authority altogether unſupported by equity and juſtice;" and had, to uſe his own expreſs words, "from motives of common juſtice, cauſed the diſmiſſion of the Sezawall," and nominated one of the Company's civil ſervants, Mr. George Shee, to the ſame truſt; he in the enſuing year (1781), by an article of the treaty of Chunar, ſtipulated with the Vizier, that no Britiſh Reſident ſhould in future be appointed at Ferruckabad, and the preſent one be recalled;—thus virtually abandoning that country, the protection of which he had ſo recently and oſtentatiouſly undertaken, to the rapacity and oppreſſion of the Vizier. For this extraordinary conduct, a reaſon as extraordinary was aſſigned by Mr. Haſtings—viz. "that the Reſident Shee's authority over the territory of Ferruckabad was in itſelf as much

SUCH was the ſtate of things in the Vizieriate of Oude and its dependencies, when Mr. Haſtings reſigned the government of India in the ſpring of the year 1785. "If," exclaimed on a very memorable

much ſubverſive of that of the lawful ruler, as that of the Vizier's Aumil or Sezawall; and it was the more oppreſſive, as the power from whence it is derived is greater." So that in the eſtimation of Mr. Haſtings, judging no doubt from his own feelings and experience, the greater the power, the greater muſt of courſe be the oppreſſion. But if Mr. Shee thus abuſed the truſt with which he was inveſted, was he not reſponſible to the power to which he owed his appointment? No charge, however, was at any time exhibited againſt Mr. Shee; but, on the contrary, as a compenſation for the injury ſuſtained in this unmerited diſmiſſion, he had a large penſion conferred upon him, and was afterwards promoted to the high judicial office of Preſident of the Dewannee Adaulet at Dacca. But Mr. Haſtings, in this as in almoſt every other reſpect, proved unfaithful to his engagements: and after a ſhort interval the new Sezawall appointed by the Vizier was by the interpoſition of Mr. Haſtings recalled; and one Subghut Ulla, on the recommendation of the Governor General, was by the Nabob placed at the head of his affairs. No complaint of a political nature was alleged againſt this Miniſter, during the ſhort period of his adminiſtration; but Mr. Haſtings, being moved with the higheſt indignation at the *incredible report* that the protection of the Engliſh Government had been PURCHASED at a very great price by the Vakeel or Reſident of the Nabob at Calcutta, ſoon after "withdrew all mediation and interference," to uſe his own language, "which ſtood between the Nabob Vizier and the collection of the tribute from Ferruckabad;" even ſending a military force to ſupport the Sezawall appointed by the Vizier for the enſuing year. In conſequence of this act of virtuous revenge, proceeding from the moſt delicate moral ſenſibility, Mr. Haſtings coolly ſtates to his judges the Peers of Great Britain, "that he has been *informed*, that the ſaid Sezawall *did* renew ſeverities formerly exerciſed in reſpect to the ſaid Nabob Muzuffer Jung." In fact, the evils produced by this re-appointment were ſo enormous, that Mr. Haſtings, to preſerve ſome faint color of equity, aſſented to the nomination of Mr. Willes as Reſident at the Court of Ferruckabad; but whoſe talents and probity were rendered uſeleſs by the limitations and impediments to which he was artfully and purpoſely ſubjected. This heavy charge, as preſented at the bar of the Houſe of Lords, concludes with denouncing the Governor General Warren Haſtings, as a criminal, "guilty of great neglect of duty, uſurpation of authority, complicated breach of treaty, and duplicity towards both the Vizier and the Nabob, to the great diſgrace of the Britiſh name, and the diſcredit of the Britiſh Government in India; having reduced himſelf to the ſituation that he could neither deliver Muzuffer Jung from oppreſſion, without a breach of faith to the Nabob Vizier, nor ſuffer him to remain under the ſaid oppreſſion, without violating all faith and juſtice with regard to him."

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occaſion a juſtly celebrated parliamentary orator *, "a ſtranger had at this time gone into the kingdom of Oude, ignorant of what had happened ſince the death of Sujah Dowla, that man, who with a ſavage heart had ſtill great lines of character, and who, with all his ferocity in war, had with a cultivating hand preſerved to his country the riches which it derived from benignant ſkies and a prolific ſoil—if this ſtranger, ignorant of all that had happened in the ſhort interval, and obſerving the wide and general devaſtation, and all the horrors of the ſcene—vegetation burnt up and extinguiſhed; villages depopulated and in ruin; temples unroofed and periſhing; reſervoirs broken down and dry—he would naturally enquire, What war has thus laid waſte the fertile fields of this once beautiful and opulent country? What civil diſſenſions have happened, thus to tear aſunder and ſeparate the happy ſocieties that once poſſeſſed thoſe villages? What diſputed ſucceſſion? What religious rage has with unholy violence demoliſhed thoſe temples, and diſturbed fervent but unobtruding piety in the exerciſe of its duties? What mercileſs enemy has thus ſpread the horrors of fire and ſword? What ſevere viſitation of Providence has thus dried up the fountains and taken every veſtige of verdure from the earth? Or rather, What monſters have ſtalked over the country, tainting and poiſoning with peſtiferous breath what the voracious appetite could not devour?—To ſuch queſtions what muſt be the anſwer? No wars have ravaged theſe lands and depopulated theſe villages—no civil diſcords have been felt—no diſputed ſucceſſion—no religious rage—no mercileſs enemy—no affliction of Providence, which, while it ſcourged for the moment, cut off the ſources of reſuſcitation—no voracious and poiſoning monſters—NO; all this has been accompliſhed by the friendſhip, generoſity, and kindneſs of the Engliſh nation—They have embraced us with their protecting arms, and, lo! THESE are the FRUITS of their ALLIANCE."

Previous, however, to the bliſsful æra of the final departure of Mr. Haſtings from India, various other incidents of importance took place;

* Vide Sheridan's Speech in Weſtminſter Hall, June 1788.

to

to which, in order to complete the picture of his ever-memorable adminiſtration, it is now neceſſary to advert.—It muſt be called to recollection, that, after the conqueſt of Rohilcund by the Nabob Vizier Sujah ul Dowla aſſiſted by the arms of Britain, Fyzoola Khan was confirmed in the government of Rampore and its dependencies by the treaty of Lall-dang. Conformably to the proviſions of this treaty, Fyzoola Khan was permitted to retain in his ſervice 5000 troops, and not a ſingle man more. Alſo, with whomſoever the Vizier ſhould make war, it was ſtipulated, that Fyzoola Khan ſhould ſend 2 or 3000 men, according to his ability, to join the forces of the Vizier;—and, that, if the Vizier ſhould march in perſon, Fyzoola Khan ſhould himſelf accompany him with his troops. Fyzoola Khan is deſcribed by the Reſident Middleton, as "a man of ſenſe, not poſſeſſed with the paſſion of ambition, but applying himſelf peaceably to the improvement of his country, which increaſed greatly in riches and revenue." But peace and proſperity ſeemed, in the view of Mr. Haſtings, to conſtitute the moſt unpardonable ſpecies of delinquency: and it has been remarked of him, that his favorite and habitual maxim of policy was, "*that where there is treaſure there is treaſon.*"

In the years 1777 and 1778, being greatly alarmed at the reſumption of a number of jaghires by the young Vizier, and the general oppreſſion prevailing in the government of Oude, Fyzoola Khan made repeated and earneſt applications to the Company for a renewal of his treaty with the Vizier—originally atteſted by Colonel Champion—under the guarantee of the Company as the only power in which he had confidence, and to which he could look up for protection. This was at length granted with the concurrence of the Vizier, to whom, as well as to the Company, preſents were made on the occaſion; "ſuch as became the gratitude of one party to offer, and the dignity of the other to receive."

On the breaking out of the war between England and France, Fyzoola Khan voluntarily offered to maintain 2000 cavalry for the ſervice of the Company; for which Mr. Haſtings, in the name of the Supreme Council,

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Council, returned him the warmeſt thanks, and acknowledged his claim on the generoſity no leſs than the juſtice of the Britiſh Government. But, in the courſe of the following year, Mr. Haſtings ſuggeſted to the Vizier to make a requiſition of 5000 cavalry from the Rajah of Rampore; although, according to the moſt rigid conſtruction of the treaty, he was bound to contribute this quota only when the Vizier took the field in perſon. He repreſented therefore, in reſpectful terms, "his inability to comply with this demand—that the whole force allowed him was only 5000 men, of whom 3000 were infantry—the aid of whom was neceſſary for the concerns of his jaghire." On this Mr. Haſtings paſſed a reſolve in Council, himſelf and Mr. Wheeler being the only remaining members, importing, "that the Nabob Fyzoola Khan had evaded the performance of the treaty with the late Vizier Sujah ul Dowla, to which the *Honorable Company* were guarantees, as to the troops which he is obliged to furniſh on the condition by which he holds the jaghire granted to him." And in a letter to the Vizier Mr. Haſtings ſays, "Demand *immediate delivery* of 3000 cavalry;" and if he ſhould evade or refuſe compliance, he adviſes to make a formal proteſt againſt him for breach of treaty.

It being already aſcertained that Fyzoola Khan had but 2000 cavalry in his ſervice, the Court of Directors, in their ſubſequent diſpatch, heſitated not to declare, "that the ſaid demand carried with it the appearance of a determination to create a pretext for depriving him of his jaghire entirely, or to leave him at the mercy of the Vizier." This demand, however, being peremptorily made, Fyzoola Khan offered, in addition to his 2000 cavalry, a body of 1000 foot, with one year's pay in advance, and regular funds for their payment in future. But the Agent, Johnſon, deputed on this buſineſs, informed him that his orders were, not to receive any palliation, but a negative or affirmative. In conſequence of this refuſal of an impracticable demand, the Vizier propoſed to Mr. Haſtings "to reſume the grant, and to leave Fyzoola Khan to join his other faithleſs brethren who were ſent acroſs the Ganges."

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By the third article of the treaty of Chunar, permiſſion was accordingly given to the Vizier, "when time ſhall ſuit, to reſume the ſaid grant,"—although, in the Council minute juſtificatory of this act, the conduct of Fyzoola Khan is expreſsly ſaid "not to amount to an abſolute breach of treaty, but to be uncandid, evaſive, and unfriendly." The time, however, not being as yet judged *ſuitable*, an intimation was given to the Nabob, that, in lieu of his military ſervices and other claims of the Vizier and Company, a commutation in money, conſiſting of a tribute and fines, would be more acceptable—the former being fixed at 20, the latter at 30 lacks. The Nabob, in reply, declared, through his vakeel at Lucknow, "that it clearly appears to be intended to deprive him of his country; as the high demand now made it would be impoſſible for him to comply with. To a chief thus deprived the *Honorable Company* had been accuſtomed to grant ſome allowance. This he expected from the Governor's bounty; but if he ſhould be diſappointed, he would ſet off upon a pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina, and renounce the cares of the world. He directs his vakeel to aſcertain whether the Engliſh intended to deprive him of his country; for, if they do, he is ready to reſign it upon receiving an order from the Reſident."

The real views of the Governor in this inſtance extended, however, no farther than the extortion of money; and his adamantine heart being alſo, perhaps, a little ſoftened by the extreme humility of this declaration, an agreement was at length made to free the Nabob from all obligations of military ſervice, in conſideration of the annual tribute of 15 lacks, which Mr. Haſtings confeſſed "to be an ample equivalent for the precarious claims of the Vizier." And being now in the humor to make extraordinary conceſſions, the Governor farther declared, "that the rumors which had been ſpread of the Nabob's hoſtile deſigns againſt the Vizier were totally groundleſs—and if he had been *inclined*, he had not the *means* to make himſelf formidable. On the contrary, being in the decline of life, and poſſeſſing a very fertile and proſperous jaghire, it is more natural to ſuppoſe that Fyzoola Khan wiſhes to ſpend the remainder of his days in quietneſs, than that he is preparing to embark in

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active and offenſive ſcenes, which muſt end in his own deſtruction." This is the more remarkable, as Mr. Haſtings, in reply to ſome ſevere animadverſions of the Court of Directors on his conduct reſpecting Fyzoola Khan, had held a language totally contrary. The Directors having expreſſed their wiſhes to be conſidered "rather as the guardians of the honor and property of the native powers, than as the inſtruments of their oppreſſion;" Mr. Haſtings concluded his vindication of the whole of theſe tyrannical proceedings in the following inſolent words: "SUCH are the meaſures which we ſhall ever wiſh to obſerve towards our allies or dependents on the frontiers."

It muſt not be wholly omitted, though the vaſt field of inveſtigation and diſcuſſion to which it leads can, in the *proſpectus* of general hiſtory, be viewed only in remote and obſcure viſion, "that on the departure of Mr. Francis from India early in 1781, Mr. Haſtings, upon whom the entire powers of government devolved, immediately diſſolved the Provincial Councils, and eſtabliſhed a COMMITTEE of REVENUE, with powers in the higheſt degree deſpotic. The general renewal of leaſes coming under the conſideration of this Board, they determined, "that as to the period of the leaſes, it appeared beſt to the Committee to limit them to one year." In this reſpect the Committee of Revenue were leſs lenient than the preceding famous Committee of Circuit. And they acted in direct contradiction to the former opinion of Mr. Haſtings, ſolemnly declared, "that the farmer, i. e. the Government leſſee, who holds his farm for one year only, having no intereſt in the next, takes what he can with the hand of rigor—he will be tempted to exceed the bounds of right, and to augment his income by irregular exactions, and by racking the tenants, for which pretences will not be wanting where the farms paſs annually from one hand to another. On the contrary, from long leaſes the farmer acquires a permanent intereſt in his lands—he will, for his own ſake, lay out money in aſſiſting his tenants, in improving lands already cultivated, and in clearing and cultivating waſte lands." All the evils ſo clearly foreſeen and ſo little regarded by Mr. Haſtings, added to thoſe ariſing from the vileſt and groſſeſt corruption

and

and peculation, took place under this ſyſtem; the chief adminiſtrator and manager of which was one Govind Sing, a wretch loaded, as Mr. Haſtings himſelf acknowledged, with reproaches; and of whom it ſtands upon record, "that there was ſcarcely a family of rank in the three provinces whom he had not ſome time or another diſtreſſed and afflicted—ſcarce a zemindary that he had not diſmembered and plundered."

During the long adminiſtration of Mr. Haſtings, various momentous incidents occurred in the ſubordinate governments or departments of government in India; but of theſe a curſory mention muſt ſuffice. Mahomed Ali Khan, Nabob of Arcot, had, by means too obvious to need explanation, acquired an unbounded influence over the counſels of the Government of Madras. Supported by the aid and authority of that Preſidency, under the expreſs ſanction of the Governor and Council of Bengal, the Nabob, on frivolous pretences, declared war againſt the Rajah of Tanjore, a neighboring prince and antient ally of the Company; and, ſeizing his dominions, annexed them to his own territory. The Court of Directors, highly indignant at this unjuſt and violent uſurpation, determined upon the reſtoration of the Rajah: and for this purpoſe Lord Pigot, a nobleman who had formerly been employed in the Indian ſervice, and whoſe character, both in a civil and military capacity, ſtood deſervedly high, was appointed to the government with poſitive orders to that effect *. His Lordſhip arrived at Madras the latter end of the year 1775; and notwithſtanding all the oppoſition and the temptation thrown in his way, he accompliſhed the grand object of his appoint-

* The proceedings of the Governor and Council of Madras are thus ſeverely ſtigmatized in the Inſtructions of the Court of Directors to Lord Pigot, dated April 12, 1775: "As the ſolemn promiſe by our Governor and Council, at the requeſt of the Nabob of the Carnatic and the King (i. e. Rajah) of Tanjore, to guaranty the Treaty of 1762, has been fully approved by the Court of Directors, we cannot but conſider the public faith of the Company as forfeited, and the honor of the Britiſh nation deeply affected, by the meaſures taken for dethroning that unhappy prince, whoſe kingdom has been wreſted from him by our ſervants, and put under the government of Mahomed Ali Khan, in direct violation of that treaty, and contrary to our repeated orders and inſtructions, which have uniformly and expreſsly prohibited them from attempting to enlarge our own or the Nabob's dominions."

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ment, in the re-inſtatement of the Rajah. Diſputes running extremely high in the Council in conſequence of this meaſure, the Governor, in the autumn of 1776, ſuſpended two of the members from their functions, by a doubtful and dangerous aſſumption of authority. But ample revenge was ſoon after taken by the remaining mal-contents, in the arreſt and impriſonment of his Lordſhip, who ſurvived this daring outrage but a very ſhort time.

In the ſeſſion of Parliament which began November 1778, Admiral Pigot, brother to Lord Pigot, brought this affair in all its circumſtances before the Houſe of Commons; and after ſtating, in a ſeries of reſolutions, the principal facts relative to this cataſtrophe, he concluded with moving an addreſs to his Majeſty, "humbly praying, that George Stratton, Eſq. and the other members of the Council of Madras, be proſecuted for ordering their Governor and Commander in Chief to be arreſted, and confined under a military force—they being returned to England, and now within the juriſdiction of his Majeſty's Courts of Weſtminſter Hall."

Notwithſtanding the labored juſtification of Mr. Stratton, who was a member of the Houſe, theſe reſolutions were unanimouſly carried. Theſe gentlemen, being in the ſequel tried and convicted in the Court of King's Bench, were, to the amazement of the public, ſentenced only to pay a trifling fine—and the laws which they had ſet at defiance in India, ſeemed to be put in execution againſt them only to excite their contempt in England.

In the laſt ſeſſion of 1781, of which the hiſtory has been in part related, the affairs of India again attracted the attention of Parliament, in conſequence of a petition preſented to the Houſe of Commons from the Governor and Council at Calcutta, a ſecond from the Britiſh ſettlers, and a third from the native inhabitants of Bengal, againſt the Supreme Court of Judicature eſtabliſhed by the Regulating Act of 1773. The two former were drawn up in a very maſterly ſtyle, and demonſtrated, in a ſtriking

manner, the temerity and folly of thoſe who could attempt to ingraft the laws and juridical maxims of England upon the antient uſages and immemorial inſtitutions of Hindoſtan. The petition of the natives is remarkable for its pathos and ſimplicity—"When," ſay the petitioners, "the ordinances of this Court of Judicature were iſſued, as they were all contrary to the cuſtoms, modes, uſages, and inſtitutions of this country, they occaſioned terror in us; and day by day, as the powers of this Court became more eſtabliſhed, our ruin, uneaſineſs, diſhonor, and diſcredit, have accumulated. We are now driven to the laſt extremity. Several who poſſeſſed means and ability have baniſhed themſelves from the country; but we do not all of us poſſeſs the means of flight, nor have we power to abide the oppreſſion of this Court. If, which GOD forbid! this our petition ſhould not be accepted, giving ourſelves up with reſignation to our fate, we will ſit down in expectation of death. After this, LET the ſoil of the country remain, and the Court of Juſtice—LET the Court of Juſtice remain upon the earth, or the earth cover it!"

On a motion by General Smith for referring theſe petitions to a committee, Mr. Boughton Rous took occaſion to contraſt the eſtabliſhed policy of antient Rome with that adopted by England: "In all ſubjection of territory contiguous to her own," ſaid this able ſpeaker, "Rome gave her own laws, if the people wiſhed to receive them; or ſhe allured them by immunities and honorable diſtinctions. Thus ſhe aſſimilated all the petty ſtates of Italy to her laws and manners, till the whole peninſula became one nation.—But in her diſtant conqueſts ſhe purſued a very different policy. In theſe ſhe was ſatisfied to hold the ſupreme government, to poſſeſs the revenues and military powers, leaving the inhabitants to conduct their internal police by their own native magiſtrates and laws; avoiding any inſult to the religion or prejudices of the vanquiſhed. Much better would it be for Britain to imitate, in this reſpect, the conduct of the antient Romans, than to perſiſt in raſh and injudicious attempts to impoſe the laws of England upon the natives of India."

Many of the judicial deciſions of the Supreme Court, as ſtated to the

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Houſe, alſo wore the aſpect of the moſt flagrant violence and injuſtice *: and a general conviction ſeemed to be momentarily excited, of the radical abſurdity

* Of theſe perhaps the moſt remarkable was the deciſion given by the Chief Juſtice in the famous PATNA CAUSE. It had been the practice of the Provincial Courts eſtabliſhed under the Engliſh Government, to refer queſtions of Mahomedan law to the Cawzee and Muftees—antient and known judicial officers under the former Government. A cauſe of great importance reſpecting a diſputed property, referred, in the accuſtomed manner, by the Council of Patna to the Cawzee Sadhi and two Muftees his aſſeſſors, being decided by them in a mode which approved itſelf to the public judgment as highly equitable and ſatisfactory, an *action of treſpaſs* was nevertheleſs brought in the Supreme Court againſt the Cawzee and Muftees by the loſing party. The action being admitted to lie, the Cawzee was arreſted by warrant of the Chief Juſtice, to the conſternation and aſtoniſhment of the inhabitants, in the public ſtreets of Patna, when returning to his habitation from the exerciſe of the duties of his office. The Sheriff having the execution of the writ was directed not to admit the Cawzee or his aſſeſſors to bail under the enormous ſum of 400,000 rupees: and had it not been for the interpoſition of the Provincial Council, the defendants muſt have been dragged to Calcutta, at the diſtance of 500 miles, and have languiſhed in priſon till their doom was determined. "The ſeizure of the Cawzee in this diſgraceful manner," ſay the Provincial Council of Patna in their letter to the Supreme Council of Calcutta, "coming from the execution of his office, has ſtruck a general terror into the inhabitants of this city; we thought it therefore expedient, for the honor of Government and the preſervation of its authority, to offer the bail required for the enlargement of one of its firſt officers.—How can we expect," ſay they, "the other officers of theſe courts to carry any orders of conſequence into execution, till they are aſſured of ſafety and protection in the diſcharge of their duty?"

The circumſtances of cruelty and atrocity attending this buſineſs are fully detailed in the ſecond article of impeachment exhibited againſt Sir Elijah Impey, in the Houſe of Commons, December 12, 1787, by Sir Gilbert Elliot. In the ſequel, the deciſion of the Cawzee was, upon grounds the moſt ſcandalouſly frivolous and futile, reverſed by the Supreme Court; and the Cawzee and Muftees condemned to pay damages and coſts to the amount of 300,000 rupees, which was in effect a ſentence of perpetual impriſonment. The Cawzee Sadhi, being aged and infirm, in a ſhort time ſunk under the weight of this perſecution; the other defendants remaining in priſon upwards of two years, till they were ſet at liberty by expreſs orders from England, commanding not only their releaſe, but the reſtoration of the Muftees to the offices they had before occupied with fair and unſullied characters.

As a ſpecimen of the evidence on which the Chief Juſtice's ſentence of reverſal was founded, a ſmall part of the examination of one Cojah Zekereah may be cited: Sir Elijah Impey declaring from the bench the teſtimony of this man to be conſiſtent and unimpeached. It was adduced to prove and eſtabliſh the authenticity of various ſignatures profeſſing to witneſs a certain deviſe or deed of conveyance, ſtyled, in the technical language of

abſurdity and erroneouſneſs of the preſent ſyſtem. Nevertheleſs, the weight of regal influence, ever jealous and abhorrent of reform in every ſhape;

of the Mahomedan Courts, the *Hebenamah*, on the validity of which the merits of the whole cauſe abſolutely depended.

Q. Who wrote the writing which is round the ſeals?

A. What is wrote about my own ſeal and that of Ghyrut Beg in the Hebenamah, I remember writing myſelf; but the other three I do not remember writing. I am ſure that the above ſeal of Mazum Beg is not mine—that around Ullah is not my writing.

Q. You muſt know your hand-writing—anſwer, Is it your hand-writing, YES OR NO?

A. It is not.—It is not in my *memory* that it is. I do not *remember* it, if it is my hand-writing.—IT MAY BE SO.

Q. You muſt know your hand-writing—you need not look at it ſo frequently.

A. If it *is*, it may be I do not *recollect it*. If it may be, it may be I do not *recollect it*. IT IS CERTAINLY MY HAND-WRITING.

Q. Now you have ſworn it is your hand-writing, and that it is not, which is true? One or the other of them muſt be true.

A. IT IS MY HAND-WRITING.

Q. You did not ſee Mahomed Iwaz write Ullah; therefore, why did you write *under it?*

A. I remember that when Ghyrut Beg affixed his ſeal, as he could not write, the deceaſed, Shawbaz Beg Khan, deſired me to write over it; and having procured Iwaz to write in my abſence Ullah, he deſired me to write Ullah.

Q. You have ſaid, I think, that you never ſaw the Hebenamah after your own ſeal was put to it, and till after the death of Shawbaz Beg Khan; and that when you did put your ſeal to it, the other ſeals were not put to it, nor the ſignature Ullah: How came you now then to ſay, that, after the ſeal of Ghyrut Beg was put to it, and the ſignature Ullah, that Shawbaz Beg Khan deſired you to write upon the Hebenamah?

A. It is true, that when he deſired me to put my ſeal to it, there was no other ſeal than his. But about the ſame time, or a day after, when the other witneſſes witneſſed it, I was by, and he deſired me to witneſs it. I was *always* preſent with Shawbaz Beg Khan.

Q. Were you by when Mahomed Iwaz wrote the word Ullah?

A. I was not preſent then. When Imayet Ullah Beg and Ghyrut Beg put their ſeals to it, I was preſent.

Q. Why—if you did write under the word Ullah, as you now ſay you did—why did you not immediately ſay that you did write under it?

A. I was in doubt about my own hand-writing; and, having ſworn, I was cautious in acknowledging it.

Q. What did you mean by ſaying that you never ſaw the paper after you had put your ſeal to it till after the death of Shawbaz Beg Khan, if Shawbaz Beg Khan did in fact produce it to you to write upon it at any time after you had put your ſeal to it?

A. It

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ſhape; the natural partiality of the Miniſter to his own original plans; and the preſſure of affairs ſtill more urgent, prevented the adoption of any great or deciſive meaſures of relief. From the contracted genius and policy of the exiſting Adminiſtration, nothing great, deciſive, or comprehenſively beneficial, could indeed be expected. A bill was, however, introduced and paſſed, explanatory of the powers of the Supreme Court of Judicature, and in ſome points limiting and reſtraining its juriſdiction, which had been extended, by the arbitrary encroachments of the Chief Juſtice, far beyond the real and obvious intent of the Regulating Act *.

At this period the war in India had become very general; a moſt for-

A. It is not a contradiction. After all the ſeals were put to it, after that time, I meant to ſay, I never ſaw it till after the death of Shawbaz Beg Khan.

Q. Is all the writing over the ſeals of your hand-writing?

A. The LAST is not my hand-writing.

Q. Look to it, and be ſure.

A. This *is* alſo my hand-writing.

Q. Why did you ſay it was not your hand-writing when it is?

A. I did not *remember* writing it: but on ſeeing it is the ſame flow of the pen, I acknowledge it to be my hand-writing.

* It may perhaps be permitted here tranſiently to note as a pleaſing inſtance of national generoſity, however hiſtorically unimportant, a bill brought into the Houſe of Peers in the courſe of this ſeſſion, after having paſſed the Commons, "for allowing a certain ſum to the two Univerſities, as an indemnification for the excluſive right of printing Almanacks, granted to them by patent of King James I. but of which they had been recently diveſted by a deciſion of the Courts at Weſtminſter." This was violently oppoſed by the Lord Chancellor Thurlow—a man remarkable for never even *deviating* into liberality—as a fruitleſs and ſcandalous waſte of the public money. It being alleged, and evidence adduced to prove, that the profits of the patent had been applied by theſe learned bodies to the printing of ſcarce and valuable MSS. particularly many in the Arabic and other Oriental languages, which would otherwiſe never have been communicated to the world; the Chancellor avowed, in terms which would have aſtoniſhed a Talbot or a Hardwick, his utter contempt of *Perſian* and *Coptic literature*. He ſaid, that, when *he* was at the Univerſity, he never ſpent his time in the ſtudy of ſuch curious trifles. And they muſt be much more profound than he affected to be, who could either be pleaſed with or comprehend them." Happily the Houſe of Peers held the claims of literature in ſomewhat higher reſpect than the GOTH who preſided in that illuſtrious Aſſembly, and the bill paſſed with general and decided approbation.

midable

midable combination of the Country Powers in oppoſition to the Engliſh had taken place, which, aſſiſted by the fleets and armies of France, ſeemed to menace the very exiſtence of the empire of Britain in India. Hyder Ali, the antient and inveterate enemy of the Company, in the month of July 1780 broke into the Carnatic with a vaſt army, and committed the moſt dreadful ravages. On the 10th of September he attacked and ſurrounded a conſiderable detached corps under Colonel Baillie, which were entirely cut to pieces or made priſoners. He then attacked and made himſelf maſter of Arcot; and ſcarcely did the Government at Madras believe itſelf to be in ſafety, when Sir Eyre Coote arrived to take the command of the Company's forces on the coaſt of Coromandel, and Hyder was in repeated engagements foiled and defeated by this fortunate and gallant veteran.

Ravages of Hyder Ali in the Carnatic.

Various naval encounters alſo took place between the French and Engliſh fleets, commanded by M. Suffrein and Admiral Sir Edward Hughes, with equal ſkill, courage and ſucceſs. The naval force of both nations was gradually increaſed, in the progreſs of the war, to a degree far beyond what had been known at any former period in India, amounting at the laſt, on the part of the Britiſh, to eighteen ſhips of the line of battle. But the proportion continuing nearly the ſame, the mutual acceſſions of ſtrength ſerved only to increaſe the number of human victims: and the ſucceſſive battles being obſtinately and even heroically conteſted, the blood ſhed in this unavailing conteſt was uncommonly great.

Naval encounters in the Eaſt Indies.

To enter into the detail of ſuch tranſactions can anſwer no valuable purpoſe, except it be to exhibit the miſeries of war in their genuine colors, diveſted of that faſcination which accompanies the idea of victory, though attended perhaps to the victors themſelves with no ſolid advantage, to the vanquiſhed with all the horrors of diſtreſs and ruin. Doubtleſs, in every region of the world wiſdom and humanity exiſt more than ſufficient, could they be brought into action, to remedy theſe fatal and inexpreſſible follies; but it is melancholy to reflect how ſmall

a portion

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a portion of either falls to the lot of the generality of thoſe by whom the affairs of the world are conducted; and how remote, and on a tranſient ſurvey almoſt hopeleſs, is the proſpect of any eſſential amelioration in the ſyſtem of human policy *.

A Secret Committee having been appointed in the year 1781, to enquire into the cauſes of the Mahratta war and that in the Carnatic; a very able report was brought up early in the ſeſſion of 1782, by the Lord Advocate of Scotland, Mr. Dundas, Chairman of the Committee, in which the general ſyſtem of policy purſued by the Governor General Haſtings was reprobated in terms of extreme ſeverity. Mr. Dundas in the courſe of his ſpeech ſaid, "that the Governor had no right whatever to fancy he was an Alexander or an Aurengzebe, and to prefer frantic military exploits to the improvement of the trade and commerce of the country."

* "Voici," ſays the celebrated Monarch of Pruſſia, "l'erreur de la plupart des PRINCES," i. e. of the men ſtyled in the vocabulary of human folly, Moſt Serene, Moſt Gracious, and Moſt Sacred Sovereigns! "Ils croient que Dieu a creé exprès et par une attention toute particulière pour leur grandeur, leur félicité, et leur orgueil, cette multitude d'hommes dont le ſalut leur eſt commis; et que leurs ſujets ne ſont deſtinés qu'à être les inſtrumens et les miniſtres de leurs paſſions déréglés. Dès que le principe dont on part eſt faux, les conſéquences ne peuvent être que vicieuſes à l'infini: et de là ce déſir ardent de tout envahir, de là la dureté des impôts dont le peuple eſt chargé, de là la pareſſe des princes, leur orgueil, leur injuſtice, leur inhumanité, leur tyrannie, et tous ces vices qui dégradent la nature humaine. Si les princes ſe défaiſoient de ces idées erronées, et qu'ils vouluſſent remonter juſqu'au but de leur inſtitution, ils verroient que ce rang dont ils ſont ſi jaloux, que leur élévation n'eſt que L'OUVRAGE DES PEUPLES.—Ce principe ainſi établi, il faudroit qu'ils ſentiſſent que la vraie gloire des princes ne conſiſte point à opprimer leurs voiſins, point à augmenter le nombre de leurs eſclaves, mais à remplir les devoirs de leurs charges, et à répondre en tout à l'intention de ceux qui les ont revêtus de leur pouvoir, *et de qui ils* TIENNENT *la* GRANDEUR SUPREME †." Such is the ingenuous and noble confeſſion of the Royal Hiſtorian and Philoſopher, and ſuch the language which at Berlin is applauded as the effuſion of a magnanimous and enlightened patriotiſm, and in London ſtigmatized, and perhaps puniſhed, as the reſult of diſaffection to the Government, if not amounting to actual ſedition and conſpiracy.

† OEUVRES de FREDERIC III. tome iv.

Sir

1781.

Parliamentary proceedings againſt Sir Thomas Rumbold.

Sir Thomas Rumbold alſo, who had recently relinquiſhed the government of Madras, was criminated as guilty of groſs peculation, embezzlement, and oppreſſion. General Smith, in moving that the report of the Secret Committee be referred to a Committee of the Houſe, took notice that Sir Elijah Impey, his Majeſty's Chief Juſtice in India, had ſo far degraded his character and office as to accept of a place under the Company, contrary to the ſolemn engagements under which he held his appointment *. An addreſs was in conſequence preſented to the King, to beſeech his Majeſty to recall Sir Elijah Impey from India to anſwer for his conduct. A bill was likewiſe brought in by the Lord Advocate, Mr. Dundas, for inflicting certain pains and penalties on Sir Thomas Rumbold, for high crimes and miſdemeanors. This bill, which at firſt excited very great expectation and attention, and which was continued from ſeſſion to ſeſſion in a manner wholly unprecedented, was at laſt ſuffered to ſink into neglect and oblivion.

Sir Elijah Impey recalled from India.

1782.

Ineffectual reſolutions of the Houſe of Commons and the Court of Directors for the recall of Mr. Haſtings from India.

On the 28th of May 1782, the Houſe of Commons paſſed a ſeries of reſolutions, in the moſt deciſive terms condemnatory of the whole ſyſtem of Indian politics. The laſt reſolution imported, "That Warren Haſtings, Eſq. Governor General in Bengal, and William Hornby, Eſq. Preſident of the Council at Bombay, having in ſundry inſtances acted in a manner repugnant to the honor and policy of this nation, and thereby brought great calamities on India, and enormous expences on the Eaſt India Company, it is the duty of the Directors of the ſaid Company to purſue all legal and effectual means for the removal of the ſaid Governor General and Preſident from their ſaid offices, and to recall them to Great Britain." But this reſolution, though confirmed by the Court

* The place thus accepted by Sir Elijah Impey was that of Judge of a Court of Appeal, eſtabliſhed at Calcutta under the appellation of the Court of Sudder Dewannee Adawlet, whoſe juriſdiction extended over the inferior provincial courts of Moſuſſell Dewannee Adawlet. To this office, held at the pleaſure of the Governor and Council, with a ſalary of 8000l. per annum, Sir Elijah Impey was advanced a few months previous to his memorable expedition to Benares and Oude.

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of Directors *, the Proprietary refuſed to ratify; and the Houſe of Commons, with the characteriſtic indeciſion and inconſtancy of a popular aſſembly, took no ſubſequent meaſures to enforce it †.

* The RESOLUTION of the Court of Directors, paſſed October 1782, was expreſſed in the following terms:—"RESOLVED, that it is the opinion of this Court, that a ſteady perſeverance in the ſyſtem of conduct ſo frequently enjoined by the Court of Directors cannot be expected from thoſe ſervants whoſe ideas of extenſion of dominion, either by negotiation or conqueſt, have led them to depart from orders ſo often enforced; and THEREFORE, that it is expedient to remove Warren Haſtings, Eſq. from the office of Governor General of Bengal."

† "About the proſperity of that great empire in the government of which every proprietor of India ſtock to a certain amount is entruſted with a ſhare," ſays the celebrated author of the Wealth of Nations (vol. iii. book 5.), "he ſeldom cares at all. No other ſovereigns ever were, or from the nature of things ever could be, ſo perfectly indifferent about the happineſs or miſery of their ſubjects, the improvement or waſte of their dominions, the glory or diſgrace of their adminiſtration, as from irreſiſtible moral cauſes the greater part of ſuch a mercantile company are and neceſſarily muſt be.——By a ſtrange abſurdity (vol. ii. book 4.) they regard the character of the Sovereign but as an appendix to that of the Merchant; as ſomething which ought to be made ſubſervient to it; or by means of which they may be enabled to buy cheaper in India, and thereby to ſell with a better profit in Europe. But if the genius of ſuch a government, even as to what concerns its Direction in Europe, is in this manner eſſentially faulty; that of its Adminiſtration in India is ſtill more ſo. A council of merchants can command obedience only by military force, and their government is therefore neceſſarily military and deſpotical. Their proper buſineſs, however, is that of merchants. It is to ſell upon their maſters' account the European goods conſigned to them, and to buy in return Indian goods for the European market. It is to ſell the one as dear and buy the other as cheap as poſſible; and conſequently to exclude as much as poſſible all rivality. The genius of the Adminiſtration is therefore ſo far the ſame as that of the Direction. It tends to make government ſubſervient to the intereſts of monopoly. All the members of Adminiſtration, beſides, trade more or leſs upon their own account; and it is in vain to prohibit them from doing ſo. If by an order from Europe they cannot act openly and directly, they will employ the whole authority of government, and pervert the adminiſtration of juſtice, in order to haraſs and ruin thoſe who interfere with them in any branch of commerce which, by means of agents either concealed or at leaſt not publicly avowed, they may chooſe to carry on. It is a very ſingular government, in which every member of the Adminiſtration wiſhes to get out of the country, and conſequently to have done with the government, as ſoon as he can, and to whoſe intereſt the day after he has left it, and carried his whole fortune with him, it is perfectly indifferent though the whole country were ſwallowed up by an earthquake."

The

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1782.

Military operations in India.

The war in India was ſtill carried on with various ſucceſs. The valuable ſettlements of Negapatnam on the Coromandel coaſt, and Trinquemale in the iſland of Ceylon, belonging to the Dutch, were captured by the Engliſh. On the other hand, Colonel Braithwaite, with a detachment of the Company's troops, was totally routed on the banks of the Coleroon by Tippoo Saib, ſon of Hyder Ali, aſſiſted by a body of French troops; after which Cuddalore ſurrendered to the victors.

The operations of the war on the Malabar coaſt were conducted by General Goddard with a great diſplay of military ſkill and ſpirit. Invading the province of Guzzerat, in the year 1780, he reduced the city of Amedabad, its capital; and on the ſecond of April he ſtormed the camp of the Mahrattas, commanded by Madajee Scindia, whom he totally defeated. Entering into a treaty with the Rana of Gohud, Major Popham, by order of the General, attacked and carried, in the courſe of the ſummer, the ſtrong fortreſs of Gualior, which was garriſoned by the Mahrattas, though within the territory of the Rana.

Early in 1781 General Goddard ſat down before Baſſeen; and after reducing this important place, he deſiſted from farther active operations, in conſequence of the ſuccors he was under a neceſſity to ſend to Sir Eyre Coote. In the province of Malva, Colonel Carnac ſurpriſed, April 30, the camp of the enemy, and Madajee Scindia was a ſecond time totally routed. After this the Mahratta Chieftain made ſecret overtures for a ſeparate peace; and a ceſſation of hoſtilities between England and the Mahratta States took place in the month of October 1781. The definitive articles of peace were ſigned in May following, at Salberg, by Mr. Anderſon on the part of the Company, and by Scindia, General and Plenipotentiary, on the part of the Peiſhwa. By this treaty Baſſeen and the other recent acquiſitions in the Guzzerat were reſtored to the Mahrattas, the iſland of Salſette only of the late conqueſts remaining to the Engliſh; for, at the *requeſt* of Madajee Scindia, the Engliſh conſented alſo to relinquiſh their claim to the city of Baroach and the contiguous diſtricts. Ragonaut Row was for ever abandoned, and compelled to quit

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the territories of the Company; and their ally, the Rana of Gohud, who appears indeed without ſcruple to have oppoſed duplicity to duplicity, was, under pretext of "leaving him to ſettle his own affairs," virtually delivered up to the mercy of his enemies.—But the moſt extraordinary article of the treaty was that whereby the Peiſhwa engages that Hyder Ali Khan ſhall be made to relinquiſh, within ſix months, all ſuch territories belonging to the Company or their allies as he ſhall have taken poſſeſſion of ſince the 9th of the month Ramzan. The fact was, that not only a treaty of peace, but of the ſtricteſt alliance and friendſhip, was now formed by the Governor General Haſtings with the Mahratta Court; and a ſecret project was believed to be already in contemplation for the partition of Hyder's dominions. And thus, notwithſtanding the ill ſucceſs of his former ſchemes of conqueſt, no ſooner was this "daring pilot" of the State, who "fought the ſtorms" and invoked the tempeſts, obliged to relinquiſh one vaſt and hazardous plan of aggrandizement, than he entered with equal eagerneſs into another. The Nizam of the Decan and the Rajah of Berar were alſo parties in this accommodation, for their acceſſion to which they received large pecuniary gratifications.

This pacification with the Mahrattas induced the Preſidency of Bengal to riſque a bold attempt on the dominions of Hyder Ali on the Malabar ſide. The kingdoms of Canara and Myſore, both under ſubjection to that prince, ſtretch along the weſtern coaſt of Hindoſtan, nearly in the latitude of Arcot. The chief city of the former is Bednore, a name changed by its preſent poſſeſſor to Hydernagore. A conſiderable force, already landed in the kingdom of Myſore, had relieved the city of Tellicherri, a poſt or factory on that coaſt belonging to the Engliſh, and reduced the neighboring town of Calicut. It was with difficulty, nevertheleſs, that the Engliſh kept their footing in this country, when General Matthews arrived from Bombay with very large reinforcements, and immediately laid ſiege to the important fortreſs of Onore, which was carried by ſtorm on the 5th of January 1783. The carnage on this occaſion is ſaid to have been terrible; and the indiſcriminate ſeizure of treaſure,

treaſure, public and private, there depoſited, exhibited, in the moſt odious light, the rapacity and avarice of the Commander.

1783.

At this period the hopes of the Engliſh were raiſed to the higheſt pitch by the death of Hyder Ali, a name ever memorable in the annals of India. He was ſucceeded by his ſon Tippoo Saib, who had already given proofs of valor and ability not unworthy his deſcent.

Death of Hyder Ali.

From Onore General Matthews proceeded through *the Ghauts* or the paſſes of the mountains, to Hydernagore, which ſurrendered to him without reſiſtance. Here, as at Onore, the General was accuſed of combining the meanneſs of fraud with the ferocity of violence; and Colonel Macleod, ſecond in command, and ſeveral other officers, retired in diſguſt from the army. After this Annampore, Carwa, and Mangalore, were ſucceſſively ſubdued; the former by ſtorm, with circumſtances of ſingular barbarity: four hundred beautiful women periſhed in the general maſſacre, under the brutal licentiouſneſs of the ſoldiery.

In the mean time Tippoo prepared for the relief of Myſore and Canara; and, leaving a ſtrong force to guard his conqueſts in the Carnatic, he marched his army acroſs the peninſula with unexpected and unexampled expedition, and arrived in the vicinity of Hydernagore in the month of April 1783. By a ſeries of excellent military manœuvres he made himſelf maſter of the Ghauts in the rear of General Matthews, by which means all communication with the ſea was entirely cut off. The force of General Matthews being now centred in Hydernagore, this city was inveſted by Tippoo with a vaſt army, computed at 150,000 men, covering the hills on every ſide as far as the eye could reach. The Engliſh, reduced to extremity, were ſoon obliged to ſurrender on capitulation, by the terms of which the public treaſure was reſtored to the Sultan; but not a rupee being found in the fortreſs, General Matthews was charged by the conqueror with groſs colluſion, and a direct infraction of the treaty; and being conducted in chains to Seringapatam, the capital of Myſore, he was thrown into

Surrender of General Matthews and his army to Tippoo Saib.

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into a dungeon, and, with the greater part of his officers, periſhed miſerably in confinement under various devices of torture.

Notwithſtanding the departure of Tippoo from the Carnatic, the Preſidency of Madras had ſtill to cope with ſuperior force. Although the utmoſt exertions of Sir Eyre Coote had not been wanting, no deciſive advantage had been gained in the laſt campaign with Hyder; and the ill ſtate of health of this able commander obliged him to reſign the army into the hands of General Stuart, and to retire at the concluſion of the year 1783 to Bengal. Early in the enſuing ſpring, believing himſelf ſomewhat recovered, he returned to Madras in order to reſume his command; but two days only after his arrival, he expired in an advanced age, having acquired in more than thirty years military ſervice in India a reputation, the luſtre of which could be deemed ſcarcely inferior to that of his predeceſſor Lord Clive. The important ſettlement of Trinquemale was retaken by M. Suffrein in the courſe of the laſt ſummer, and a very large reinforcement of French troops landed in the Carnatic under M. de Buſſi. Notwithſtanding all oppoſition, General Stuart inveſted Cuddalore, and made conſiderable progreſs in the ſiege, when an expreſs arrived with the intelligence of a treaty of peace having been concluded between the belligerent Powers, on which an immediate ceſſation of hoſtilities took place.

After the conqueſt of Hydernagore, and the recapture of the inland country by Tippoo, he laid ſiege to Mangalore, the principal place yet remaining in the hands of the Engliſh. An obſtinate reſiſtance was made by the garriſon; but a practicable breach being at length effected, a general aſſault was in contemplation, when news arrived of the pacification which had taken place in Europe; and the French troops and engineers in his ſervice informed him, that they muſt immediately withdraw their aſſiſtance. Tippoo, after much paſſionate expoſtulation, therefore aſſented to an armiſtice, in a few days after which event Colonel Macleod arrived with powerful reinforcements from Bombay.

Bombay. A negotiation was immediately commenced for a definitive peace. This was accelerated by a declaration which the Sultan received from the Peiſhwa of the Mahrattas, that if Tippoo did not conſent to an immediate evacuation of the Carnatic, he would unite with the Engliſh againſt him.

During the continuance of the truce and the negotiation, the *Bibby*, or Princeſs of Cannanore, a diſtrict depending on the kingdom of Canara, having ſeized ſome boats with ſepoys belonging to the garriſon of Mangalore, accidentally forced by ſtreſs of weather on her coaſt, Colonel Macleod attacked and ſtormed the fortreſs of Cannanore, making the Princeſs herſelf priſoner. Although loud complaints were made by Tippoo of this violation of the armiſtice, it does not appear much to have retarded the negotiation, the articles of peace being ſigned March 11th, 1784, on the terms of mutual reſtitution, and a renunciation on the part of the Sultan of his claim to the ſovereignty of the Carnatic. This claim, there is every reaſon to believe, would never have been enforced, or perhaps advanced, if the raſh and violent conduct of the Engliſh Government reſpecting the Mahrattas had not encouraged and incited the attempt. To this purpoſe Mr. Whitehill, Preſident of Madras, in his exculpatory minute of November 1780, ſays, "The offenſive line of conduct adopted againſt the Mahrattas threw them, i. e. the Governor and Council of Bengal, into a ſcene of action ſo extenſive and ſo full of difficulty, that neither their forces nor their revenues were capable of bearing them through with any poſſibility of ſucceſs. Had the experience of former times been called in to their aid, they would have ſeen that Aurengzebe, one of the moſt formidable monarchs that ever ſat upon the throne of Dehli, was, after a twenty years ſtruggle, with all the power and riches of Hindoſtan, obliged to abandon a ſimilar attempt. The truth is, the Mahratta war has been the real ſource of all the miſchief that hath befallen the Carnatic. Had peace exiſted in that quarter with the Engliſh, Hyder Ali Khan would never have ventured from his own dominions.—He ſaw the extremity to which we were reduced, and

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ſeized the occaſion to diſtreſs us where he knew we were moſt vulnerable."

But the conduct of Mr. Haſtings, ſubſequent to the reſtoration of peace in India, is perhaps the moſt extraordinary, certainly the moſt myſterious part of his dark and inextricable policy. The peace concluded with the Mahrattas, it has been already remarked, was followed by an alliance of the moſt ſtrict and confidential kind. And from that period it ſeemed to be the great and favorite object of the Engliſh Governor General, to confirm and aggrandize the power of that State, which he had ever before affected to conſider as moſt formidable and adverſe to the Engliſh intereſts; and whom he had even ſtyled "the NATURAL ENEMIES of the Company."

In the month of March 1783, Mr. Haſtings diſpatched, by no authentic act, but as his own ſecret agent, Major Browne to the Court of Dehli, in order to make propoſals to the Emperor, Sha Allum, to enter into engagements with the Company and the Mahratta Government, for the accompliſhment of certain deſigns in favor of the Emperor, but of a very hoſtile nature to ſeveral powers of the Continent then in amity with the Company. And Major Browne was commiſſioned to offer to the Mogul, to provide for the entire expence of any troops the Emperor might require; which propoſal was accepted with every ſymptom of eagerneſs and ſatisfaction. And the negotiation being ſufficiently advanced, Mr. Haſtings openly brought forward a propoſition in Council, October 5, 1783, to aſſiſt the Mogul with a military force: and at a ſubſequent meeting of the Board, he laid before them a letter from Major Browne, dated Dehli, December 30, 1783, containing, amidſt much miſcellaneous matter, the following extraordinary paſſages:—"The buſineſs of aſſiſting the SHAH can and muſt now go on, if we wiſh to be ſecure in India, and regarded as a nation. We have offered, the Shah has accepted the offer of aſſiſtance.—We have annexed conditions, the Shah has approved of them."

The project thus unexpectedly and forcibly obtruded on the Board by Mr. Haſtings, was, however, very ill received by his colleagues, Mr. Wheeler and Mr. Stables, who ſtrongly remonſtrated againſt involving the Company in new wars and dangerous foreign connections. But Mr. Haſtings was not a man to be diſcouraged by trivial obſtacles.

Early in the following year, 1784, Mr. Haſtings made a progreſs to the city of Lucknow, and there had an interview with the Prince Mirza Jehander Shah, eldeſt ſon of the Mogul, and who, as the Governor General in his public letter ſays, "had long held the principal part in the adminiſtration of the king his father." From Mr. Haſtings's account of this interview, which he repreſents as wholly unexpected and fortuitous, the Prince having left the Court of Dehli without even the knowledge of the Emperor, it appears that urgent ſolicitations were made by the heir of the Mogul Empire to the Engliſh Governor, for aid and aſſiſtance to raiſe the KING, his father, from that ſtate of degradation and inſignificance into which he had fallen: intimating his readineſs even to go in perſon to England, to repreſent the diſtreſſes of the Emperor of Hindoſtan, in the hope of obtaining relief. Mr. Haſtings in reply informed the Prince, "that the Engliſh nation, juſt emerged from a ſtate of univerſal warfare, required repoſe, and would be alarmed at any movement of which it could not immediately ſee the iſſue or the progreſs, but which might eventually create new hoſtilities; that, as to himſelf, he could not engage, *if he choſe it*, in a buſineſs of this nature, without the concurrence of his colleagues in office, who he believed would be averſe to it; that he would, however, repreſent his ſituation to the joint members of his own Government, and wait their determination. In the mean time he adviſed him to make advances to Madajee Scindia, as the effective head of the Mahratta State, and who was in intimate union and ſworn connection with the Engliſh."

In his ſubſequent diſpatches to the Council at Calcutta, Mr. Haſtings requeſts to be inveſted with diſcretionary powers of acting in relation to the Court of Dehli, under a vague promiſe of "not *proceeding* againſt

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their ſenſe." The Council, in reply, not only refuſed to grant any ſuch powers, but exhorted him "moſt ſeduloufly and cautiouſly to avoid, in his correſpondence with the different potentates of India, whatever might commit, or be ſtrained into an *interpretation* of committing, the Company as to their army or treaſure—obſerving, that the Company's orders are poſitive againſt their interference in the objects of diſpute between the *Country Powers*." But this injunction the ſophiſtical ſubtlety of Mr. Haſtings was at no loſs how to evade; for, in his letter of June 1784, to the Court of Directors, he ſays, "The faction which now ſurrounds the THRONE, is widely different from the idea which your commands are intended to convey by the expreſſions to which you have generally applied them, of 'Country Powers,' to which that of permanency is a neceſſary adjunct, and which may be more properly compared to a ſplendid bubble, which the ſlighteſt breath of oppoſition may diſſipate, with every trace of its exiſtence—That if the Mogul's authority is ſuffered to receive its final extinction, it is impoſſible to foreſee what power may ariſe out of its ruins, or what events may be linked in the ſame chain of revolution with it.—Your intereſts *may* ſuffer by it; your reputation certainly *will*, as his right to our aſſiſtance has been conſtantly acknowledged; more eſpecially as, by the movements which the influence of our Government by too near an approach has excited, it has unfortunately become the efficient inſtrument of a great portion of the King's preſent diſtreſſes and dangers."

According to this moſt curious logic, the Company's orders, not to interpoſe in the diſputes of "the Country Powers," were not violated by entering into a war for the re-eſtabliſhment of the authority of the Mogul; *becauſe*, the Imperial Crown of Hindoſtan being reduced to a "ſplendid bubble," the Emperor could not now be reckoned amongſt the Country Powers. But, either recollecting or forgetting himſelf, he immediately offers another argument directly the reverſe of the former, viz. "that the authority of the Mogul, even in its preſent ſtate, was ſo conſiderable, that, if it was ſuffered to be annihilated, great danger might ariſe to the Company's intereſts, from the power which ſhould be eſta-

bliſhed on its ruins." And laſtly he urges, "that the Engliſh Company are bound in equity and juſtice to aſſiſt in raiſing the throne of the Mogul to its former ſtate of exaltation, becauſe they have been the efficient inſtrument of its preſent diſtreſs and degradation," alluding no doubt to the deprivation of his tribute and the ſeizure of his demeſne, "in lieu of which they were now bound *in honor* to enable him to ſeize upon the property of others; and his Imperial Majeſty would, no doubt, deem himſelf bound in return to reward his honorable allies, the Company, with a reaſonable ſhare of the plunder."

On the firſt advice of the flight of the Prince from Dehli, Mr. Haſtings wrote to the Mahratta Chief, Madajee Scindia, to appriſe him of this event, and, profeſſing *himſelf unprepared*, to aſk his advice how to act in this emergency: and certain confidential agents from the Mahratta Chief repairing to Lucknow, held frequent and ſecret conferences with the Governor, the purport of which was never communicated to the Board at Calcutta.

The whole of this tiſſue of cabals and intrigues terminated, however, very unexpectedly, in the ſudden invaſion of the Emperor's territories by the Mahrattas, who made themſelves maſters of Dehli; and the Emperor, being a ſecond time priſoner in their hands, was obliged to declare the head of the Mahratta State to be Vicegerent of the Mogul Empire; in which capacity great and indefinite claims of ſuperiority were advanced on the part of the Peiſhwa, and a ſpecific claim ſet up to the tribute due to the Emperor from Bengal.

Far from being alarmed at this addition to the Mahratta power, Mr. Haſtings declared, "that ſuch was the attachment of Scindia to the Engliſh, that, while he lives, every acceſſion of territory obtained by him will be an advantage to this Government." Upon which it has been authoritatively remarked, "That if this were true reſpecting the perſonal diſpoſition of Scindia, yet does it not leſſen the criminality of eſtabliſhing

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a power, which muſt ſurvive the man to whom a power more than perſonal was given *.

What is perhaps the moſt extraordinary circumſtance in theſe extraordinary tranſactions, Mr. Haſtings, embracing the opportunity when the Mahrattas were aſſembled in great force upon the frontiers of the Vizieriate of Oude, entered into an AGREEMENT with the Vizier, after ſeven years uſeleſs retention of them at a ruinous expence, to withdraw a very great proportion of the Britiſh troops in this moment of danger from the province; aſſerting, in contradiction to the whole tenor of his conduct and former declarations, "that this Government has not any right to force defence with its maintenance upon the Nabob." The Council refuſing in preſent circumſtances to ratify this *agreement*, Mr. Haſtings moved, in his minute of December 4, 1784, "that if, contrary to his opinion, the ſaid troops ſhould not be reduced, they ſhould be employed under the Prince Mirza Jehander Shah (now notoriouſly under the abſolute control of the Mahrattas) to aſſiſt in carrying on a war againſt the nation called the SEIKS, the antient enemies of the Mahratta State; a warlike people, poſſeſſing an extenſive territory to the north-weſt of India, on the confines of Tartary. I feel," ſays he, "the ſenſe of an obligation impoſed upon me, by the ſuppoſition I have made, to ſtate a mode of rendering the detachment of uſe in its preſcribed ſtation, and of affording the appearance of a cauſe for its detention."

* Vide Articles of Impeachment exhibited againſt Warren Haſtings, Eſq. by Edmund Burke. But theſe articles, though ratified by the vote of the Houſe of Commons, with the exception merely of the Rohilla charge, muſt by no means be confounded with the articles actually preſented by the Commons, at the bar of the Houſe of Lords; which, being reduced by a ſubſequent reviſion, from 22 to 20 in number, aſſumed a new and very different form. In the latter, the important charges relative to the Rohillas, the Mahrattas, the treatment of the Mogul, the negotiations at Dehli, &c. &c. were entirely omitted. Thoſe retained were: 1ſt, the article reſpecting Benares; 2d, the Begums; 3d, Ferruckabad; 4th, Contracts; 5th, Fyzoola Khan; 6th, Preſents; 7th, Revenues; and the thirteen laſt conſiſt in a detail, under various heads, of the oppreſſions and diſtractions prevailing in the province of Oude in conſequence of the mal-adminiſtration of Mr. Haſtings.

Mr.

Mr. Haſtings indeed admitted, that there was no *preſent danger* to the Company's poſſeſſions from this remote and almoſt unknown people; but he declared, "that their military and enthuſiaſtic ſpirit, the hardineſs of their natural conſtitution, the dangers which *might* ariſe from them in ſome future time, if they *ſhould ever happen* to be united under one head, were reaſons in favor of this war; and he predicted great danger from them, at no very diſtant period, if they be permitted to grow into maturity without interruption. Acknowledging that the urgent ſolicitations of the Prince had their weight with him, he profeſſed nevertheleſs that a ſtronger impulſe, ariſing from the hope of blaſting the growth of a generation whoſe ſtrength *might* become fatal to our own, pleaded in his mind for ſupporting his wiſhes."

The Council, unable to explore the dark and unfathomable abyſs of the Governor's politics, and aſtoniſhed, doubtleſs, at an inconſiſtency ſo groſs and flagrant as that of warring againſt a power *leſt it ſhould become formidable*, in favor of a power *already formidable*, negatived the propoſition; and the peace of India was for this time happily preſerved.

Reſignation of Mr. Haſtings.

The Governor, perceiving his influence in the Council loſt, knowing his reputation at home to be greatly in the wane, and fearing moſt probably a diſgraceful diſmiſſion, now thought it expedient to RESIGN the GOVERNMENT. On his arrival in England he was, after a long previous inveſtigation of his numerous delinquencies, moſt deſervedly IMPEACHED at the bar of the Houſe of Lords, by the Commons of Great Britain, of HIGH CRIMES and MISDEMEANORS in the execution of his office.

His character.

The political character of Mr. Haſtings, on a cool and impartial review of his conduct, ſo forcibly impreſſes itſelf upon the mind, that it can derive little aid from any adventitious illuſtration. Daring in the conception, and ardent in the proſecution of his deſigns; fertile in reſources, and relying with confidence and even with pride on the ſtrength of his own genius, his character acquired a certain ſtamp of dignity and ſuperiority from the inflexibility of his temper, and the apparent force of

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his own conviction reſpecting the rectitude and propriety of his meaſures: to which muſt be added, that in his public diſpatches he poſſeſſed the dangerous art of giving plauſibility to the moſt abſurd and pernicious meaſures by artful and impoſing gloſſes, branching out ſometimes into ſtudied ambiguities, ſometimes into bold aſſumptions, under a perpetual external ſhow of ingenuouſneſs, liberality, and candor.

The numerous individuals returning in rapid ſucceſſion from India, whom Mr. Haſtings had engaged in his intereſt by various obligations, contributed alſo to enhance his reputation, by the high eulogiums which they almoſt univerſally beſtowed upon his conduct; and in which, dazzled by the brilliant exterior of the Governor's adminiſtration, and unequal to the clear comprehenſion of an extenſive and complex ſyſtem, they were probably for the moſt part very ſincere. The truth however is, that this man, for thirteen years the ſcourge of the Eaſt, and whom ignorance and folly have prepoſterouſly ranked with the SULLYS and the CHATHAMS of the Weſt, has never been, and never can become, the theme of diſcerning and rational panegyric. Not to ſpeak of his total and flagrant diſregard of the ſole legitimate end and object of government, the happineſs of the governed, his conduct will be found, in almoſt all its parts, and in the choice and proſecution of his own purpoſes, abſurd, perplexed, capricious and inconſequent. His courſe was one perpetual deviation from the ſtraight and luminous path of political and moral rectitude; and his general reputation was ſupported merely by his habitual vigor of mind and perſonal courage, which were in him intimately blended, and ſeemed to riſe on ſome occaſions even to the ſemblance of magnanimity. His exertions in the laſt war for the preſervation of the Carnatic, which he had ſo wantonly and raſhly endangered, were generally and juſtly ſpoken of as highly meritorious; but even in this moſt ſplendid and boaſted part of his political conduct, he could challenge only the praiſe of a madman, who fires a houſe and then labors ſtrenuouſly to extinguiſh the flames.

The adminiſtration of Mr. Haſtings has been truly ſaid, in the glowing expreſſions

expreſſions of eloquence *, "to exhibit a medley of meanneſs and outrage, of duplicity and depredation, of prodigality and oppreſſion, of the moſt callous cruelty contraſted with the hollow affectation of liberality and good faith. The ſordid ſyſtem of commercial policy, to which all the arrangements and regulations of the Company are ultimately to be traced, was under his government carried to its utmoſt extent.—Thus have nations been extirpated for a ſum of money, whole tracts of country laid waſte to furniſh an inveſtment, princes expelled for the balance of an account, and a bloody ſceptre wielded in one hand, in order to repleniſh the empty purſe of mercantile mendicancy diſplayed in the other."

The conceſſions of Mr. Haſtings himſelf are indeed occaſionally very large and ample; for his views ſeldom ſeem to have extended beyond the preciſe object which he wiſhed at the moment to compaſs. The ruinous effects of Britiſh perfidy and Britiſh barbarity in India, are very ſtrongly and diſtinctly ſtated in his letters, diſpatches, and minutes of Council. In his minute of September 29, 1783, he ſays, "By a ſacred and undeviating obſervance of every principle of public faith, the Britiſh dominion might have by this time acquired the means of its extenſion, through a virtual ſubmiſſion to its authority, to every region of Hindoſtan and Decan.—But the Powers of India ALL dread the connection.—The ſubjection of Bengal, the uſurpations in the Carnatic, the licentious violations of the treaty with the Nizam, the effects of our connections with the Vizier, ſtand as TERRIBLE PRECEDENTS againſt us." Yet as to himſelf, the *primum mobile* of the whole ſyſtem, he declares in his famous Minutes of Defence, "that he had the conſcious ſatisfaction to ſee all his meaſures terminate in their deſigned objects; that his political conduct was invariably regulated by truth, juſtice, and good faith; and that he reſigned his charge in a ſtate of eſtabliſhed peace and ſecurity, with all the ſources of its abundance unimpaired, and even improved." To reconcile theſe apparent incongruities, we are required

* Vide Sheridan's Speech on the Begum charge, in the 14th article of impeachment.

therefore,

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therefore, by a ſpecies of faith which can work miracles, to believe that there exiſted in India crimes without a criminal, oppreſſions without an oppreſſor, and tyranny without a tyrant *. In fine, when we conſider with

* If it be poſſible yet to entertain any ſhadow of doubt reſpecting the effects of the general policy adopted by the Engliſh Government in India, it muſt aſſuredly vaniſh when we hear the deciſion of Lord Cornwallis, the noble ſucceſſor of Mr. Haſtings, who, in his diſpatch of Auguſt 2, 1789, ſays, "Independent of all other conſiderations, I can aſſure you that it will be of the utmoſt importance for promoting the ſolid intereſts of the Company, that the principal land-holders and traders in the interior parts of the country ſhould be RESTORED to ſuch circumſtances as to enable them to ſupport their families with *decency*. —I am ſorry to be *obliged* to ſay, that agriculture and internal commerce have for many years been gradually declining; and that at preſent, excepting the claſs of Shroffs and Banians, who reſide almoſt entirely in great towns, the inhabitants of theſe provinces were advancing haſtily to a general ſtate of poverty and wretchedneſs. In this deſcription I muſt even include almoſt EVERY ZEMINDAR in the Company's territories."—And in his minute of Council, dated September 18, 1789, his Lordſhip aſſerts, and the aſſertion is ſurely enough to ſtrike us with amazement and horror, "That ONE THIRD of the Company's territory is now a JUNGLE inhabited by WILD BEASTS."

* * * * * * * * * * *

A pamphlet has recently appeared, which, though it bears no name on the title-page, is the *acknowledged production* of Major Scott, the intimate and confidential friend of Mr. Haſtings, ſtigmatizing the preſent Hiſtory in terms the moſt unqualified, as "replete with ignorance, partiality, and miſrepreſentation;" and particularly reprobating the affirmation, "that Mr. Haſtings was impeached after a long previous inveſtigation of his delinquencies." BUT it is no where aſſerted in the Hiſtory, that each and every article of the general charge underwent a cloſe inveſtigation: the contrary is notorious. It is nevertheleſs true of the *leading articles* of the charge, that they underwent a very long and laborious diſcuſſion. Upon what ſpecific grounds the individuals who compoſed the majorities on the ſucceſſive diviſions ſeverally voted, it is uſeleſs and fruitleſs to enquire. As to the triumphant boaſt ſo often repeated, that no complaints of the miſconduct or oppreſſion of Mr. Haſtings have been tranſmitted from India to England, it is obvious to aſk, What claſs of natives, after the terrible cataſtrophe of the Rajah Nundcomar, could in reaſon be expected to venture the conſequences of ſtanding forward as the public accuſers of Mr. Haſtings? To whom are they to apply for redreſs? Who are to plead their cauſe? In what court would it be adviſable for them to inſtitute their ſuit? "Have we not," to adopt the words of an animated writer †, "invaded the territories of an unoffending people, and broken down the barriers which Nature herſelf ſeems to have erected as limits to our ambition and as leſſons to our avarice? We cannot indeed hear the execrations which we may have pro-

† Charles Marſh, Eſq. Temple.

voked,

with ſerious attention the origin and progreſs of the Britiſh Government in India, the friendſhip and generoſity with which the Engliſh nation was received and permitted to form eſtabliſhments in that country, the black and

voked, for oceans divide us from them. We cannot hear the cries of the nations that have been ſubjected to the dominion of our rapacity and oppreſſion. The natives of India do not repreſent their wrongs by ambaſſadors. But we may read them in the very nature of man, and in thoſe feelings which teach him to revolt at tyranny and uſurpation in every climate and quarter of the globe." With reſpect to the accuſation of ignorance and miſrepreſentation, it muſt ſuffice to ſay, that the preſent work was compoſed without the remoteſt view of intereſt on the one hand, or motive of reſentment on the other; and from ſuch materials as are generally eſteemed moſt authentic and important. In the courſe of the narrative of Indian tranſactions are interwoven a greater number of original quotations and authorities than any hiſtory perhaps in the ſame compaſs can parallel—amply ſufficient it is preſumable to eſtabliſh the general credit of the work and the integrity of the writer. Certainly it would be extreme injuſtice not to allow that many of Mr. Haſtings's embarraſſments were not of his own creating, and that he diſplayed great reſolution and addreſs in ſurmounting them. If the tranſactions of Benares and Oude are fairly and ingenuouſly placed to the account of political neceſſity; if it be alleged in favor of Mr. Haſtings, "that, putting the worſt conſtruction on his conduct, he robbed," to uſe the words of Major Scott, "not for himſelf but for the public;" it is difficult to conceive how the nation, who without heſitation takes advantage of theſe extortions, and refuſes to reſtore its ill-gotten wealth, can with any color of juſtice puniſh the inſtrument of her own delinquency. This is the ſum and ſubſtance of the arguments advanced in favor of Lord Clive, to whom Major Scott ſeems to think the Hiſtory comparatively partial—quoting what he is pleaſed to ſtyle an eloquent paſſage relative to the proſecution inſtituted againſt that nobleman as far more applicable to Mr. Haſtings. But this plea cannot poſſibly be ſet up in bar of divers of the articles charged as delinquencies againſt Mr. Haſtings; and the Rohilla war, the ſecond Mahratta war, and the projected war againſt the Seiks, will ſtill remain in the records of India in full and terrible force againſt him. But the *general-reſult* of Mr. Haſtings's adminiſtration is by Major Scott aſſerted to be *artfully* and no doubt maliciouſly paſſed over by the Hiſtorian, although it cannot be denied, if the atteſtation of an advocate is valid proof, to have been "highly honorable to himſelf and uſeful to his country." Certain nevertheleſs it is, that the writer of the Hiſtory thought he had fairly ſtated the *general reſult* of the meaſures of Mr. Haſtings in his own words, when quoting his "laſt and ultimate hope," expreſſed to the Court of Directors in his diſpatch of April 30, 1784, "that their wiſdom would put a final period to the *ruinous and diſreputable ſyſtem of interference*, whether avowed or ſecret," joined to his ſubſequent confeſſion, October 1784, "that to no other purpoſes than thoſe of *vengeance and corruption* will agents armed with authority exerciſe their powers;"—and ſtill more explicitly in the

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and baſe ingratitude with which thoſe obligations were requited, and the unexampled, unprovoked, and unatoned exceſſes which have been perpetrated on the princes and inhabitants of Hindoſtan, is it the weakneſs of ſuperſtition merely, to tremble at the ſecret apprehenſion that ſome mighty vengeance is yet in ſtore for this kingdom; and to apply to BRITAIN the ſublime and terrible prophetic denunciations originally uttered againſt the proud, corrupt, and tyrannic ſtates of antiquity? "THUS ſaith the LORD GOD—Behold I am againſt thee—I will ſtretch out mine hand againſt thee, and I will make thee moſt deſolate. I will lay thy cities waſte, and thou ſhalt be deſolate, and thou ſhalt know that I am the LORD.—Becauſe thou haſt had a perpetual hatred, and haſt ſhed the blood of this people by the force of the ſword; becauſe thou haſt ſaid, Theſe nations and theſe countries ſhall be mine, and we will poſſeſs them: therefore, as I live, ſaith the LORD GOD, I will even do according to thine anger, and according to thine envy, which thou haſt uſed out of thine hatred againſt them—and thou ſhalt know that I am the LORD, and that I have heard all thy blaſphemies which thou haſt ſpoken, ſaying, They are laid deſolate, they are given us to conſume.—I have heard them: therefore, when the whole earth rejoiceth, I will make THEE deſolate, and they ſhall know that I am the LORD."

We are now to revert, from this long but neceſſary and important digreſſion, to the regular narrative of events in England.

1781. On the 18th of July 1781, the ſeſſion was cloſed by a ſpeech, in which his Majeſty obſerved, "that the great efforts made by the nation, to ſurmount the difficulties of the preſent arduous and complicated war,

language of Lord Cornwallis, who declares "the inhabitants of the conquered provinces to be haſtily advancing to *a general ſtate of poverty and wretchedneſs*; and the land to be in great part converted into a receptacle for WILD BEASTS." Should the queſtion then be aſked, "What is the *general reſult* of Mr. Haſtings's ſyſtem of policy in India?" the anſwer is unhappily but too obvious—"Vengeance and corruption, ſlaughter and devaſtation!" If Mr. Haſtings claim for merits and ſervices ſuch as theſe a garland of laurel, it muſt be gathered from the enchanted foreſt of Armida—every leaf DROPPING BLOOD!

muſt

must convince the world that the antient ſpirit of the Britiſh nation was not abated or diminiſhed; and he was reſolved to accept of no terms or conditions of peace, than ſuch as might conſiſt with the honor and dignity of his crown, and the permanent intereſts and ſecurity of his people."

Attempt on the iſle of Jerſey.

The military hiſtory of the preſent year was marked, in its commencement, by a ſpirited though abortive attempt on the part of the French, to capture the iſland of Jerſey by a *coup-de-main*.—Early on the 16th of January 1781, a landing was effected by the Baron de Rullecourt, at the head of about 800 men, at the Bank du Violet; and, to the aſtoniſhment of the inhabitants, when the day began to dawn, the market-place of St. Helier was found occupied by French troops. The Governor's houſe being entirely ſurrounded, he was compelled to ſurrender himſelf priſoner, and was ſo far intimidated as even to ſign articles of capitulation. But when Elizabeth-Caſtle was ſummoned, Captain Aylward, the commander, far from paying the leaſt regard to the acts of the Governor in his preſent ſtate of durance, fired upon the French and obliged them to retreat; and Major Pierſon, a young and gallant officer, ſecond in command, having aſſembled the regular troops and militia of the iſland on the heights near the town, attacked the enemy with the greateſt reſolution and vigor. Baron Rullecourt being at the commencement of the action mortally wounded, the French troops in leſs than half an hour laid down their arms, and ſurrendered themſelves priſoners of war. Unfortunately almoſt the laſt ſhot fired previous to the ſurrender proved fatal to Major Pierſon, in whoſe conduct, during the whole of this tranſaction, diſcretion and valor had been equally conſpicuous.

Capture of St. Euſtatia.

Early intelligence of the rupture with Holland having been tranſmitted to the Weſt Indies, Admiral Rodney and General Vaughan appeared, February 1781, with a very conſiderable naval and military force before the iſland of St. Euſtatia, that famous depoſit of wealth and mart of traffic. So little apprehenſive were the inhabitants of this event, that it

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was with difficulty they were brought to give credit to the ſummons. Being totally deſtitute of the means of reſiſtance, they were compelled to ſurrender at diſcretion. But ſo far were the Britiſh commanders from imitating the noble example of lenity and policy ſet by the Marquis de Bouillé, that, with a rigor unknown and unheard of amongſt civilized nations, the immenſe property found on the iſland was declared to be confiſcated, on pretence of the aſſiſtance afforded by the inhabitants to the Americans—as if the inhabitants of Euſtatia were amenable to the laws of Great Britain. The ſtores and merchandize, eſtimated at three millions ſterling, were publicly ſold for about one fourth of their real value; and the world ſaw with aſtoniſhment Britiſh naval and military officers, of the higheſt rank and reputation, degraded by a kind of harlequin metamorphoſis into ſaleſmen and auctioneers. A prodigious number of trading veſſels lying in the harbor alſo became the property of the victors, with two men of war, one of which was a flag-ſhip commanded by Admiral Count Byland.

Nearly at the ſame time the Dutch ſettlements of Demerary, Berbicia and Iſſequibo, on the Southern Main, alſo ſubmitted without reſiſtance to the arms of his Britannic Majeſty. Here, however, the ſame indiſcriminate confiſcation of private property did not take place. But the proceedings at St. Euſtatia excited univerſal conſternation; and a memorial was preſented to Admiral Rodney and General Vaughan, by the hands of Mr. Glanville, his Majeſty's Solicitor General for St. Chriſtopher's, ſtrongly repreſenting, "that if by the fate of war the Britiſh Weſt India iſlands ſhould fall into the hands of an enraged enemy, the conduct of St. Euſtatia would be a pretext for them to retaliate; that the conquerors of all civilized countries had avoided the invaſion of private property; that the generoſity of the enemy had been very conſpicuous; and even in the caſe of Grenada, which had been taken by ſtorm, the rights of individuals had been held ſacred; that Euſtatia was a free port, and the rich and various commodities found there were far from being the ſole property of the Dutch; that a great proportion of it belonged to Britiſh ſubjects; and that, previous to the declaration of war, the

the trade to Euſtatia was ſtrictly legal, and the officers of his Majeſty's cuſtoms cleared out veſſels from all the ports of Great Britain and Ireland for this iſland. And not merely the legality, but the propriety, of this trade was confirmed by the conduct of his Majeſty's naval officers in thoſe ſeas; for if the King's enemies were ſupplied by the trade of his ſubjects through Euſtatia, they were likewiſe ſupplied, through the ſame channel, by the ſale of the prizes captured by his Majeſty's ſhips of war."—The Admiral haughtily replied to Mr. Glanville, "that he had no LEISURE to peruſe the memorial; but that the iſland of Euſtatia was Dutch, every thing in it was Dutch, every thing was under the protection of the Dutch flag, and as Dutch it ſhould be treated."

Tobago taken by the French.

While the Britiſh arms were thus ignobly employed, the French fleet under Count de Graſſe, after a partial engagement with Admiral Hood, who in the abſence of Sir George Rodney commanded the Engliſh fleet, ſteered its courſe to the iſland of Tobago, on which M. de Bouillé, with a conſiderable land force, made an immediate deſcent. Admiral Rodney, on receiving intelligence of this attack, detached a ſquadron for the relief of the iſland, which finding the French in great force was obliged to return; and the Admiral, accompanied by General Vaughan, now ſailed in perſon with the whole fleet for Tobago, off the coaſt of which he arrived the 4th of June, but had the mortification to learn that the iſland had ſurrendered on the ſecond.

Euſtatia retaken by the French.

At the latter end of the year the iſland of Euſtatia was loſt in a manner not leſs diſgraceful than that by which it had been gained. M. de Bouillé, receiving certain intelligence of the habitual negligence of the garriſon, landed by night about four hundred troops, part of a much larger force which the tempeſtuouſneſs of the weather had ſeparated, in a cove at the back of the iſland. This ſpirited officer, confiding in his fortune, advanced with his troops, as ſoon as day-light appeared, to the citadel, which they immediately ſtormed, and carried with little difficulty; and the ſurpriſe being very complete, near

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ſeven hundred men, with Colonel Cockburne their commander, were, by a moſt humiliating neceſſity, conſtrained to ſurrender themſelves priſoners of war. The generoſity of M. de Bouillé was on this occaſion, as on every other, no leſs conſpicuous than his gallantry, forming a contraſt with the conduct of the late captors, very flattering to the feelings of his countrymen. Reſtitution, ſo far as circumſtances would permit, was immediately made to thoſe unfortunate individuals who had been ſtripped and plundered of their property; and a declaration publiſhed, that the forces of his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty defended the iſland only till relieved by the troops of their High Mightineſſes.

Naval and military operations in America.

On the continent of America, the war in the central colonies, though conducted by the oppoſing Commanders in Chief, ſeemed to languiſh, and affords ſcarcely any incident worthy of hiſtoric regard. Early in the preſent year it happened that the whole Pennſylvania line in the continental army, from cauſes of diſſatisfaction not well aſcertained, at once revolted; and, collecting the artillery, ſtores, &c. belonging to them, moved in an entire body out of the camp. General Clinton, anxious to improve to the utmoſt this ſeeming advantage, immediately paſſed over to Staten Iſland with a large body of forces, and diſpatched meſſengers to the revolters with almoſt unlimited offers of pay, pardon, and protection. Theſe propoſitions were not only rejected with diſdain, but the meſſengers were actually delivered up by them to Congreſs; and having obtained a promiſe of the redreſs of grievances, they ſoon returned to their duty.

An expedition under the conduct of General Arnold and General Philips was ſoon after this undertaken into Virginia, where they ſignalized themſelves by laying waſte the country, and did much damage to the Americans by the deſtruction of an immenſe quantity of proviſions, merchandize, and ſtores depoſited in different parts; and a permanent ſtation was eſtabliſhed at Portſmouth in order to co-operate with Lord Cornwallis, whoſe tranſactions to the ſouthward were ſtill carried on with ſpirit and ſucceſs. A plan having been formed between the French and

American

American Commanders, Count Rochambeau and General Waſhington, to inveſt the poſt occupied by General Arnold, a warm engagement took place in the month of March between Admiral Arbuthnot and a French ſquadron under M. Deſtouches, at the entrance of the Cheſapeak, in which the former obtained the advantage, and was left maſter of the navigation of the bay: and in his diſpatches to the Admiralty, the Naval Commander writes, "The Count Rochambeau muſt ſeek another opportunity of viſiting Virginia—the plan of the REBEL campaign is entirely diſconcerted." But the event of the campaign ill correſponded with the confidence of this prediction.

At the concluſion of the year 1780, General Gates, whoſe recent diſaſters had obliterated the memory of his former ſucceſſes, was ſuperſeded in his command by General Green; a man who, in military talents, appears to have been inferior to no officer employed in the ſervice of the American States during this war. Early in the month of January 1781, Lord Cornwallis began his march to North Carolina, General Green retiring at his approach beyond the Pedee, having previouſly detached Colonel Morgan at the head of the light troops to the weſtward of the Wateree, to penetrate into South Carolina, and watch the motions of the Engliſh at Wynneſborough and Camden. Lord Cornwallis, not chooſing to leave ſo conſiderable a corps in his rear, ordered Colonel Tarleton at the head of a ſuperior force, and who had been hitherto uniformly ſucceſsful in all his enterpriſes, to drive Morgan from his ſtation.

On the 17th of January the Americans were diſcovered poſted at a place called the Cowpens, near an open wood, and drawn up in two lines; the firſt of which conſiſted of militia only, the ſecond of continental infantry and Virginia riflemen; and a choſen body of cavalry was poſted as a *corps de reſerve* at ſome diſtance in the rear. Colonel Tarleton led on the attack with his uſual impetuoſity; and the American militia, as Colonel Morgan had foreſeen, gave way on all quarters. The Britiſh then advanced, ſecure of victory, to the attack of the ſecond line;

Colonel Tarleton defeated at the Cowpens.

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line; and the continentals, after an obſtinate conflict, retreated towards the cavalry. In the mean time the militia had formed again, agreeably to their previous orders, on the right of the continentals; and the American *corps de reſerve*, perceiving the Britiſh troops diſordered in the purſuit, now came forward to the attack—the militia and continentals at the ſame time vigorouſly charging with fixed bayonets. Nothing could exceed the aſtoniſhment of the Britiſh troops at theſe unexpected charges. The advanced corps immediately fell back, and communicated a general confuſion and panic, which all the efforts of Colonel Tarleton could not remedy. Such was the precipitate flight of the cavalry, that the officers, in attempting to rally their men, were overborne and carried away with the torrent; and the greateſt part of the infantry, perceiving themſelves abandoned, threw down their arms and begged for quarter. The cannon, colors, and baggage waggons, with more than 700 priſoners, fell into the hands of the victors. Colonel Morgan received, as he well deſerved, the thanks of the Congreſs, accompanied with a gold medal, for this important victory, which left his antagoniſt deſtitute of all conſolation, excepting that ariſing from the conſcioufneſs of his own gallant perſonal exertions; and Colonel Tarleton might exclaim in the language of Francis I. after the fatal defeat of Pavia, "All is loſt except our honor!"

Inſtead of being overwhelmed with their repeated diſaſters, the Americans ſeemed to riſe with freſh courage from each misfortune. The affair of Cowpens, which ſo ſoon followed the defeat of Major Ferguſon, might have ſufficed to deter an officer leſs enterpriſing than Lord Cornwallis from proſecuting his bold and hazardous projects. His Lordſhip, who in his public diſpatches ſtyled the defeat of Tarleton an unexpected and ſevere blow, in the hope of recovering the priſoners captured at the Cowpens, and intercepting the victorious Americans, immediately marched with the greater part of his army by rapid movements in purſuit of Colonel Morgan. That officer had croſſed the Catawba a few hours only before the arrival of Lord Cornwallis on its ſouthern banks, where, by heavy rains, he was detained two or three days.

On

On the 1st of February, however, the paſſage was found practicable; but Colonel Morgan had by this time croſſed the Yadkin, and effected his junction with General Green, who, on the 5th, wrote confidentially to a military correſpondent, General Huger, that he was preparing to receive the enemy's attack. "It is," ſays he, "not improbable, from Lord Cornwallis's puſhing diſpoſition, and the contempt he has for our army, that he may precipitate himſelf into ſome capital misfortune." At length the whole American army, after croſſing the Dan into Virginia, ſuddenly returned into the province of North Carolina; and with powerful reinforcements took (March 14) a ſtrong poſition near Guildford Court-Houſe. At day-break, on the 15th, Lord Cornwallis advanced to the attack of the Americans, who were formed in three lines ready to receive him. Through the miſbehavior of the North Carolina militia, who were poſted in front, the Britiſh troops ſoon forced their way to the ſecond line compoſed of Virginians, who made a much better defence, and, when at length thrown into diſorder, effected a good retreat. The continental troops, who formed the third line, were laſt engaged; and here the conteſt was long and ſevere, but the Britiſh ultimately carried their point by ſuperiority of numbers and diſcipline. The Maryland brigade being broke, an attempt was made to turn the flank of the Americans, and to ſurround the continental troops; on which General Green drew off the army, and left the field of battle, with the artillery, conſiſting of four field pieces, to the enemy. The Americans retired in good order, and took poſt behind a river, three miles only from the ſcene of action *.

Victory of Lord Cornwallis at Guildford.

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* This victory, for ſo it muſt be called, had, according to the obſervation of the Commander in Chief, Sir Henry Clinton, all the conſequences of a defeat. The royal army was too much diſabled and weakened to purſue the enemy. And we are told by a writer who was himſelf an officer and commiſſary in the army of Lord Cornwallis (Mr. Stedman), "that the Britiſh troops remained near two days without ſubſiſtence; that they were deſtitute of tents, and that the night ſucceeding the battle was remarkable for its darkneſs—the rain at the ſame time falling in torrents. Many of the wounded, ſinking under their aggravated miſeries, expired before morning. The cries of the wounded and dying who remained on the field of action," ſays he, "exceed all deſcription. Such a complicated ſcene of horror

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This was a victory very different from that of Camden, and dearly purchaſed on the part of the Engliſh by the loſs of about 600 veteran troops. Inſtead of purſuing his advantage, his Lordſhip found himſelf under the neceſſity, in order to procure the requiſite ſupplies for his army, to direct his march towards Wilmington, ſituated near the mouth of Cape-Fear river, a poſt already occupied by a detachment of Britiſh troops, where he arrived on the 7th of April.

General Green's maſterly conduct.

General Green, perceiving Lord Cornwallis reduced to a ſtate of reluctant inaction, immediately, by a bold and deciſive manœuvre, directed his march to the ſouthward, and unexpectedly attacked the important poſt of Camden. This was gallantly maintained by Lord Rawdon; but the ſurrounding ſtations of Fort Motte, Orangeburg, Congarees, and Auguſta, being ſucceſſively forced, his Lordſhip was compelled to evacuate Camden, and retire to the ſouth of the Santee. General Green then laid cloſe ſiege to the town or townſhip of Ninety-ſix *, which was conſidered as commanding the whole of the back country; and on the approach of Lord Rawdon, who had recently received great reinforcements from England, attempted to ſtorm the garriſon; but was repulſed with loſs, and retired with his army behind the Saluda. Being adviſed by divers of his officers, on this misfortune, to retreat back to Virginia, he replied with true military enthuſiaſm, "I will recover the country, or die in the attempt." Thus, in ſituations where feeble minds droop and languiſh, the ardor of genius burns with redoubled luſtre. No ſooner was the Britiſh army divided and weakened by the ſeveral detachments neceſſary to occupy their former poſts, than General Green again croſſed the Saluda in force. Lord Rawdon, ſurpriſed and unprepared for action,

and diſtreſs, it is hoped for the ſake of humanity, rarely occurs even in a military life." But ſuch are the triumphs of war—and ſuch the picture of thoſe miſeries which the accurſed ſpirit of pride and domination has in all ages created; and which men loſt to the feelings of humanity, and remote from the ſcene of action, regard with calm indifference, or even for the moſt part as a matter of agreeable amuſement and curioſity.

* This ſingular name had its origin in the number of miles which denoted the diſtance of the ſettlement from the town of Kecowee in the Cherokee country.

retired

retired to Orangeburg; and the important poſt of Ninety-ſix, ſo gallantly defended by Colonel Cruger, was now evacuated. The garriſon joining Lord Rawdon, with other troops drawn from the advanced poſts, General Green took a ſtrong poſition on the high hills of Santee, whence he detached different parties to intercept the convoys and beat up the quarters of the Engliſh between Orangeburg and Charleſtown.

The Britiſh, now under the command of Colonel Stuart, having advanced to the point of junction between the Wateree and Congaree, in order to cover the country to the ſouth and ſouth-eaſt of thoſe rivers; General Green paſſed the Congaree with a view to incloſe the Britiſh army in its preſent inſulated ſituation, or compel them to retreat towards Charleſtown. Colonel Stuart immediately fell back forty miles, to a place called Eutaw Springs, where he took an advantageous poſition, his right extending to the Eutaw, and his left to a riſing ground which was occupied by a *corps de reſerve*. General Green, with the American army, advanced, September 8, 1781, to the attack with the greateſt reſolution. The Virginian and Maryland continentals charged the left wing of the Britiſh with trailed arms through a heavy cannonade and ſhower of muſquetry, and bore down all before them. The American cavalry, at the ſame time, turned the left flank of the Britiſh, and attacked them in the rear. The whole army gave way in great confuſion; but in their retreat, gaining an open field, they were, with much addreſs, rallied by Colonel Stuart, and formed again under protection of an effective and well-directed fire from a large and moated houſe, which ſerved them in the ſtead of a redoubt; and from whence the Americans, after repeated efforts, were not able to diſlodge them. And the right wing of the Britiſh preſſing on the left flank of the Americans, General Green thought proper to order a retreat, leaving four pieces of artillery in the hands of the Britiſh, two of which had been taken by the Americans in the early part of the engagement. The Engliſh were in no condition to purſue, and General Green carried off with him all his wounded and ſeveral hundred priſoners. Alſo about five hundred men were killed and wounded on the part of the Britiſh, by the account of

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Colonel Stuart, in this well-conteſted battle, in which the officers on each ſide fought hand to hand, and ſword to ſword. The loſs of the Americans in all theſe reſpects was much inferior; but as Colonel Stuart was left in poſſeſſion of the field and ſeveral pieces of cannon, he claimed, agreeably to military etiquette, the honor of the victory;—but he might well exclaim with the Monarch of Epirus, "Such another victory, and I am undone!"

In the evening of the next day, he abandoned the Eutaw, and moved towards Charleſtown, after deſtroying a great part of his ſtores; leaving behind him many of his wounded, and about a thouſand ſtand of arms. This engagement was deciſive of the fate of the war in the ſouthern colonies—the Britiſh not being able from this time to appear in the open field, and ſcarcely could they maintain their poſts in the vicinity of Charleſtown and Savannah; and in the courſe of the next year thoſe towns were finally evacuated.

The military talents of General Green appear in a moſt ſtriking point of view, on the recollection that, notwithſtanding a ſucceſſion of what in military language muſt be ſtyled defeats, he finally effected his object, by recovering both the Carolinas in the ſpace of leſs than twelve months. At Guildford, at Camden, at Ninety-ſix, at the Eutaw Springs, the Britiſh commanders claimed the honors of the field, but the Americans reaped all the profit of theſe engagements. The plans of the American General were ſo happily concerted, his movements ſo judiciouſly timed, his vigilance ſo unwearied, his firmneſs and perſeverance ſo heroic, that he might be regarded as the controller rather than the favorite of fortune;—and his meaſures were taken with ſuch ſuperior ſagacity, that they not only merited but in a certain ſenſe commanded ſucceſs.

Lord Cornwallis's ſucceſſes in Virginia.

Lord Cornwallis, to whoſe operations it is now neceſſary to revert, on the march of General Green's army to the ſouthward, found himſelf reduced to a perplexing dilemma—either to abandon the Carolinas to their fate,

ſate, or ſacrifice his hopes of future conqueſts, and entirely diſappoint the high and ſanguine expectations, which he knew to be formed in England, of the reſult of the preſent campaign. His pride at length overbalancing his prudence, he determined to proſecute his march to Virginia.

The Roanoke, the Meherrin, and the Nottaway rivers were ſucceſſively croſſed by the Britiſh army with trifling oppoſition; and on the 20th of May his Lordſhip arrived at Peterſburg, where he was joined by the powerful detachment recently conducted thither by Generals Arnold and Philips. The force under his Lordſhip's command was now very formidable; and the Marquis de la Fayette, who was at the head of the troops collected for the defence of the province, was compelled to keep a guarded diſtance, and conducted himſelf with ſo much judgment, that no conſiderable advantage could be obtained againſt him. From Peterſburg Lord Cornwallis advanced to James River, which he croſſed at Weſt Town; and thence marching through Hanover County, croſſed the South Anna or Pamunky River, whence by a rapid movement Colonel Tarleton had nearly ſurpriſed the Aſſembly of Virginia, now ſitting at Charlotte-ville.

Various expeditions were undertaken to different parts of the province with uniform ſucceſs; and Lord Cornwallis, by a well-concerted manœuvre, having taken a poſition between the American army and its grand *depôt* of ſtores at Albemarle Court-Houſe, could not avoid exulting in his ſuperiority. Knowing that the Marquis de la Fayette was on his march to prevent that important capture, and believing that he could not make his approach but with great diſadvantage and hazard, he in an unguarded moment exclaimed, "The boy cannot eſcape me!" But the Marquis had the addreſs to extricate himſelf from this difficulty, by opening in the night a nearer and long diſuſed road to the Court-Houſe: and the next day, to the ſurpriſe of Lord Cornwallis, he had taken a poſition which effectually covered it from attack.

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Lord Cornwallis, finding his plan fruſtrated, proceeded to Williamſburg, the capital of the province, which he took poſſeſſion of, June 26th, without oppoſition. Here he received advices from Sir Henry Clinton, which informed him, that the Commander in Chief, conceiving New York to be in danger from the united forces of the French and Americans, deſired the troops under General Arnold, which he had detached to Virginia, to be returned. This was the beginning of diſaſters. With this requiſition Lord Cornwallis was compelled, however reluctantly, to comply. Knowing that his adverſary had been lately reinforced by a ſtrong body of troops under General Wayne, he did not think his preſent force adequate to maintain his ſtation at Williamſburg; he therefore determined to croſs James River to Portſmouth.

Reverſe of fortune.

From falſe intelligence General Wayne arrived with the van of the American army on the banks of the river, in expectation of attacking the rear of the Britiſh, unfortunately before any part of the army had paſſed. Perceiving his miſtake, he deemed it the beſt policy to charge boldly, though his corps did not amount to more than eight hundred men. After ſuſtaining a very unequal conflict for ſome time with great reſolution, Wayne ordered a rapid retreat; and Lord Cornwallis, amazed at the circumſtances of this attack, and ſuſpecting that it muſt be meant to draw him into an ambuſcade, forbade all purſuit; and thus the courage of Wayne, as it often happens, availed more to his ſafety than if he had acted with the moſt timid and ſcrupulous caution. In the night Lord Cornwallis paſſed over to Portſmouth, where he purpoſed to eſtabliſh his head-quarters; but, on farther deliberation, removed to York-town, as the more eligible ſituation.

Hitherto the plan of the campaign on the part of General Waſhington had wavered in uncertainty. He had long and ſeriouſly meditated an attack upon New York, and General Clinton had good reaſon to believe that this was finally determined upon at an interview between the American General and Count Rochambeau, which took place in May; and in conſequence of this project, great preparations were made in the vicinity

vicinity of New York, indicatory of an approaching ſiege. But the arrival of conſiderable reinforcements from England, and the recall of ſo large a body of troops from Virginia, led General Waſhington, in his diſpatch of July 30th, to obſerve, "that from this change of circumſtances, they ſhould probably entirely change their plan of operations."

At length a letter from Count de Graſſe, ſtating that his deſtination was unalterably fixed to the Cheſapeak, left no alternative; and a joint anſwer was immediately ſent by the American and French Generals, that they would loſe no time in removing the army to the ſouth of the Delawar, there to meet the Admiral. All the appearances of an attack upon New York were, however, ſtill carefully kept up, till at length, on the 24th of Auguſt, the allied army ſuddenly decamped, paſſed the North River, and by rapid marches proceeded to Philadelphia, where they arrived on the 30th; the fleet of Count de Graſſe, conſiſting of twenty-four ſhips of the line, entering nearly at the ſame time the bay of Cheſapeak.

So ſtrongly impreſſed was the mind of the Britiſh Commander in Chief with the notion of an attack upon New York, that he for a long time conceived the ſouthern march of the American army to be only a feint. But at length, finding that the van of the American army had actually paſſed the Delawar, and receiving authentic intelligence that the fleet of Count de Graſſe was deſtined to the Cheſapeak, he communicated, as he tells us, his SUSPICIONS to Lord Cornwallis; at the ſame time aſſuring his Lordſhip, "that he would either reinforce him by every poſſible means in his power, or make the beſt diverſion he could in his favor."

Doubtleſs, in this critical ſituation, the moſt unlimited diſcretion ought to have been veſted in Lord Cornwallis, conſidering the extreme uncertainty of affording him timely and effectual ſuccor, either to have retreated to Carolina, or to have attacked the enemy previous to the arrival of the combined army. "But being aſſured," to uſe the words

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of Lord Cornwallis, "that every poſſible means would be tried by the navy and army for his relief, he did not think himſelf *at liberty* to attempt either, though he had ſo unfavorable an opinion of the poſt he occupied, that nothing but theſe aſſurances would have induced him to attempt its defence."

It is evident that the leading ideas of the two Britiſh Generals did not coincide; and it may be remarked, that from the moment Lord Cornwallis began to act in ſubordination to orders ſent him from New York, he ceaſed to be ſucceſsful—So eſſential is it that the ſupreme command ſhould reſide in the centre of action. The Commander in Chief was at this period no more than the Governor of a diſtant garriſon; but had Sir Henry Clinton joined Lord Cornwallis in perſon at his entrance into Virginia, or had the ſupreme command been then transferred to Lord Cornwallis, the campaign, ſo far as we are authoriſed to draw a concluſion from concurring probabilities, would not have terminated ſo diſaſtrouſly.

On the 5th of September, the Engliſh fleet, conſiſting of nineteen ſhips of the line under Admiral Graves, appeared off the Capes of Virginia; and Count de Graſſe, expecting a reinforcement from Rhode Iſland, ſtood out to ſea for their protection. A warm engagement enſued, in which the Engliſh appear *not* to have obtained the advantage; and the Count de Graſſe being joined by the ſquadron of M. Barras, was left undiſputed maſter of the Cheſapeak. Relief was from this time wholly impracticable; and Lord Cornwallis withdrew within his works, making every preparation for a vigorous defence. The military talents of this commander, though of no mean rate, were nevertheleſs unequal to ſo novel and perilous an exigency.

On the 17th of September the ſagacity of General Green pronounced, in writing to his military friend and correſpondent Baron Steuben, "Nothing can ſave Lord Cornwallis but a rapid retreat through North Carolina to Charleſtown." But his Lordſhip ſtill lingered, and ſtill indulged eager and

and fruitleſs hopes of ſucceſs. York-town being ſituated nearly at the extremity of a narrow peninſula, incloſed between York River to the north and James River to the ſouth, it was inveſted with great eaſe and advantage by an enemy who commanded the navigation of the two rivers.

On the 14th of October the beſiegers, notwithſtanding the well-directed and inceſſant fire of the enemy, had advanced far in their ſecond parallel. Being greatly incommoded in their approaches by two redoubts at the diſtance of two hundred yards from the Britiſh lines, it was determined to attack them at the ſame time by different detachments of French and Americans. Actuated by the ſpirit of emulation, both redoubts were carried ſword in hand with reſiſtleſs impetuoſity. On marching to the aſſault, the general exclamation was, "Remember New London!" a place on the coaſt of Connecticut, which the renegade Arnold, in one of his predatory expeditions, had recently taken and deſtroyed, putting the troops which defended it to the ſword. On the ſubmiſſion, nevertheleſs, of the Britiſh ſtationed in the two redoubts, their lives were ſpared; and when the Americans were afterwards interrogated why they did not carry their previous reſolve into execution, they replied, "they could not tell how to put men to death while begging on their knees for quarter." By this time the batteries of the beſiegers were covered with one hundred pieces of heavy ordnance; and the Britiſh works, enfiladed in almoſt every part, and nearly demoliſhed, could ſcarcely mount a ſingle gun. In this extremity no other reſource remained than to endeavor to tranſport the garriſon acroſs York River to Gloceſter Point, oppoſite to York Town, where works had been alſo erected, and were ſtill occupied by part of the Britiſh army. But this intention being totally fruſtrated by a violent ſtorm after the embarkation had actually commenced, Lord Cornwallis was reduced to the hard and terrible neceſſity of propoſing terms of capitulation, which were granted only on condition of his Lordſhip's ſurrendering himſelf, and the forces under his command, to the amount of above 7000 men, priſoners of war. The honor of marching out with colors flying, which had been

Lord Cornwallis and his army made priſoners of war.

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refuſed to General Lincoln on his giving up Charleſtown, was now refuſed to Lord Cornwallis; and General Lincoln was apppointed to receive the ſubmiſſion of the army of York Town preciſely in the ſame way his own had been conducted eighteen months before.

Triumph of the Americans on the capture of a ſecond royal army.

Such was the final iſſue of the eager hopes and ſanguine expectations excited by the firſt brilliant ſucceſſes of this noble and gallant commander. The joy of the Americans on the capture of a ſecond royal army was unbounded. In a circuitous march of 1100 miles, from Charleſtown to Williamſburg, every place through which they paſſed had experienced the effects of their rapacity: and inſtead of endeavoring to conciliate the minds of the inhabitants by acts of lenity, they alienated even thoſe who were moſt friendly, by their relentleſs and ſyſtematic ſeverity. Yet was Lord Cornwallis, as an individual, generous, diſintereſted, and humane; but the favorite and avowed maxim of the Britiſh Government at this time, a maxim from which the military commanders ſeem not to have thought themſelves at liberty to depart, was, "that the extreme of rigor, by making the war intolerable, and reſiſtance hopeleſs, was *in effect* the greateſt mercy, and the mode of all others to be adopted, therefore, by the *parental affection of Britain* for reclaiming his Majeſty's *deluded ſubjects* of America." A marble column, with a ſuitable inſcription and trophies, was ordered by the Congreſs to be erected at York Town, in commemoration of this glorious and deciſive event; and a ſolemn thankſgiving to Almighty God was appointed throughout all the States of the Union, "for the ſignal ſucceſſes with which he had vouchſafed to bleſs the armies of America, combating in defence of their rights and liberties."

The remaining miſcellaneous tranſactions of the year muſt now be ſuccinctly noticed.

Commodore Johnſtone's expedition to the Cape of Good Hope.

Early in the ſpring Governor Johnſtone, late one of the Commiſſioners to America, was inveſted with a naval command, and with a conſiderable ſquadron was detached on an expedition to the Cape of Good Hope. The

The Court of Verſailles, knowing the preſent inability of the States General to protect their foreign dominions, ſent a ſuperior ſquadron under M. Suffrein, to counteract the deſigns of the Engliſh; and coming up with them at Port Praya, in the iſland of St. Jago, the French Admiral ſcrupled not to violate the neutrality of the Portugueſe flag, by attacking the ſquadron of Commodore Johnſtone while it lay diſperſed and ſcattered, unſuſpicious of danger, in the harbor. Happily the French, rather by extraordinary efforts of valor on the part of the Britiſh ſeamen, than of ſkill on that of their Commander, were beaten off; but immediately proceeding to the Cape, they effectually ſecured that important ſettlement from any hoſtile attempt. Commodore Johnſtone, on his ſubſequent and tardy arrival, was obliged to content himſelf with the capture of ſeveral Dutch Eaſt Indiamen in Saldanha Bay; and thoſe of his ſhips which were deſtined for the Eaſt Indies proſecuting their voyage thither, the Commodore returned home with his prizes from his inglorious though lucrative expedition.

Obſtinate engagement between the Engliſh and Dutch fleets off the Dogger Bank.

In the courſe of the ſummer an engagement took place off the Dogger Bank, between an Engliſh ſquadron commanded by Admiral Hyde Parker, and a Dutch ſquadron of equal force under Admiral Zoutman, who had under convoy the Baltic trade bound to the Texel. On perceiving the Engliſh fleet bearing down, the Dutch Admiral, who was to leeward, lay-to, and the Engliſh were ſuffered to approach within half muſquet ſhot without firing a gun, when a dreadful cannonade commenced, which was kept up without interruption for three hours and forty minutes; and the action then ceaſed only becauſe the ſhips on both ſides, from the damages they had reſpectively ſuſtained, were no longer found manageable. The Dutch, after ſome time, bore away with their convoy for the Texel, which they reached with great difficulty, one of their largeſt ſhips ſinking before they could make the harbor.

Admiral Parker, who had unavailingly applied to the Admiralty for a reinforcement, returned in great diſcontent and in a ſhattered condition

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to the Nore, where he received the ſignal honor of a viſit from his Majeſty on board his own ſhip, and was offered *knighthood* as the reward of his valor. But his haughty refuſal ſhewed how little he was flattered by theſe petty and puerile diſtinctions.

The Dutch on their part beſtowed rewards more liberal and ſolid on the officers and ſailors of their fleet, and Admiral Zoutman was received at Amſterdam with great applauſe and acclamation: and the event of this remarkable action ſhewed, that the Dutch ſeamen were ſtill poſſeſſed of that determined courage which had diſtinguiſhed them in the days of De Ruyter and Van Tromp.

About this time the Emperor, now reſident in the Netherlands, iſſued a placart, by which Oſtend was declared to be a free port; and in the month of October he acceded in form to the armed neutrality, as the Kings of Pruſſia and Portugal had alſo previouſly done.

Spirited proceedings of the Parliament and people of Ireland.

Notwithſtanding the great conceſſions made by the Parliament of Great Britain to the people of Ireland, that country, finding its own ſtrength, remained in a ſtate far ſhort of ſatisfaction: for it had ſtill much to aſk, or rather to demand. The army on the Iriſh eſtabliſhment had been hitherto invariably governed and directed by the ſole prerogative of the Monarch; but as the ſpirit of liberty and independence increaſed, a Mutiny Bill, on the model of the Engliſh, had been recently introduced into the Iriſh Parliament, and paſſed into a perpetual law. But a meaſure originally highly popular, was now the ſubject of loud complaint; and it was affirmed, not without reaſon, that liberty could never be ſecured on juſt and conſtitutional grounds, ſo long as the Monarch was irrevocably inveſted with the unlimited power of the ſword; that in England the Mutiny Bill was paſſed only from year to year, and in the very preamble of it ſtanding armies without the conſent of Parliament are declared illegal; the troops themſelves, the law that regulated, and the power that commands them, are by this bill limited

limited to one year. Thus was the army of England rendered a parliamentary army, and the conſtitutional aſcendency of the ſubject over the ſoldier preſerved. BOOK XIV. 1781.

In numerous county and provincial meetings the ſupremacy of the Britiſh Parliament was in formal reſolves poſitively denied, and the abſolute independence of Ireland on the Britiſh Legiſlature boldly aſſerted. The unconſtitutional powers of the Iriſh Privy Council, where, agreeably to the famous law of Poyning, all laws muſt originate, were reprobated, a Habeas Corpus Act loudly called for, the abolition of all ſuperfluous places and penſions inſiſted upon. The zeal and activity of the military aſſociations ſufficiently evinced their determination to enforce their claims by a mode of application which was in no danger of being diſregarded.

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BOOK XV.

Session of Parliament—Infatuation of Miniſters. Motion condemnatory of the American War by Sir James Lowther. Remarkable Debate on the Army Eſtimates. Lord George Germaine advanced to the Peerage under Circumſtances of unprecedented Indignity and Diſgrace. Mr. Fox renews his Motion of Cenſure upon Lord Sandwich, in which two hundred and ſeventeen Members of the Houſe of Commons concur. General Conway's Motion againſt the American War negatived by a Majority of one Voice only. General Conway's ſecond Motion carried by a Majority of nineteen Voices. Succeſſive Motions of Cenſure on the Miniſters. Entire Change of Adminiſtration—Marquis of Rockingham a ſecond Time Miniſter. High and peremptory Claims of the Iriſh Parliament. Repeal of the Iriſh Declaratory Act. Mr. Burke's Reform Bill a third Time introduced, and paſſed. King's Debts a third Time diſcharged. Reſolution reſpecting the Middleſex Election reſcinded. Mr. Pitt's Motion of Enquiry into the State of the Repreſentation. Death of the Marquis of Rockingham. Advancement of Earl Shelburne—Fatal Diviſions amongſt the Whigs. Minorca conquered by the Spaniards. Iſland of St. Chriſtopher, &c. captured by the French. The Bahamas taken by the Spaniards. Deciſive Victory of Sir George Rodney over the French off Dominique. Glorious Defence and final Relief of Gibraltar. Proviſional Articles of Peace with America ſigned at Paris, November 1782. *General Waſhington reſigns his Commiſſion. Seſſion of Parliament—Strength of the New Miniſtry. Preliminaries of Peace with France and Spain ſigned. Debates on the Peace—Terms of it diſapproved by the Commons. Coalition between Mr. Fox and Lord North. Change of Miniſtry—Duke of Portland Firſt Miniſter.*

Miniſter. Extreme Unpopularity of the Coalition Adminiſtration. Act of Renunciation of the Authority of Great Britain over Ireland. Embarraſſments of the Eaſt India Company. Mr. Pitt's Plan of Parliamentary Reform. Remarkable Petition of the Quakers. Order of Council for the Regulation of Commerce between the Continent of America and the Weſt Indies. Treaty of Peace ſigned between England and Holland. State of Europe. Mr. Fox's India Bill moved—Paſſes the Commons, but is rejected by the Lords. Sudden Diſmiſſion of the Coalition Miniſters. Mr. Pitt Firſt Miniſter—His great Popularity. Political Conflict between the Crown and the Commons. Mr. Pitt's India Bill rejected. The Nation declares in Favor of the Crown. The Parliament diſſolved. Meeting of the New Parliament—Triumph of the Miniſter.

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Seſſion of Parliament.

THE ſecond ſeſſion of the preſent Parliament commenced at Weſtminſter on the 27th of November 1781. In the ſpeech from the throne his Majeſty obſerved, "that the war was ſtill unhappily prolonged, and that, to his great concern, the events of it had been very unfortunate to his army in Virginia, having ended in the total loſs of his forces in that province. But he could not conſent to ſacrifice, either to his own deſire of peace or to the temporary eaſe and relief of his ſubjects, thoſe eſſential rights and permanent intereſts upon which the ſtrength and ſecurity of this country muſt ever principally depend." His Majeſty declared, "that he retained a firm confidence in the protection of Divine Providence, and A PERFECT CONVICTION of the JUSTICE of his CAUSE;"—and he concluded by calling "for the concurrence and ſupport of Parliament, and a VIGOROUS, ANIMATED, and UNITED EXERTION of the FACULTIES and RESOURCES of his PEOPLE."

Infatuation of Miniſters.

Upon the whole, this ſpeech was plainly indicatory of a fixed and reſolute determination to proſecute a war, of which it might well be ſuppoſed, that "fools as groſs as ignorance made drunk" might by this time have ſeen the hopeleſſneſs and the abſurdity.

The Monarch had now ſwayed the ſceptre of theſe kingdoms more than twenty years, and in the courſe of a long and variegated ſeries

of events, his character both perſonal and political was completely matured and developed. The province of Hiſtory is ſacred; and in the delineation of the different perſonages whom ſhe exhibits on the grand theatre of human action, ſhe equally diſdains injuſtice to the meaneſt and adulation to the higheſt individual. The capacity of this Prince—whoſe reign will be memorable to all ſucceeding ages—little cultivated by education, and unimproved in early youth by a liberal intercourſe with men of genius and diſcernment, was by univerſal acknowledgment of a claſs BOOK XV. 1781.

Such is the picture drawn by the indelible pencil of Truth of the Sovereign whom adulation and folly have, with a too bitter ſatire on royalty, ſtyled the BEST of KINGS. The reverſe of the medal will indeed diſcover a life paſſed without any remarkable deviation from the rules of decorum; and much leſs any direct violation of the higher and more ſerious obligations of morality and religion. Grave, temperate, devout; from the contamination of thoſe vices which are uſually conſidered as more peculiarly characteriſtic of courts, he was wholly free. But the virtues of the man, were they ſuch as to entitle him to the honors of papal canonization, unfortunately afford to the public a moſt inadequate and wretched compenſation for the errors and imperfections of the monarch; under whoſe direful reign it may be juſtly affirmed, that the people ſuffered all that a dark and capricious malignity could inflict under the reſtraints of a Conſtitution radically excellent.

The ſpeech from the throne underwent, as may well be imagined, the ſevereſt animadverſion.—Mr. Fox ſaid, he had expected, and he knew it

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had been expected by many others, to hear on this occaſion his Majeſty declare from the throne that he had been deceived and impoſed upon by miſinformation and miſrepreſentation; that, in conſequence of his deluſion, the Parliament had been deluded, but that now the deception was at an end; and requeſting of his Parliament to deviſe the moſt ſpeedy and efficacious means of putting an end to the public calamities: inſtead of which they had heard a ſpeech breathing little elſe than vengeance, miſery, and blood. Thoſe who *were ignorant of the perſonal character of the Sovereign,* and who imagined this ſpeech to originate with him, might be led to ſuppoſe that he was an unfeeling deſpot, rejoicing in the horrid ſacrifice of the liberty and lives of his ſubjects, who, when all hope of victory was vaniſhed, ſtill thirſted for revenge. The Miniſters who adviſed this ſpeech he affirmed to be a CURSE to the country over the affairs of which they had too long been ſuffered to preſide. From that unrivalled pre-eminence which we ſo lately poſſeſſed, they had made us the object of ridicule and ſcorn to the ſurrounding nations. The noble Lord in the *blue ribband* had indeed thought fit to aſcribe the American war and all its attendant calamities to the ſpeeches of Oppoſition. Oh! wretched and incapable Miniſter, whoſe meaſures are framed with ſo little foreſight, and executed with ſo little firmneſs, that, becauſe a raſh or intemperate invective is uttered againſt them in the Houſe of Commons, they ſhall inſtantly crumble in pieces, and bring down ruin upon the country!—Miſerable Stateſman! to allow for no contingencies of fortune, no ebullition of paſſion, no colliſion of ſentiment! Could he expect the concurrence of every individual in that Houſe? and was he ſo weak or wicked as to contrive plans of government of ſuch a texture that the intervention of circumſtances obvious and unavoidable would occaſion their total failure, and hazard the exiſtence of the empire? Miniſters muſt expect to hear of the calamities in which they had involved the empire, again and again—not merely in that Houſe, but, as he truſted, at the tribunal of juſtice:—for," ſaid he, "the time will ſurely come, when an oppreſſed and irritated people will firmly call for SIGNAL PUNISHMENT on thoſe whoſe counſels have brought the nation ſo near to the brink of deſtruction. An indignant nation will ſurely in the end

end compel them to make ſome faint atonement, for the magnitude of their offences, on a PUBLIC SCAFFOLD." He concluded with moving, "That of the addreſs propoſed the whole be omitted excepting the firſt paragraph, and the following words inſerted:—'And we will without delay apply ourſelves with united hearts to propoſe and digeſt ſuch counſels as may in this criſis excite the efforts, point the arms, and, by a total change of ſyſtem, command the confidence, of all his Majeſty's ſubjects.'"

This amendment was vigorouſly ſupported by Mr. Pitt, who declared, "That the duty he owed his Sovereign and his country compelled him to exert every effort to prevent the Houſe from precipitately voting an addreſs which pledged them to the ſupport of that fatal ſyſtem which had led this country, ſtep by ſtep, to the moſt calamitous and diſgraceful ſituation to which a once flouriſhing and glorious empire could be reduced.—Was it becoming the Parliament of a free people to echo back the words which a Miniſter, long practiſed in the arts of deluſion, had dared to put into the Royal mouth? He implored the Houſe not to vote for an addreſs fraught with treachery and falſehood, which could not have been framed by any who felt for the honor of the King, the dignity of Parliament, or the intereſt of the Nation."

Mr. Burke drew a moſt ſtriking picture of the loſſes and diſaſters which had been ſuſtained through the egregious folly and miſconduct of the preſent Adminiſtration. "Under ſuch circumſtances the language held by the noble Lord was, he ſaid, audacious; it was inſulting. Mr. Burke declared that he deplored and mourned over the calamities of his country: but to ſee the noble Lord ſtand up in the face of day, and hear him *impudently* vindicate the meaſures which had given birth to them—this was moſt of all alarming—this it was which froze his blood and harrowed up his ſoul!" Mr. Burke ridiculed with keen and exquiſite poignancy the ſtreſs ſo abſurdly laid on the ſuppoſed original and inherent right of Great Britain to exerciſe taxation over America. "Oh ineſtimable right!" exclaimed Mr. Burke, "oh wonderful tranſcendent right! the aſſertion of which has coſt this country thirteen provinces, ſix iſlands,

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100,000 lives, and ſeventy millions of money! Oh invaluable right! for the ſake of which we have ſacrificed our rank among nations, our importance abroad, and our happineſs at home! Oh right! more dear to us than our exiſtence; which has already coſt us ſo much, and which ſeems likely to coſt us our all!—Infatuated man!" cried Mr. Burke, fixing his eye on the Miniſter: "Miſerable and undone country! not to know that the claim of right, without the power of enforcing it, is nugatory and idle! 'We had a right to tax America,' the noble Lord tells us, 'therefore we ought to tax America.' This is the profound logic which compriſes the whole chain of his reaſoning. Not inferior to this was the wiſdom of him who reſolved to ſhear the wolf. What! ſhear a wolf? Have you conſidered the reſiſtance, the difficulty, the danger of the attempt? 'No,' ſays the madman, 'I have conſidered nothing but the right. Man has a right of dominion over the beaſts of the foreſt, and therefore I will ſhear the wolf.' How wonderful that a nation could be thus deluded! But the noble Lord dealt in cheats and deluſions. They were the daily traffic of his invention. And he would continue to play off his *cheats* on that Houſe ſo long as he thought them neceſſary to his purpoſe, and ſo long as he had money enough at command to bribe gentlemen to pretend that they believed him. But a black and bitter day of reckoning would ſurely come; and whenever that day came, he truſted that he ſhould be able, by a PARLIAMENTARY IMPEACHMENT, to bring upon the heads of the authors of our calamities the puniſhment they deſerved."

An amendment of the ſame import with that propoſed by Mr. Fox was moved in the Upper Houſe by the Earl of Shelburne, and ſupported by the Duke of Richmond, who declared "the misfortunes of this country to be owing to that wretched ſyſtem of government which had been early adopted in the reign of his preſent Majeſty, and to the influence of that INTERIOR CABINET which (he ſaid) had been the ruin of this country;" and he recalled to the recollection of the Houſe the memorable declaration of the late Earl of Chatham, 'that he was duped and deceived, and that he had not been ten days in the Cabinet before he felt the ground rotten under his feet."

In

In both Houſes, however, the addreſſes were carried by great majorities, and a moſt melancholy and alarming proſpect preſented itſelf to the nation, of a fatal perſeverance in a war which, from an involuntary and irreſiſtible conviction univerſally impreſſed, was now regarded as deſperate, and paſſionately deprecated as tending to certain and remedileſs ruin.

In a very few days, a motion being made by Sir Grey Cooper for the Houſe to reſolve itſelf into a Committee of Supply, a vehement debate aroſe. Mr. Fox, in the courſe of a moſt animated ſpeech, aſked "if Miniſters would give any ſatisfactory aſſurance to the Houſe, that the military forces which ſhould hereafter be ſent acroſs the Atlantic, would be employed more ſucceſsfully or honorably than thoſe which had already been ſent thither? Did the American Secretary wiſh to diſpatch a third army to America, that General Waſhington might a third time receive them as priſoners of war? Did he wiſh that more Britiſh troops ſhould be devoted to ſlaughter, captivity, and diſgrace? Notwithſtanding the defeat and diſhonor which had attended the meaſures of Adminiſtration, they had yet diſcovered no ſigns of humiliation or penitence. Inſtead of acknowledging that they turned their eyes with inquietude and ſhame upon the criminal expenditure of fruitleſs millions, they did not bluſh to move for an increaſe of grants, that they might proſecute, till ruin ſhould have ſtopped their infamous career, hoſtilities which were the reſult of barbarous ambition, of implacable malevolence, of a deteſtation of liberty, of a contempt for every principle of juſtice, equity, and honor."

The Miniſters were ſo vigorouſly puſhed in this debate, and ſeemed ſo utterly incapable of defending themſelves or their meaſures, that it was probably a welcome ſurpriſe to them, to find in their favor, on the diviſion, 172 voices to 77.

Motion condemnatory of the war, by Sir James Lowther.

It being underſtood that preparations were making for another embarkation of troops from Ireland to America, a very important motion was on the 12th of December made by Sir James Lowther, "That it be reſolved by the Houſe, that the war carried on againſt the Colonies and Plantations of

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of North America had been ineffectual to the purpoſes for which it was undertaken; and that it was alſo the opinion of this Houſe, that all farther attempts to reduce the Americans to obedience by force, muſt be injurious to this country, by weakening her powers to reſiſt her antient and confederated enemies." In ſupport of this motion, which was indeed the plain dictate of common ſenſe, the mover obſerved, "that the late ſpeech from the throne had given a juſt alarm to the nation—it had ſhewn them that the Miniſters were determined to perſevere in the American war—that more blood and more money were to be laviſhed in this fatal conteſt—the men inveſted with the powers of government derived no advantage from experience—the ſurrender of one army only gave them ſpirit to riſque a ſecond, and the ſurrender of the ſecond only inſtigated them to venture a third. There was no end of loſs nor of madneſs. The unexampled ignorance and miſconduct of the Miniſtry were now viſible to all the world. It was therefore become the indiſpenſable duty of that Houſe to come to ſome ſolemn reſolution, in order to mark and define their idea of the American war, and to convince their conſtituents that they were awake to the real ſituation of the country."

The motion was ſeconded by Mr. Powys, member for Northamptonſhire, who acknowledged, "that a variety of pretexts inſidiouſly advanced by the Miniſters, and too credulouſly received by the majority of that Houſe, had ſeduced them, from one ſeſſion to another, to move with fatal ſteps along the path to national deſtruction. The war with the Colonies was the idol of his Majeſty's Miniſters; they had bowed before it themſelves, and had made the nation bow. The conduct which at the commencement of hoſtilities might be denominated firmneſs, had now degenerated into obſtinacy; an obſtinacy which called upon all honeſt and independent men to deſert the preſent Adminiſtration, unleſs a change of meaſures were adopted. That men who were indebted to war for their emoluments, power, and influence, ſhould perſevere in ſuch iniquitous and ſelfiſh meaſures, was not extraordinary; but it was a juſt cauſe for wonder that they ſhould be ſupported by individuals of independent principles and independent fortunes. The inſidious pretence of revenue was

grown too ſtale for impoſition. The American war had been a war of deluſion from beginning to end. Every promiſe had been broken, every aſſertion had been falſified, every object relinquiſhed. It was now a war of this ſort, then a war of that ſort; now a war of revenue, then a war of ſupremacy; now a war of coercion, and then a war of friendſhip and affection for America: but it was time to put an end to theſe chicaneries. Whatever might be the nature of the war, no proſpect of ſucceſs in it remained. He therefore not only gave the motion his full concurrence, but he ſhould feel the higheſt pleaſure if it received the general approbation of the Houſe."

This ſpeech bore a very ominous aſpect with relation to the Miniſters; for, Mr. Powys being himſelf a principal leader of the independent intereſt, or *country gentlemen*, in the Houſe, there was reaſon to apprehend the ſpeedy and general defection of that high and haughty claſs of Members: and a mere miniſterial majority of placemen and penſioners, it is ſuperfluous to ſay, affords only a rotten and treacherous ſupport, whenever a ſurmiſe prevails that ſupport is really wanted.

In the courſe of the debate General Burgoyne acknowledged "that he was now convinced the *principle* of the American war was wrong, though he had not been of that opinion when he engaged in the ſervice. Paſſion and prejudice and intereſt were now no more, and reaſon and obſervation had led him to a very different concluſion: and he now ſaw that the American war was only one part of a ſyſtem levelled againſt the Conſtitution of this country and the general rights of mankind."

Notwithſtanding the utmoſt oppoſition of the Miniſter, the numbers, on dividing the Houſe, appeared to be 179 in favor of the motion, againſt 220 who oppoſed it. This was a majority in which the Miniſtry had little reaſon to exult. It afreſh excited the moſt ſanguine hopes of the public, who, with the exception of the High Tory and Prerogative Faction, were now perfectly unanimous in their reprobation of the war and its authors.

On

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On the 14th of December, two days only after the motion of Sir James Lowther, the army eſtimates were laid before the Houſe by the Secretary at War; from which it appeared that the whole military force required for the year 1782, including the provincial corps ſerving in America, amounted to 195,000 men. One hundred thouſand ſeamen and marines had been already voted by the Houſe. It was however ſtated by Lord George Germaine, "that the Miniſtry were of opinion, conſidering the preſent ſituation of affairs, and the misfortunes of the war, that it would not be right to continue any longer the plan on which it had hitherto been conducted; and that a freſh army would not be ſent to ſupply the place of that captured at York Town. It was intended only to preſerve ſuch poſts in America, as might facilitate and co-operate with the enterpriſes of our fleets."

Remarkable debate on the army eſtimates.

In the debate which enſued, Sir George Saville particularly diſtinguiſhed himſelf. "At length, then," ſaid this firm and faithful patriot, "we are given to underſtand that a change is to be made in the MODE of conducting the American war. The Miniſters do not intend to proſecute it in the ſame manner as before.—Why? Becauſe they could not if they would. But it appeared that they were determined to proſecute it with all the feeble efforts of which they were yet capable. Being detained in the country by ill health, he had not heard the King's ſpeech on its firſt delivery: but when it reached him in his retirement, he had read it with HORROR, announcing as it did the continuance of the preſent war in its moſt deſtructive form. As to the addreſs of that Houſe, in anſwer to the ſpeech, it was a mere echo without meaning, a futile and empty ſound. So ſervile was the dependence of that Houſe on the Executive Power, and ſo little ſolicitous were they to conceal their dependence, that if the King's ſpeech had contained the line, 'What beauties does Flora diſcloſe!' he doubted not but the addreſs would have filled up the couplet by repeating, 'How ſweet are her ſmiles upon Tweed!' The Miniſters had loſt the two hands of the empire in the proſecution of this frantic and ineffectual war; by a continuance of it they would riſque the head. Such a conduct reſembled,

if

if it did not indicate, the violence of insanity. Could the House so far forget their dignity, and relinquish their understanding, as not to resist this madness? Would they intrust lunatics with the management of the public purse? Would they place the sword within their hands, and bid them use it at their DISCRETION?"

General Conway declared himself "anxious for a recall of our fleets and armies from America. Of two evils he would choose the least, and submit to the independence of America, rather than persist in the prosecution of so pernicious and ruinous a war. As to the idea now suggested of a war of posts, what garrisons, he asked, would be able to maintain them, when it was well known that even Sir Henry Clinton, at New York, did not consider himself as secure?"

Mr. Fox remarked, "that four years ago, after the disaster of Saratoga, the noble Lord at the head of affairs had amused the House with the same language. Then the plan of future hostilities was to be differently modified, and the war conducted on a smaller and more contracted scale. On this contracted scale, however, we had lost another great army, besides suffering other grievous defeats and irretrievable calamities."

Mr. Pitt reprobated with the utmost force of language, "as a species of obstinacy bordering upon madness, the idea of any further prosecution of the American war, with our fleets opposed by a superior force, and our armies in captivity. He appealed to the whole House, whether every description of men did not detest and execrate the American war, and whether it were uncharitable to implore the Almighty to shower down his vengeance on the men who were the authors of their country's ruin?"

The impression made by the successive speeches of the principal leaders of Opposition in this debate, was too great to be concealed; but the estimates, as originally moved, were at length voted by a considerable majority.

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1781. Nearly at this time a petition was preſented by the City of London to the King, in which the calamities reſulting from the war are ſtated in terms peculiarly impreſſive and eloquent. In concluſion they ſay, "We beſeech your Majeſty no longer to continue in a deluſion from which the Nation has awakened, and that your Majeſty will be graciouſly pleaſed to relinquiſh entirely and for ever the plan of reducing our brethren in America by force. And we do further humbly implore your Majeſty, that your Majeſty will be graciouſly pleaſed to diſmiſs from your preſence and councils all the adviſers, *both public and ſecret*, of the meaſures we lament, as a pledge to the world of your Majeſty's fixed determination to abandon a ſyſtem incompatible with the intereſt of the Crown and the happineſs of your People."

1782. Soon after the receſs of Parliament, Mr. Fox renewed his former motion of cenſure againſt the Firſt Lord of the Admiralty; and ſuch ſtrength had the Oppoſition now acquired, that in a Houſe of near four hundred members, it was rejected by a majority of only twenty-two. The unpopularity of the American Secretary was ſo great and manifeſt, that he now thought it expedient, ſeeing parliamentary cenſures likely to become again in faſhion, to reſign the ſeals of that department—and for his *eminent ſervices* he was by his Majeſty raiſed to the dignity of the Peerage. But before the Great Seal was affixed to the patent, the Marquis of Carmarthen moved in the Houſe of Peers, "that it was highly derogatory to the honor of that Houſe, that any perſon laboring under the ſentence of a court martial, ſtyled in the public orders iſſued by his late Majeſty 'a cenſure much worſe than death,' and adjudged unfit to ſerve his Majeſty in any military capacity, ſhould be recommended to the Crown as a proper perſon to ſit in that Houſe."

Lord George Germaine advanced to the Peerage, under circumſtances of unprecedented indignity and diſgrace.

The motion was evaded by the queſtion of adjournment; but Lord George Germaine having actually taken his ſeat in the Houſe under the title of Lord Viſcount Sackville, the Marquis of Carmarthen renewed his attack, and urged, "that, the Houſe of Peers being a court of honor, it behoved them to preſerve that honor uncontaminated, and to mark in the

the moſt forcible manner their diſapprobation of the introduction of a perſon into that aſſembly who was ſtigmatized in the orderly books of every regiment in the ſervice."

Lord Abingdon, who ſeconded the motion, ſtyled the admiſſion of Lord George Germaine to a peerage "an inſufferable indignity to that Houſe, and an outrageous inſult to the public.—What (ſaid his Lordſhip) has that perſon done to merit honors ſuperior to his fellow-citizens? His only claim to promotion was, that he had undone his country by executing the plan of that accurſed inviſible, though efficient Cabinet, from whom as he received his orders, ſo he had obtained his reward."

Lord Sackville, in his own vindication, denied the juſtice of the ſentence paſſed upon him, and affirmed "that he conſidered his reſtoration to the Council Board, at a very early period of the preſent reign, as amounting to a virtual repeal of that iniquitous verdict."

The Duke of Richmond ſtrongly defended the motion, and ſaid "that he himſelf was preſent at the battle of Minden, and was ſummoned on the trial of Lord George Germaine; and had his depoſition been called for, he could have proved that the time loſt when the noble Viſcount delayed to advance, under pretence of receiving contradictory orders, was not leſs than *one hour and a half;* that the cavalry were a mile and a quarter only from the ſcene of action; and it was certainly in his Lordſhip's power to have rendered the victory, important as it was, far more brilliant and deciſive; and he had little reaſon to complain of the ſeverity of the ſentence paſſed upon him."

Lord Southampton alſo, who, as Aid-de-camp to Prince Ferdinand on that memorable day, delivered the meſſage of his Serene Highneſs to his Lordſhip, vindicated the equity of the ſentence.

The motion was likewiſe powerfully ſupported by the Earl of Shelburne, the Marquis of Rockingham, and other diſtinguiſhed Peers.

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On the diviſion, nevertheleſs, it was rejected by a majority of ninety-three to twenty-eight voices: but to the inexpreſſible chagrin of Lord Sackville, a proteſt was entered on the Journals of the Houſe, declaring the promotion of his Lordſhip to be "a meaſure fatal to the intereſts of the Crown, inſulting to the memory of the late Sovereign, and highly derogatory to the dignity of that Houſe."

Mr. Fox renews his motion of cenſure upon Lord Sandwich.

Mr. Fox, on the 20th of February 1782, again brought forward his motion of cenſure, ſomewhat varied, on Lord Sandwich, which was negatived by a majority of nineteen voices only, in a Houſe conſiſting of 453 members; but, to the aſtoniſhment of the nation, the noble Lord ſtill daringly kept poſſeſſion of his office, although 217 members of the Houſe of Commons had pronounced him "guilty of a ſhameful miſmanagement of the naval affairs of Great Britain." The Oppoſition appearing every day to gain ſtrength in the Houſe of Commons, the downfall of the Miniſtry began at length to be confidently predicted.

General Conway's motion againſt the American war.

On the 22d of February, General Conway moved "for an addreſs to the King, earneſtly imploring his Majeſty, that he would be graciouſly pleaſed to liſten to the humble prayer and advice of his faithful Commons, that the war on the continent of North America might no longer be purſued, for the impracticable purpoſe of reducing that country to obedience by force." This was oppoſed in a long ſpeech by Mr. Welbore Ellis, the new Secretary for the American Department, who declared, "that it was now in contemplation to contract the ſcale of the war, and to proſecute hoſtilities by ſuch means as were very diſſimilar from the paſt. That *unhappy faction* in America which ſtill continued its reſiſtance to the Government of this kingdom, though *leſs numerous than the party of the royaliſts*, could only be *rooted out* by puſhing the war with vigor againſt France. In order to obtain peace with America we muſt vanquiſh the French; and as in the late war America had been ſaid to be conquered in Germany, ſo in this America muſt be conquered in France. In preſent circumſtances, the Adminiſtration were conſcious of the neceſſity of drawing into a narrow compaſs the operations of the

American war, a change of circumſtances demanding a correſpondent change of meaſures." That this miſerable mixture of falſehood and folly ſhould fail to make impreſſion upon the Houſe, cannot be deemed wonderful, and the Miniſtry themſelves ſeemed to deſpair of their cauſe, when they committed the defence of it to ſo contemptible an advocate; —whom Mr. Burke, in reply, overwhelmed with the ſupercilious and poignant diſdain of his ridicule. "This war," Mr. Burke ſaid, "had been moſt amazingly fertile in the growth of new ſtateſmen; the Right Honorable Gentleman was indeed an old Member, but a young Secretary. Having however ſtudied at the feet of Gamaliel, he had entered into full poſſeſſion of all the parliamentary qualifications by which his predeceſſor had been ſo conſpicuouſly diſtinguiſhed;—the ſame attachments, the ſame antipathies, the ſame extravagant deluſion, the ſame wild phantoms of the brain, marked the Right Honorable Gentleman, as the true miniſterial heir and reſiduary legatee of the Noble Viſcount. And notwithſtanding the metamorphoſis he had recently undergone, he was ſo truly the ſame thing in the ſame place, that juſtly might it be ſaid of him, '*alter et idem naſcitur*.' Being of the caterpillar ſpecies, he had remained the deſtined time within the ſoft and ſilken folds of a lucrative employment, till having burſt his ligaments he fluttered forth the butterfly Miniſter of the day." On the diviſion, however, the Miniſtry had ſtill a *majority*, but a fearful majority of ONE voice only! the numbers being 192 for, and 193 againſt the motion; ſo that the pyramidal edifice of miniſterial power ſeemed now, by a marvellous and magical inverſion, to reſt upon its apex.

Negatived by only one voice.

"Mr. Fox immediately gave notice, that in a few days the queſtion would be revived under another form. Accordingly, on the 27th of February, General Conway moved, "That it is the opinion of this Houſe, that a farther proſecution of offenſive war againſt America would, under preſent circumſtances, be the means of weakening the efforts of this country againſt her European enemies, and tend to increaſe the mutual enmity ſo fatal to the intereſts both of Great Britain and America." The General ſpoke with indignation of the objection urged againſt the laſt

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laſt motion, that it was an unconſtitutional interference in matters pertaining to the Executive Power. He ſaid, it had been ever the cuſtom of that Houſe to interpoſe its advice whenever it thought proper, in all matters of peace and war, as their journals incontrovertibly proved.

In order to evade an immediate determination upon the queſtion, the Attorney-General Wallace moved, "that a Bill ſhould be prepared, enabling his Majeſty to conclude a truce with America, and to enter into a negotiation on this ground." This propoſition was negatived by a majority of 19, the numbers being 234 to 215; and the original motion of General Conway was then carried without a diviſion.

General Conway's ſecond motion carried.

The General next moved an addreſs to the King, founded on the preciſe words of the motion. This was agreed to, and it was reſolved, that the addreſs ſhould be preſented to his Majeſty by the whole Houſe; which was accordingly done on the 1ſt of March: and his Majeſty moſt graciouſly replied, "That, in purſuance of the advice of the Houſe of Commons, he would aſſuredly take ſuch meaſures as ſhould appear to him moſt conducive to the reſtoration of harmony between Great Britain and her *revolted* Colonies."

This not being deemed by the now glorious majority of the Houſe ſufficiently explicit, General Conway on the 4th of March moved another addreſs to his Majeſty, returning him thanks for his gracious aſſurances, and affirming, "That nothing could ſo eſſentially promote the great objects of his Majeſty's paternal care, as the meaſures his faithful Commons had humbly, though earneſtly, recommended to his Majeſty." This was agreed to NEM. CON. and by a ſecond motion it was reſolved, "That the Houſe will conſider as enemies to his Majeſty and the country, all thoſe who ſhould adviſe a proſecution of offenſive war on the continent of North America." The glory of General Conway, who had ſixteen years before reſtored peace to the empire by his motion for the repeal of the Stamp Act, was now complete.

The

The Miniſter giving notice of his intention to poſtpone for ſome days laying before the Houſe the additional taxes, which were to pay the intereſt of the new loan of thirteen millions and a half, Mr. Burke ſeized the occaſion to obſerve, "that he had lately been taking a view of the bleſſed fruits of the noble Lord's adminiſtration; and he had found we were already loaden with ten new taxes, viz. beer, wine, ſoap, leather, houſes, coaches, poſt-chaiſes, poſt-horſes, ſtamps, and ſervants. It was indeed no wonder that the Miniſter ſhould be at a loſs about new taxes, for what freſh burdens could he add to this unhappy nation? We were already taxed if we rode, or if we walked; if we ſtaid at home, or if we went abroad; if we were maſters, or if we were ſervants. In the courſe of the noble Lord's adminiſtration, we had expended one hundred millions of money, and ſacrificed one hundred thouſand lives, and all this without producing in return the leaſt benefit to the nation. On the contrary, the nation had been, in conſequence of the wretched miſconduct of the Miniſter, deprived of thirteen colonies, to which might be added the loſs of Senegal, Penſacola, Minorca, and ſome of our beſt Weſt India Iſlands."

Succeſſive motions of cenſure on the Miniſters.

Notwithſtanding the late majorities in the Houſe of Commons, in oppoſition to the Miniſters, they ſeemed to entertain no thoughts of reſigning thoſe offices which they had ſo long and ſo undeſervedly enjoyed. It was therefore thought neceſſary to move a direct vote of cenſure upon them, at the cloſe of a ſeries of reſolutions brought forward by Lord John Cavendiſh on the eighth of March, importing, as the reſult of the whole, "that the chief cauſe of all the national misfortunes is want of foreſight and ability in his Majeſty's Miniſters."

The motion was ſeconded by Mr. Powys, who remarked, "that the noble Lord at the head of affairs had declared, that whenever Parliament ſhould withdraw its confidence from him, he would reſign. That period was now come. The confidence of Parliament was withdrawn. It was therefore neceſſary that he ſhould retire from power; and whenever the happy moment ſhould arrive, in which the noble Lord, to the unſpeak-

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able joy of the nation, ſhould really go to his Sovereign to reſign his employments, he hoped he would not forget to lay before the King a fair repreſentation of the flouriſhing ſtate in which he found his Majeſty's empire when the government of it was intruſted to his hands, and the ruinous condition in which he was about to leave all that remained of it." After a long debate, the order of the day was moved, and on a diviſion was carried by a majority of ten voices, the numbers being 226 to 216.

In a few days a reſolution was moved by Sir John Rous, Member for Suffolk, a man once zealouſly attached to the preſent Miniſtry, "that the Houſe, taking into conſideration the debt incurred and the loſſes ſuſtained in the preſent war, could place no farther confidence in the Miniſters who had the direction of public affairs." A vehement debate enſued, in the courſe of which a ſpeech was made by Sir James Marriott, Judge of the Court of Admiralty, vindicatory of the Miniſtry and of the war, which he aſſerted was juſt in its origin, however unfortunate in its conſequences. "And though it had been *pretended*, that the inhabitants of America were not repreſented in Parliament, the fact, he ſaid, was certainly otherwiſe; for the grant and charter of the lands of the province of Virginia, with which the ſubſequent grants correſponded, were expreſſed in the following terms: 'To have and to hold of the King or Queen's Majeſty, as part and parcel of the manor of Eaſt Greenwich in the county of Kent, *reddendum* a certain rent at our Caſtle of Eaſt Greenwich, &c.' ſo that the intereſts of America were in truth, by the nature of their tenure, repreſented in Parliament by the Knights of the county of Kent." This aſtoniſhing *legal* diſcovery was received by the Houſe with much leſs gravity than it was communicated by the learned Judge, who ſeemed not to be at all aware, that no authority of law could give weight to folly, or reſpectability to nonſenſe. On the diviſion, the numbers were 227 for, and 236 againſt the motion. But with ſuch a majority victory was defeat.

Four days after this, March 19, the Earl of Surry had propoſed to move a reſolution of ſimilar import to that of Sir John Rous. But when his

his Lordſhip was about to riſe, Lord North addreſſed himſelf to the Speaker, and ſaid, "that as he underſtood the object of the noble Lord's motion to be the removal of Miniſters, he wiſhed to prevent the neceſſity of giving the Houſe farther trouble by an explicit declaration, THAT HIS MAJESTY HAD COME TO A DETERMINATION TO MAKE AN ENTIRE CHANGE OF ADMINISTRATION: and he and his colleagues only retained their official ſituation till other Miniſters were appointed to occupy their places. His Lordſhip thanked the Houſe for the indulgence he had experienced from them in the diſcharge of his duty, and declared himſelf ready to anſwer to his country for his conduct whenever he ſhould be called upon for that purpoſe." Lord Surry conſented, not without reluctance, and by a lenity moſt pernicious in its conſequences, upon this communication, to wave his motion, which, he declared, "was intended to prevent the farther perpetration of thoſe abuſes of their truſt, to which with impunity, and to the diſgrace and detriment of the State, the *late Miniſters* had for ſuch a length of time proceeded." Thus was this famous, or, to uſe a term more characteriſtically appropriate, this infamous Adminiſtration, ſo long the bane and curſe of the Britiſh empire, and of the world at large, ſuddenly and totally diſſolved, to the inexpreſſible joy of all ranks and orders of people. It was however by many feared, that great difficulty would ariſe in the formation of a new and efficient Adminiſtration, on account of the unfortunate diviſion which had long ſubſiſted among the Whigs in oppoſition to the Court. Of the two parties, that of Lord Rockingham was by far the moſt numerous and powerful; but, from various cauſes eaſily and diſtinctly aſcertainable by attentive obſervers, the other party, of which ſince the death of Lord Chatham the Earl of Shelburne was accounted the head, were in leſs diſfavor with the King;—and the higheſt department of government was upon this occaſion expreſsly offered to that Nobleman by his Majeſty. For, not to deſcend to ſubordinate reaſons of preference, it is evident that the chief of the inferior party, Lord Shelburne, would, from his comparative weakneſs of connection, have been more immediately and neceſſarily dependent than his competitor Lord Rockingham upon

Entire change of Adminiſtration.

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Marquis of Rockingham a ſecond time Miniſter.

the Crown for protection and ſupport. But the noble Lord had the generoſity and wiſdom to reſiſt the temptation; and the Marquis of Rockingham, to the univerſal ſatisfaction of the kingdom, was a ſecond time, in a manner the moſt honorable and flattering to his character and feelings, placed at the head of the Treaſury; under whom Lord John Cavendiſh acted as Chancellor of the Exchequer; the Earl of Shelburne and Mr. Fox were nominated Secretaries of State; Lord Camden was appointed Preſident of the Council; the Duke of Graſton reinſtated as Lord Privy Seal; Admiral Keppel, now created Lord Keppel, placed at the head of the Admiralty; General Conway, of the Army; the Duke of Richmond, of the Ordnance. The Duke of Portland ſucceeded Lord Carliſle as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; Mr. Burke was conſtituted Paymaſter of the Forces; and Colonel Barré, Treaſurer of the Navy. Lord Thurlow alone, by the unaccountable and unmerited indulgence of the new Miniſters, continued in poſſeſſion of the Great Seal. Whiggiſm was now once more triumphant. The Tories, though they eſcaped by a critical reſignation the direct cenſure of the Houſe of Commons, had continued in office till they were reduced to the loweſt extremity of ſhame, humiliation and contempt; and a fair proſpect, after a long night of ſtorms and darkneſs, *ſeemed* to open, of a bright and brilliant day of national proſperity.

The firſt act of the new Adminiſtration was to ſignify by a letter from Mr. Fox to M. Simolin, the Ruſſian Ambaſſador, his Britannic Majeſty's willingneſs to accept the mediation offered by the Empreſs for a ſeparate accommodation with Holland, on the baſis of the treaty of 1674. But this their High Mightineſſes thought proper to decline; and conſidering how much Holland was at this time in the power of his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, whoſe troops were now in actual poſſeſſion of the ſettlement of the Cape, and the iſland of Euſtatius, a compliance was ſcarcely to be expected. On the contrary, Mr. Adams was at this period formally acknowledged and received by the States General, as Miniſter Plenipotentiary of the United States of America. Negotiations for a general

general peace were however almoſt immediately commenced between France and Great Britain, and Mr. Grenville was ſent to Paris, inveſted with full powers to treat with all the parties at war. BOOK XV. 1782.

Previous to the change of Adminiſtration, Sir Henry Clinton had reſigned to Sir Guy Carleton his command in America, which he had held ſince the reſignation of Sir William Howe in the ſpring of 1778, an interval of near four years, in all which time Sir Henry had only taken one town and loſt another; and the conqueſt of Charleſtown, in the general eſtimate of ſubjugation, was fully counterbalanced by the evacuation of Newport and the other Britiſh poſts in Rhode Iſland. Inſtructions were now ſent to the new Commander and Admiral Digby, to acquaint the Congreſs of the pacific views of the Engliſh Court, and of their readineſs to treat on the baſis of American Independence.

Bills formerly introduced, and negatived, were at a very early period after the appointment of the new Miniſter revived by Mr. Crew and Sir Philip Jennings Clerke, for diſabling revenue-officers from voting at elections, and excluding contractors from the Houſe of Commons. Theſe now paſſed with approbation and applauſe; Mr. Secretary Fox declaring, that not an hour ſhould be loſt in giving the public the ſtrongeſt proofs that his Majeſty's Miniſters were ſincerely determined to make ſuch reforms as ſhould be neceſſary, and to enforce that ſyſtem of government which they had repeatedly called for when not in place. He ſaid his worſt ſuſpicions of the negligence and ſcandalous miſmanagement of the late Miniſters were now matured into knowledge; that, bad as things had been deſcribed, the repreſentation was by no means ſo bad as the reality. And he ſhould not think that the preſent Miniſters acted fairly or honeſtly by that Houſe, or by the people at large, if they did not inſtitute enquiries which might give the country a true and correct idea of the preſent ſituation of affairs."

Theſe bills were vehemently though ineffectually oppoſed in the Houſe of Peers by the Lord Chancellor, who ſeemed to hang as a dead weight on

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the meaſures of the preſent Adminiſtration, whoſe ſentiments could never aſſimilate with thoſe of men of liberal and comprehenſive views, and who now appeared as the avowed and determined enemy of every ſpecies of civil or political reform. The attention of Parliament was however ſoon occupied by affairs of much higher moment.

In the month of November laſt, Mr. Grattan, a diſtinguiſhed Member of the Iriſh Parliament, had moved for a limitation of the perpetual Mutiny Bill. This was rejected by a great majority, extremely to the diſſatisfaction of the people of that kingdom.

At a ſubſequent meeting of the repreſentatives of one hundred and forty-three corps of volunteers aſſembled at Dungannon, RESOLUTIONS paſſed, DECLARATORY of the RIGHTS of IRELAND, and in expreſs terms aſſerting, "that the claim of any body of men, other than the KING, LORDS, and COMMONS of IRELAND, to make laws to bind that kingdom, was unconſtitutional and illegal, and a grievance of which it was their decided and unalterable determination to ſeek the ſpeedy and effectual redreſs. They knew," they ſaid, "their duty to their Sovereign, and were *diſpoſed* to be *loyal*; but they knew alſo what they owed to themſelves, and were RESOLVED TO BE FREE."

In a very ſhort time after theſe reſolves paſſed, Mr. Grattan moved the Houſe for an Addreſs to his Majeſty, conſonant with, and founded upon, the ſame principles. This motion, after a long and warm debate, was alſo rejected. But, on the 16th of April 1782, he again moved "a Declaration of Rights, under the form of an Addreſs to the Throne." In his ſpeech on this occaſion, he pronounced an animated panegyric on the volunteers, and the late conduct of the Iriſh nation—"He beheld," he ſaid, "with joy and admiration, her progreſs from injuries to arms, from arms to liberty. The Iriſh volunteers had ſupported the rights of the Iriſh Parliament againſt thoſe temporizing truſtees, who would have relinquiſhed them. Allied by liberty ſtill more than by allegiance, Great Britain and Ireland formed a conſtitutional confederacy. The perpetual annexation of the

two

two Crowns was a powerful bond of union, but Magna Charta was more efficacious ſtill. It would be eaſy any where to find a King, but to England only can we look for a Conſtitution. Ireland was planted by Britons, and was entitled to Britiſh privileges. It was by charter, and not by conqueſt, as had been falſely aſſerted, that the mutual connection of the two countries was originally eſtabliſhed. Every true Iriſhman would ſay, Liberty with England, if England is ſo diſpoſed; but at all events LIBERTY. The Iriſh nation were too high in pride, character, and power, to ſuffer any other nation to claim a right to make their laws. Was England ready to acknowledge the Independency of America, and would ſhe refuſe liberty to Ireland? If ſhe was capable, after enabling his Majeſty to repeal the Declaratory Act againſt America, of wiſhing to retain that againſt Ireland, the Iriſh nation was not capable of ſubmitting to it." Such was the ſpirit which now pervaded the kingdom, and ſuch the reſiſtleſs enthuſiaſm excited by the eloquence of Mr. Grattan, that the addreſs was voted without a diſſentient voice; and, being unanimouſly acceded to by the Peers, was immediately tranſmitted to the King. In this famous addreſs the two Houſes affirm, "That the Crown of Ireland is an Imperial Crown, inſeparably annexed to the Crown of Great Britain, on which connection the intereſt and happineſs of both countries eſſentially depend: but that the kingdom of Ireland is a diſtinct kingdom, with a Parliament of her own, the ſole legiſlature thereof. In this right they conceived the very eſſence of their liberty to exiſt. It was a right which they, in behalf of all the people of Ireland, claimed as their birth-right, and which they could not yield but with their lives." They declared, "that they conſidered the claims of the Parliament of Great Britain, in the Act paſſed for better ſecuring the dependency of Ireland, to be irreconcileable to the fundamental rights of that nation." They added, "that they had a high veneration for the Britiſh character, and the people of Ireland did not deſire to ſhare the freedom of England without likewiſe ſharing her fate;—and it was their determination to ſtand or fall with the Britiſh nation."

High and peremptory claims of the Iriſh Parliament.

Happy indeed was it that a radical change of counſels had taken place in Britain before theſe high and peremptory, though juſt and equitable, claims

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claims were preferred on the part of Ireland; for the folly, obſtinacy, and pride of the late Miniſters would ſcarcely have ſcrupled to involve the empire in a ſecond civil war, rather than have conceded in points which militated ſo ſtrongly againſt what they would undoubtedly have ſtyled "the honor and dignity of the Crown and the eſſential intereſts of the People."

Repeal of the Iriſh Declaratory Act.

Some days previous to the motion of Mr. Grattan, a Royal Meſſage was delivered to the Houſe of Commons by the Secretary of State, "recommending to their moſt ſerious conſideration the ſtate of affairs in Ireland, in order to ſuch a final adjuſtment as may give a mutual ſatisfaction to both kingdoms." And on the 18th of May, Mr. Fox, at the cloſe of a long and able ſpeech, moved for the repeal of the obnoxious Act for ſecuring the dependency of Ireland; which he called "a meaſure of neceſſity, reſulting, however unpleaſant it might be to ſome, from the conduct of the late Miniſtry, who had awakened the preſent ſpirit in Ireland, by refuſing their moſt modeſt and reaſonable requeſts. With that generoſity and openneſs of ſentiment by which this eminent ſtateſman has been ſo long and ſo remarkably diſtinguiſhed, Mr. Fox obſerved nevertheleſs, "that his own decided opinion had always been, that Ireland, being a part of the Britiſh empire, was entitled to the full and equal participation of all the benefits and immunities enjoyed in England, and which were conſonant to the principles of the Britiſh Conſtitution. His ideas of Ireland correſponded," he ſaid, "exactly with his ideas relative to America. He thought it abſurd and unjuſt for any country to pretend to legiſlate for another without, much leſs againſt, their conſent and concurrence;—nor could it at any time ſo legiſlate to any good purpoſe. As to Ireland, he made no ſcruple in the moſt expreſs and unequivocal terms to declare, that he conſidered her preſent claims to be ſubſtantially juſt, and that he felt himſelf inclined to move the reſolution which he was about to propoſe in favor of Ireland, as much on the ground of juſtice as prudence." This repeal, which paſſed both Houſes without oppoſition, was conſidered in both countries as a virtual renunciation of the claim of legiſlating for Ireland. And ſo highly gratified were the Iriſh Parliament and Nation with

with the liberality of theſe conceſſions, that a vote of the Houſe of Commons in that kingdom paſſed unanimouſly for raiſing twenty thouſand ſeamen for the ſervice of the Britiſh navy. BOOK XV. 1782.

On the 15th of April another meſſage was delivered to the Houſe by Mr. Fox from the King, ſtating, "That his Majeſty, taking into conſideration the ſupplies which have been given with ſo much liberality, and ſupported with ſuch uncommon firmneſs and fortitude by his people in the preſent extenſive war, recommended to his faithful Commons the conſideration of an effectual plan of œconomy throughout all the branches of the public expenditure." An addreſs of thanks was then moved for, and immediately agreed to by the Houſe; at the cloſe of which it was ſaid, "That a King of Great Britain cannot have ſo perfect or ſo honorable a ſecurity for every thing which can make a King truly great or truly happy, as in the genuine and natural ſupport of an uninfluenced and independent Houſe of Commons." This was language novel and highly pleaſing to the reſpectable part of the public, who had been ſo long nauſeated by the fulſome adulation of the addreſſes preſented of late years to the Throne, ſo contrary to the ſpirit of freedom, which requires the repreſentatives of the people to reſpect the majeſty of the people, and to uſe language conſonant to the high and dignified ſituation in which they themſelves are placed.

In conſequence of this meſſage, Mr. Burke's Reform Bill was a third time brought forward, under far more favorable auſpices than before. By this bill, which now paſſed the Houſe with little difficulty, the Board of Trade, and the Board of Works, with the Great Wardrobe, were aboliſhed; together with the office of American Secretary of State, now rendered uſeleſs by the loſs of the American Colonies;—the offices of Treaſurer of the Chamber, Cofferer of the Houſehold, the Lords of Police in Scotland, the Paymaſter of the Penſions, the Maſter of the Harriers, the Maſter of the Stag-hounds, and Six Clerks of the Board of Green Cloth. Proviſion alſo was made to enable his Majeſty to *borrow* a ſum for the liquidation of a new arrear of three hundred thouſand pounds, by a tax

Mr. Burke's Reform Bill a third time introduced, and paſſed.

King's debts a third time diſcharged.

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on ſalaries and penſions; for a debt to this amount had been again contracted by the ſhameful prodigality of the late Miniſters, notwithſtanding the addition of one hundred thouſand pounds per annum ſo recently made to the Civil Liſt. In the courſe of the ſpeech made by Mr. Burke on the revival of this popular meaſure, the ſtyle of this gentleman's oratory was obſerved to be marvellouſly changed. Already had this lofty and intrepid patriot become a complete adept in the *precious jargon* current within the verge and purlieus of a Court. Mr. Burke "congratulated the Houſe and the Kingdom on the happy æra when his Majeſty, freed from that ſecret and injurious council which ſtood between him and his people, now ſpake to them in the pure and rich benevolence of his own heart. The meſſage which they had juſt heard was the genuine effuſion of his Majeſty's paternal care and tenderneſs for his ſubjects. It was what good ſubjects deſerved from a good king; and every man would rejoice, and bleſs the day when his Majeſty, reſtored to the dignified independence of his elevated ſituation, was able to ſpeak to his people in the language of his own heart, to participate in their ſufferings, to praiſe and reward them for their fortitude. It was the beſt of meſſages, to the beſt of people, from the BEST of KINGS."

The œconomical abolitions and retrenchments of the Reform Bill met with a violent oppoſition in the Upper Houſe, from the Lords Thurlow and Loughborough; but it finally paſſed by a great majority. A bill ſent up from the Commons, for disfranchiſing certain voters of the borough of Cricklade, who had been proved guilty of the moſt ſhameful and ſcandalous acts f bribery, was alſo impeded and embarraſſed in all its ſtages by the ſame Law Lords, with every poſſible ſubtilty of legal quibble and chicanery. The Duke of Richmond was upon this occaſion provoked to charge the Chancellor with indiſcriminately oppoſing every meaſure of regulation and improvement which was laid before the Houſe. And Lord Forteſcue, with the unguarded warmth of ariſtocratic diſdain, remarked, "that what he had long feared was at length come to paſs;—from the profuſion of Lawyers introduced into that Houſe, it was no longer an Houſe of Lords, it was converted into a mere Court of Law, where all the ſolid and honor-

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able principles of truth and juſtice were ſacrificed to the low and miſerable chicanery uſed in Weſtminſter Hall. That once venerable, dignified, and auguſt aſſembly now reſembled more a meeting of pettifoggers than an Houſe of Parliament. With reſpect to the learned Lord on the woolſack, who had now for ſome years preſided in that Houſe, he ſeemed to be fraught with nothing but contradictions and diſtinctions and law ſubtilties. As to himſelf," Lord Forteſcue with a noble pride added, " he had not attended a Miniſter's levee, till very lately, for theſe forty years; and the preſent Miniſtry he would ſupport no longer than they deſerved it. But as they came into office upon the moſt honorable and laudable of all principles, the approbation of their Sovereign, and the eſteem and confidence of the Nation, it filled his breaſt with indignation when he beheld their meaſures day after day thwarted and oppoſed, by men who reſembled more a ſet of Corniſh Attorneys than Members of that Right Honorable Houſe."

Reſolutions reſpecting the Middleſex election reſcinded.

On the 3d of May, after a debate of ſome length, it was reſolved by the Houſe of Commons, " That all the declarations, orders, and reſolutions of that Houſe reſpecting the election of John Wilkes, Eſq. be expunged from the journals of the Houſe, as ſubverſive of the rights of the whole body of electors in the kingdom." Mr. Wilkes, in a public letter addreſſed to his conſtituents, " congratulated them on the ſignal reparation they had now obtained for their violated franchiſes, and the injuries they had ſuſtained under the former flagitious Adminiſtration." But on this point the feelings of the public were no longer in uniſon with thoſe of Mr. Wilkes. The vote by which thoſe reſolutions were reſcinded, which had thirteen years before thrown the whole nation into a flame, was ſcarcely noticed; and the caſe of the Middleſex election was now regarded with nearly as much indifference as that of any other elective deciſion.

Mr. Pitt's motion of enquiry into the ſtate of the repreſentation.

In the ſame month a ſubject of infinitely higher importance, and of a nature truly and permanently intereſting, was brought under the immediate cognizance of the Houſe, in conſequence of a motion made by

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Mr. Pitt for the appointment of a committee to enquire into the ſtate of the repreſentation of the people in Parliament. It is remarkable, that, notwithſtanding the prodigious and glaring inequality of the national ſyſtem of repreſentation as now conſtituted, the idea of a parliamentary reform may be conſidered in great meaſure as a novelty in politics. The patriots of elder days, ſenſible of the dangers ariſing from the rapid and enormous increaſe of the regal influence, ſtrongly and repeatedly urged the remedial meaſures of triennial parliaments, of civil and military reductions, of place and penſion bills; but it was a ſpecies of merit reſerved for the preſent times to ſtrike at the root of the evil, by an effort to extend and equalize that popular repreſentation, on the purity and integrity of which the national proſperity and welfare ſo eſſentially depend.

The evils attending this defective and corrupt ſtate of the repreſentation had at no former period of our hiſtory been ſo flagrantly apparent as in the preſent reign; and it was with grief and indignation that the intelligent and independent part of the public ſaw the Houſe of Commons degenerate into an aſſembly apparently poſſeſſing neither will, nor power, nor wiſdom, but what they derived from the permiſſion and *fiat* of the Miniſter, who alſo frequently appeared himſelf the ſport of ſome capricious and inviſible agent. The affair of the Middleſex election, otherwiſe comparatively unimportant, wore in this view a moſt alarming aſpect, as it ſhewed how far the Houſe would venture to carry their complaiſance to the Crown in oppoſition to the decided, unanimous, and perſevering reſiſtance of the People. "The virtue, ſpirit, and eſſence of an Houſe of Commons," ſays Mr. Burke in his famous political tract publiſhed at that period *, "conſiſts in its being the expreſs image of the feelings of the Nation. An addreſſing Houſe of Commons, and a petitioning Nation —an Houſe of Commons full of confidence when the Nation is plunged in deſpair, who vote thanks when the Nation calls upon them for impeachments, who are eager to grant when the general voice demands account, who in all diſputes between the People and Adminiſtration preſume againſt the People, who puniſh their diſorders, but refuſe to enquire into

* Thoughts on the Cauſes of the preſent Diſcontents.

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the provocations to them:—this is an unnatural, a monſtrous ſtate of things in this Conſtitution. Such an aſſembly is not to any popular purpoſe an Houſe of COMMONS."

The obſtinate proſecution of the American war, and the contemptuous diſmiſſion of the petitions for a reform in the public expenditure, afforded ſtill more recent and ſtriking inſtances of obſequious and unlimited devotion on the part of the National Repreſentatives to the Executive Power, and their total diſregard of the ſentiments of their conſtituents. So ſtruck was the late Earl of Chatham with the obvious and manifold miſchiefs ariſing from the preſent incongruous ſyſtem, that he ſcrupled not to hazard a peremptory prediction, "that the *rotten boroughs* would not ſurvive the preſent century—and that, if Parliament did not reform itſelf from WITHIN, it would be reformed with a VENGEANCE from WITHOUT." Nevertheleſs it muſt be acknowledged there were not wanting many wiſe and excellent perſons, true and firm friends to liberty, whoſe minds forcibly revolted at the novelty and boldneſs of the idea of *new-modelling* the repreſentation of the country. They conceived the actual advantages reſulting from the conſtitution, when *rightly adminiſtered*, under the preſent form, too great to riſque any experiment, however plauſible in theory, of ſuch magnitude as to draw after it conſequences which no human ſagacity could pretend to trace or fathom.

Totally to annihilate the influence of the Crown in the Houſe of Commons, would give ſuch an aſcendency to the republican part of the Conſtitution, that the prerogative of the Monarch would in a ſhort time be reduced to as low an ebb as the authority of a King of Poland or a Doge of Venice; the Executive Power would loſe its weight and energy, and the State would be torn with the oppoſite and equal claims of hoſtile and contending factions. To aſcertain the preciſe degree of influence which the Monarch ought to poſſeſs, was indeed confeſſed to be a difficult problem to ſolve. It is the radical and remedileſs defect of the Britiſh form of government, in other reſpects ſo admirable, that too much

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much depends on the perſonal character of the Sovereign; and under the reign of a weak, obſtinate, and bigoted prince, intoxicated with the pomp and pride of royalty, ſuch as imagination can eaſily feign, the excellence of that celebrated Conſtitution may be put to a very ſevere teſt indeed—particularly if, by an accidental concurrence of circumſtances, ſuch a Monarch, thus palpably unfit to govern, ſhould riſe to high and undeſerved popularity.

On the other hand, it may doubtleſs happen that the Executive Power may poſſeſs juſter and more enlightened views of policy than the Nation at large; and a more popular ſyſtem of repreſentation would in ſuch circumſtances be a real and ſerious evil. This was remarkably the caſe in the reigns of King William and King George I. who exerted with very incomplete ſucceſs their utmoſt influence to extend and enlarge the general ſyſtem of liberty. The grand object of every conſtitution of government which aſpires on rational grounds to political perfection is not, as the wild and viſionary ſpeculatiſts of modern times abſurdly ſuppoſe, to carry the will of the majority at all events into effect, but to concentrate the wiſdom, the knowledge, and the virtue of the community; to endow them with influence, and arm them with power. Above all, it excited the alarm of the moderate, the judicious, and truly enlightened, that a great proportion, perhaps a majority, of the advocates for a parliamentary reform maintained the exiſtence of certain abſtract rights independent of utility, which is in truth the baſis both of right and obligation—in conformity to which the people had a clear, original, and impreſcriptible claim to the privilege of UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE, without the exerciſe of which it was pretended that no liberty could exiſt.

The Duke of Richmond, who had ſignalized himſelf as a public and zealous patron of this ſcheme, expreſsly ſays, in his famous letter to Colonel Sharman, Chairman of the Military Convention at Dungannon, "that all plans of a merely ſpeculative nature, not tending to the effectual recovery of their RIGHTS, neither could nor *ought* to influence the people in their favor." His Grace, in conformity to theſe ſentiments, declares,

declares, "that he did not think himſelf *at liberty* to ſpeculate on the ſubject, for that every man not laboring under natural or moral diſability had an inherent *right of ſuffrage* paramount to all conſiderations of civil or political expediency *." To this new ſpecies of *divine right*, therefore, all the inferior and vulgar conſiderations of public good, of public order, of peace, happineſs, and rational ſubordination, muſt bow with reverential awe; but it is evident that this inherent right of ſuffrage cannot exiſt alone. It neceſſarily involves in it a right to command, countermand, and diſmiſs their repreſentatives at pleaſure. If the people have an inherent abſtract right to elect, then the exerciſe of this right muſt be determined by the ſame abſtract rules of political juſtice—and an equal number of electors muſt return an equal number of repreſentatives; in other words, population is the ſole baſis of repreſentation—If therefore the metropolis be ſuppoſed to contain one ſixth of the entire population of the kingdom, and the repreſentative body to conſiſt of ſix hundred individuals, London might on this abſtract metaphyſical hypotheſis plead an inherent indefeaſible right to ſend one hundred members to Parliament. Other large and populous towns poſſeſſing a ſimilar right to elect in the ſame proportion, a combination of local and particular intereſts would be formed, totally incompatible with the general intereſts of the community. But where ſhall we ſtop? or how ſhall the monarchical or ariſtocratical parts of our Conſtitution be maintained againſt theſe ſovereign and indefeaſible rights—theſe paramount and tranſcendent claims?

* In the ſeſſion of 1780 the Duke of Richmond had himſelf prepared, and offered to the Houſe of Peers, a bill for a reform of Parliament on the baſis of annual election and univerſal ſuffrage; on which occaſion, his Grace declared "the repreſentation of the people to be flagrantly and groſsly corrupt. He ſaid, that the Conſtitution had been impaired, and was daily impairing, by the accumulation of abuſes; and that the tendency of the prevailing ſyſtem was to make the will of the Sovereign the rule and meaſure of the Government. He even affirmed the Parliament then ſitting to be NO PARLIAMENT AT ALL; becauſe it was not founded on that principle which could alone conſtitute them the legitimate repreſentatives of the People." The bill was indeed ſubſequently dropped, probably as a meaſure little calculated for the diſcuſſion of the Houſe of Peers. But the ſame bold and dangerous principles were uniformly avowed and inculcated by this Nobleman; and, under his ſanction, they acquired great credit and currency.

All

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All theſe groſs and dangerous abſurdities, involving in them the moſt alarming conſequences, proceed from the fatal error of confounding the power of the people with the liberty of the people. To liberty they have a right, ſo far as it is promotive of happineſs; and to power ſo far, and ſo far only, as it is a ſecurity to liberty. For, to the blind, capricious, and ſelf-deſtructive will, even of the majority, it is ever lawful —nay more, it is in the higheſt degree laudable—it is indeed the pureſt and nobleſt act of virtue—at the greateſt perſonal riſque to oppoſe the dictates of reaſon, equity, and juſtice. Allowing, however, the full force of theſe general arguments, it could not be denied that the influence of the Crown, firſt ſyſtematically employed as an engine of government by Sir Robert Walpole, had in this reign extended itſelf far beyond all its antient bounds and limits. Under that juſtly celebrated Miniſter alſo, this influence, however corruptly obtained, was *upon the whole* employed wiſely and well; but ſince the commencement of the NEW SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT, which was in fact no other than the old Tory ſyſtem revived and varniſhed, it had been perverted to the moſt vile and pernicious purpoſes *. It was no wonder, therefore, that a meaſure which was regarded as alone adequate to the effectual reduction of this influence ſhould be purſued with zeal and ardor.

Early in the preſent year it was reſolved by the City of London, aſſembled in Common-Hall, "That the unequal repreſentation of the people, the corrupt ſtate of Parliament, and the perverſion thereof from its original inſtitution, had been the principal cauſes of the unjuſt war with America, and of every grievance of which the nation complained." Similar reſolutions were paſſed by the County of York, and many other counties and cities; and after ſo long and bitter an experience of the evils ariſing from the preſent defective ſtate of the repreſentation, it would indeed have argued not ſo much a wiſe and well-weighed caution, as a

* Sir Robert Walpole was accuſtomed to ſay, "that he was under the neceſſity of bribing men to act not againſt, but according to, their conſciences." And, allowing largely for the latitude of the expreſſion, this apology muſt be admitted as in a great degree founded in truth.

reproachful

reproachful excess of political timidity in the nation to have hesitated in applying the most permanent and efficacious remedy. "We have been told with peculiar emphasis," says an animated writer, "that what seems excellent in theory, is absurd in practice. From the frequent repetition of this maxim, and the manner in which it is applied, one would almost suspect that the meaning is, to recommend as an axiom, To avoid every new measure which, to our feeble and circumscribed understandings, seems likely to produce a good effect." The motion of Mr. Pitt, though eloquently enforced by the mover, and supported by Mr. Fox with a great display of discrimination and judgment, was rejected, notwithstanding its present popularity, on a division, by a majority of 161 to 141 voices.

Hitherto the new Ministry, though composed of dissonant and jarring materials, had conducted public affairs with at least the appearance of perfect and cordial unanimity—the Earl of Shelburne in the Upper House bringing forward the same motions, and supporting them by the same general arguments, as Mr. Fox in the Lower. But an event now took place which was the subject of deep and universal regret, and the consequences of which cannot be sufficiently deplored, in the death of the Marquis of Rockingham, July 1, 1782, in the meridian of his age, and at the very height of his political reputation—the weight and influence attached to which, combined with the excellence of his private character, and the mild benignity of his manners, formed that power of attraction which held together the whole ministerial system; and when this ceased to operate, disorder, confusion, and mutual repulsion took place. The splendor of the new constellation faded, and "certain stars shot *madly* from their spheres *."

Death of the Marquis of Rockingham.

To

* In the delineation of character, it is the indispensable duty of history to pourtray with a faithful pencil, and to blend with just and discriminating skill, the various lights and shades which enter into the composition of the picture. But though it is undoubtedly not the lot of humanity to be exempt from imperfection, it may sometimes happen, that the spots of a distinguished character shall be so absorbed in the lustre of its virtues, as to render them, to common view at least, and to distant observers, invisible. This appears to have been

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Advancement of Earl Shelburne.

To drop all metaphorical and poetical alluſion, it is neceſſary to ſtate in plain language, that, on the very day ſucceeding the deceaſe of the Marquis of Rockingham, the Earl of Shelburne was declared Firſt Lord Commiſſioner of the Treaſury. The acceptance of this high and pre-eminent office, without any previous communication with his colleagues in Adminiſtration, was conſidered by the Rockingham party as equivalent to a declaration of political hoſtility on the part of Lord Shelburne. It was in effect telling his allies that he conceived his influence in the Cabinet to be ſufficiently ſtrong to enable him to ſtand without their aſſiſtance. It was evidently ſetting up a diſtinct and oppoſite intereſt, depending upon the ſecret aſſurances of royal favor and ſupport. Preciſely the ſame reaſons, which had induced the Earl of Shelburne three months before to decline the offer then made, ſtill exiſted in full force; but he was no longer proof againſt temptation—though the experience of his illuſtrious friend Lord Chatham might have convinced him on how precarious a ground thoſe Miniſters ſtood who depended on courtly promiſes and profeſſions for protection and ſafety.

Fatal diviſions amongſt the Whigs.

On this promotion, Mr. Fox reſigned the Seals as Secretary of the Northern Department; Lord John Cavendiſh his office as Chancellor of the Exchequer; the Duke of Portland his Government of Ireland; Lord Althrop, Lord Duncannon, Mr. Frederic Montague, &c. their ſeats at the Boards of Treaſury and Admiralty; and Mr. Burke his poſt of Paymaſter of the Army. In conſequence of theſe reſignations and removes, the Seals of the Southern Department were given to the Earl of Grantham; and of the Northern to Mr. Thomas Townſhend, late Secretary at War; Sir George Yonge ſucceeded Mr. Townſhend; Colonel

been the caſe with the Marquis of Rockingham, who for twenty years acted a very conſpicuous part in public life; and in whoſe conduct, though placed in the moſt intereſting ſituations, and experiencing the moſt trying viciſſitudes, envy and malignity have never been able to point out any mixture of weakneſs or error for which it might be neceſſary for thoſe who revere and honor his memory to prefer a claim to indulgence or pardon. In twenty years' public ſervice there is every thing to approve—nothing to cenſure—nothing to forgive.

Barré was made Paymaſter of the Forces; and the Lord Advocate of Scotland, in his room, Treaſurer of the Navy. The Earl of Temple, eldeſt ſon of the late George Grenville, ſucceeded the Duke of Portland in the Lord Lieutenancy of Ireland; but the promotion which attracted moſt of the public attention was that of Mr. William Pitt, who, at the age of three-and-twenty, was conſtituted Chancellor of the Exchequer; an office which had been always ſuppoſed to require, in order to its proper diſcharge, not ſo much brilliancy of talents, as long previous ſtudy and experience, and confirmed habitudes of diligence and induſtry.

It was evident from ſeveral of the late promotions that a mixture of the *old leaven* was again ominouſly introduced into the preſent *Whig Adminiſtration*, to which, notwithſtanding the late ſeceſſion, the names of Lord Camden, General Conway, the Dukes of Grafton and Richmond, Lord Keppel, and others, gave great reſpectability—*excluſive* of the new Premier himſelf, whoſe public conduct had been uniformly conſiſtent and meritorious, who had never deviated in any inſtance from the principles of genuine Whiggiſm, whole political knowledge was extenſive, whoſe abilities were unqueſtionable, and whoſe general rectitude of intention the public had no juſt ground to doubt. The only charge brought againſt the Miniſter, which ſeemed to make any conſiderable impreſſion, was that which accuſed him of the habitual and ſyſtematic practice of a certain duplicity and *fineſſe*, which entirely precluded all open, ingenuous, and confidential intercourſe.

In a few days ſubſequent to his reſignation, Mr. Fox ſtated in the Houſe of Commons the grounds and reaſons of his conduct. He ſaid, "that political differences of opinion had taken place of great importance in the Cabinet, and that he had withdrawn himſelf from it to prevent that diſtraction in the public councils, which he conceived to be ruinous to the public welfare. He had reaſon, he affirmed, to believe that the day was come when the ſyſtem on which the Adminiſtration of Lord Rockingham had been formed was to be abandoned, and a new ſyſtem was to be ſubſtituted, or rather the old one revived, with the

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assistance of the *old men*, or indeed of any men that could be found.—NOR SHOULD HE WONDER IF IN A SHORT TIME THEY WERE JOINED BY THOSE VERY PERSONS WHOM THAT HOUSE HAD PRECIPITATED FROM THEIR SEATS. He therefore chose to resign, voluntarily relinquishing the pomps, the profits, and the patronage of office, as he could no longer continue in place with honor to himself, or benefit to the public."

General Conway, in reply, "lamented the defection of the distinguished characters who had recently withdrawn themselves from office, at a time when their country so much needed their support. He protested that he knew of no defalcation in the present Ministers from those principles which they had originally professed: nor any diversities of opinion in the Cabinet, beyond those *shades of difference* which must always arise amongst men of strong and independent minds."

On the following day the Duke of Richmond expressed in the House of Lords similar regret at the late resignations. "So long, and so long only, as the noble Lord who now presided at the Board of Treasury should adhere to the principles on which the Administration was originally formed, so long would he give him his cordial support. Whenever these principles were abandoned, he would be his most determined opponent."

The Earl of Shelburne now rose to declare "his perfect satisfaction at being supported upon the terms stated by the noble Duke." He said, "he lamented as much as any man the death of the late Marquis of Rockingham, and the loss sustained by the Cabinet in the retreat of two persons so remarkably distinguished, one by the splendor of his abilities, the other by the unimpeached integrity of his character. The office he now held, his Lordship affirmed, was within his grasp when the first arrangements were forming, but he had then given way to the noble Marquis; though he had now accepted the post, as that Nobleman was no more: and this, he believed, was the only reason that the late Right Honorable

Honorable Secretary had withdrawn himself. But if the Monarch was diveſted of the power of appointing his own *ſervants*, he would be reduced to the condition of a King of the Mahrattas, who had nothing of ſovereignty but the name. He had been charged, his Lordſhip ſaid, with inconſiſtency relative to America: but his opinion ſtill was, as it ever had been, that whenever the Parliament of Great Britain acknowledged that point, the ſun of England's glory was ſet for ever. Other Lords however thought differently, and the queſtion would ſoon come under the full and impartial diſcuſſion of Parliament; but he repeated, that if Parliament conceded that point, he foreſaw that England was undone; for that ruin and independence were linked together—the ruin not of England only, but of America."

It was ſufficiently evident from this ſpeech, that more than "ſhades of difference" had exiſted in the Cabinet previous to the reſignation of Mr. Fox. But it excited the utmoſt aſtoniſhment in America, that ſuch language as this ſhould be held in Parliament by the Firſt Miniſter, after Sir Guy Carleton had been two months before expreſsly authorized to declare to the Congreſs, "that his Majeſty, in order to remove all obſtacles to peace, had commiſſioned Mr. Grenville to propoſe the independency of the Thirteen Provinces in the firſt inſtance, inſtead of making it a condition of a general treaty:" and the diſcordant language held on the different ſides of the Atlantic was indignantly cited as a new inſtance of Britiſh artifice and perfidy. As to the *right* of the King to appoint his own Miniſters, on which Lord Shelburne laid ſo great ſtreſs, it was entirely remote from the point in queſtion, which regarded merely the wiſdom and patriotiſm of his Lordſhip's eager acceptance of an offer, which was evidently calculated to deſtroy all confidence, and to gratify the aſpiring views of a favored individual, to the extreme eventual detriment of the public.

Had the Earl of Shelburne acted with openneſs and candor in the critical circumſtances in which he was placed, there is good ground to believe that his higheſt ambition might have been gratified, a ſincere and

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cordial union of parties formed, and a firm, efficient, and patriotic Adminiſtration ultimately eſtabliſhed, uncontaminated with the deteſtable leaven of TORYISM.

On the 11th of July 1782, the ſeſſion terminated, and the ſpeech from the throne contained the welcome declaration, "that nothing could be more repugnant to his Majeſty's feelings, than the long continuance of ſo complicated a war; and that his ardent deſire of peace had induced him to take every meaſure which promiſed the ſpeedieſt accompliſhment of his wiſhes."

The military events of the year yet remain to be narrated. The fortreſs of Gibraltar ſtill continued cloſely inveſted by the Spaniards, and the reſolute defence of the garriſon began to attract the general attention of Europe. Towards the cloſe of the preceding year, 1781, by a moſt ſpirited and ſucceſsful *ſortie*, the ſtupendous works erected by the Spaniards acroſs the iſthmus which connects the rock of Gibraltar with the continent, were ſtormed and almoſt totally demoliſhed, when, after immenſe expence and labor, they were arrived at the higheſt ſtate of perfection. In leſs than half an hour five batteries, with all the lines of approach, communication, and traverſe, were in flames—the magazines blowing up one after another, as the conflagration ſucceſſively reached them—the aſtoniſhed Spaniards offering no other reſiſtance, than a diſtant and ill directed fire from the forts of St. Philip and St. Barbara.

Minorca conquered by the Spaniards.

To balance this ſucceſs, intelligence arrived early in the ſpring of the new year, that General Murray, Governor of Minorca, had been compelled, after a long and vigorous reſiſtance, to ſurrender that iſland to the arms of his Catholic Majeſty. Formerly the loſs of Minorca had occaſioned the downfall of an Adminiſtration; but ſuch were the infinitely greater misfortunes and diſaſters of the preſent war, that this event made little impreſſion upon the public, and it was ſcarcely remarked, that no attempt whatever had been made for its relief during a ſiege of one hundred and ſeventy-one days.

The

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Iſland of St. Chriſtopher, &c. captured by the French.

The iſland of Nevis, in the Weſt Indies, alſo about the ſame time ſurrendered to the Marquis de Bouillé and the Count de Graſſe; by whom the moſt liberal terms were granted to the inhabitants. Eight thouſand troops, with a formidable train of artillery, were then landed on the important iſland of St. Chriſtopher. Sir Samuel Hood, who now commanded the Britiſh fleet in the Weſt Indies, made ſtrenuous efforts for its relief: and, notwithſtanding his diſparity of force, in three ſucceſſive encounters with the Count de Graſſe he obtained each time the advantage, and at length, by a dextrous manœuvre, gained poſſeſſion of the enemy's anchorage at Baſſeterre Road. Admiral Hood then landed a conſiderable detachment of troops from Antigua under General Preſcot; but General Frazer, the commanding officer on the iſland, who was ſtrongly poſted on an intrenched eminence, ſent him word, "that as he had taken the trouble to come with troops to his aſſiſtance, he ſhould doubtleſs be glad of the honor of ſeeing him, but he was in no want of him or his troops." Notwithſtanding this idle vaunt, he was obliged to ſurrender the iſland on capitulation, after a ſiege of five weeks, on the 12th of February 1782.

The Bahamas taken by the Spaniards.

In the ſame month Demerary and Iſequibo were captured by the French: alſo the iſland of Montſerrat. The loſs of the Bahamas quickly followed, being reduced by a conſiderable force under Don Manuel de Cigagal, Governor of the Havannah, to the obedience of the Crown of Spain.

On the 19th of February Sir George Rodney arrived in the Weſt Indies with a ſtrong reinforcement of ſhips from England, and reſumed the command of the fleet. Mighty preparations were now making, both by the French and Spaniards, for the invaſion of Jamaica; and as the combined force of theſe powerful nations amounted to above ſixty ſail of the line, had a junction been effected, the iſland was irrecoverably loſt. The firſt object of the Britiſh Admiral was to intercept a great convoy of troops, proviſions, and ſtores expected from Europe: but in this he was diſappointed; the enemy found means to eſcape his vigilance, by making the iſland of Deſcada, to the northward, and keeping cloſe in ſhore under the high land of Guadaloupe and Dominique, and arrived ſafe at Fort Royale

on

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on the 21ſt of March. It was the deſign of Count de Graſſe to proceed to Hiſpaniola, and join the Spaniſh Admiral, Don Solano, who was waiting his arrival, in order to make, in conjunction, the preconcerted attack on Jamaica.

Deciſive victory of Sir George Rodney over the French off Dominique.

On the 8th of April, at day-break, the French fleet left the harbor of Fort Royale; and Admiral Rodney, who had the earlieſt intelligence of their movements, inſtantly made the ſignal for a general chaſe. Early the next morning he came up with the enemy under Dominique, where the van of the Engliſh engaged the rear of the French, but the continued calms prevented a general or cloſe action. In the morning of the 11th a freſh gale ſprung up, and the chaſe was renewed: and towards evening the headmoſt ſhips of the van gained ſo much on one or two of the enemy's ſhips, damaged in the late action, that the Count de Graſſe thought it neceſſary to bear down for the purpoſe of protecting them. Sir George Rodney, who had eagerly watched and waited for this opportunity, now manœuvred the fleet with ſuch ſkill, as to gain the windward of the enemy during the night, and entirely to preclude their retreat. At ſeven in the morning of the 12th, the two fleets, being ranged in lines directly oppoſite, engaged with the greateſt fury. The French ſhips being crowded with men, the carnage was prodigious, but no viſible impreſſion was made, or material advantage gained, till about noon, when Sir George Rodney in the Formidable, followed by his ſeconds the Namur and the Duke, perceiving an accidental interval which invited the attempt, bore directly with full ſail athwart the enemy's line, and ſucceſsfully broke through, about three ſhips ſhort of the centre, where the Count de Graſſe commanded in the Ville de Paris. Being quickly ſupported by the remainder of his diviſion, the Engliſh commander wore round cloſe upon the enemy, and actually ſeparated their line, placing the central ſhips of the French between two fires. This bold and maſterly manœuvre proved deciſive. The French however continued to fight with the utmoſt bravery, and the battle laſted till ſun-ſet. The Cæſar was the firſt ſhip which ſtruck her colors, having loſt her captain, and being almoſt torn to pieces by her enemy's fire. Soon afterwards,

By ſome unfortunate accident ſhe blew up, and every ſoul on board periſhed. The Glorieux, the Hector, the Ardent, now followed the example of the Cæſar, and the Diadem went down by a ſingle broadſide. The Count de Graſſe in the Ville de Paris, beſet on all ſides, ſtill held out with heroic bravery, and, though reduced to a wreck, ſeemed to prefer ſinking rather than ſtrike to any thing under a flag. At length Admiral Hood, in the Barfleur, approached him juſt at ſun-ſet, and poured in a moſt deſtructive fire, which the Count yet ſuſtained for ſome time, till having three men only left alive and unhurt on the upper deck, he at length ſtruck to his gallant antagoniſt. Night only cloſed the action: the ſhattered remains of the French fleet crowded all the ſail they could make for Cape François, and in the morning they were out of ſight. Sir Samuel Hood being detached to purſue the flying enemy, came up with five ſail off Porto Rico, and captured the Jaſon and Caton ſhips of the line, and two frigates, the third with difficulty clearing the Mona paſſage.

Unfortunately the fleet was becalmed for three days after the action, and Sir George Rodney did not eſcape cenſure for the previous dilatorineſs of his purſuit. Whether more might have been done, if more had been attempted, it is difficult, perhaps impoſſible, to determine.—"What *had* been is unknown, what *is* appears;"—and certain it is, that this was one of the moſt glorious and deciſive naval victories ever obtained by the arms of Britain.

The number of men ſlain in this action, and in that of the 9th, on the part of the French, is eſtimated at 3000 men, and the wounded were nearly double; ſo that, taking the priſoners on board the captured ſhips alſo into the computation, the French muſt have ſuſtained a loſs of ten or twelve thouſand men.

Their fleet had on board the land forces intended for the Jamaica expedition; and the whole train of artillery, with thirty-ſix cheſts of money deſtined

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deſtined for the uſe and ſubſiſtence of the troops, were found on board the Ville de Paris and the other ſhips now taken.

The deſigns of the confederated powers were thus moſt completely fruſtrated, while the loſs of men, including both killed and wounded, on the part of the Britiſh did not exceed eleven hundred.

For this great victory Sir George Bridges Rodney was created a Peer of Great Britain, by the title of Baron Rodney, of Rodney-Stoke in the county of Somerſet, and a perpetual annuity of 2000l. annexed to the title. A motion made and over-ruled in the preceding ſeſſion of Parliament, and intended to have been revived by the preſent Miniſtry, for an enquiry into the conduct at St. Euſtatius, was now no more thought of; and the Admiral received, as he well deſerved, the unanimous thanks of both Houſes for his eminent ſervices.

Glorious defence and final relief of Gibraltar.

The campaign of the preſent year was deſtined to be for ever ſignalized in the annals of Hiſtory by another event not leſs glorious to the arms of Britain than the victory of Sir George Rodney. The favorite object of Spain, during the whole of this war, was the recovery of the important fortreſs of Gibraltar; and after the reduction of Minorca the whole ſtrength of the Spaniſh monarchy ſeemed to be directed to this purpoſe. The Duc de Crillon, conqueror of Minorca, was appointed to conduct the ſiege; and, from the failure of former plans, it was reſolved to adopt an entire new mode of operation.

A project was formed by the Chevalier D'Arçon, and approved by the Spaniſh Court, to conſtruct a number of floating batteries, on a model which it was imagined would ſecure them from being either ſunk or fired. With this view their keels and bottoms were made of an extraordinary thickneſs, and their ſides defended by a kind of rampart, compoſed of wood and cork long ſoaked in water, and including between them a large layer of wet ſand. The roof was made of a ſtrong rope-work netting,

ting, covered with wet hides, and calculated by its ſloping poſition to prevent the ſhells and bombs from lodging, and to throw them off into the ſea before they could produce any effect. The batteries, ten in number, were made of the hulls of large veſſels cut down for the purpoſe, and mounted with heavy braſs cannon; and by a moſt ingenious mechaniſm, a great variety of pipes and canals perforated all the ſolid workmanſhip, in ſuch a manner as to convey a continued ſucceſſion of water to every part of the veſſels.

The preparations were enormous in other reſpects: about 1200 pieces of heavy ordnance had been brought to the ſpot, to be employed in the different modes of attack; above eighty gun-boats and bomb-ketches were to ſecond the operations of the floating batteries, with a multitude of frigates, ſloops and ſchooners: and the combined fleets of France and Spain, amounting to fifty ſail of the line, were to cover and ſupport the attack, while they heightened the terrible grandeur of the ſcene. The numbers employed by land and ſea againſt the fortreſs, were eſtimated at more than 100,000 men.

With this force, and by the fire of three hundred cannon, mortars and howitzers, from the adjacent iſthmus, it was intended to attack every part of the Britiſh works at one and the ſame inſtant. The Count d'Artois and the Duc de Bourbon, the brother and couſin of the French Monarch, and numerous other volunteers of high rank, had repaired to the Spaniſh camp in order to witneſs the inevitable fall of that famous fortreſs, which had ſo long bid haughty defiance to the power of Spain.

Early on the morning of the 13th of September, the ten battering ſhips, commanded by Admiral Don Moreno, came to an anchor in a line parallel to the rock, at the diſtance of about one thouſand or one thouſand two hundred yards.—The ſurrounding hills were covered with people, as though all Spain were aſſembled to behold the ſpectacle. The cannonade and bombardment on all ſides, from the iſthmus to the ſea,

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and the various works of the fortreſs were tremendouſly magnificent. The prodigious and unintermitted ſhowers of red-hot balls, of bombs and carcaſſes, which filled the air, exhibited a ſcene perhaps unparalleled in military hiſtory. The whole peninſula, like ſome vaſt volcano, diſcharging on all ſides its burning lava, ſeemed enveloped in a ſheet or torrent of fire. The battering ſhips for many hours remained to all appearance unaffected; but about two in the afternoon the Admiral's ſhip was obſerved to ſmoke, and ſoon after that of the Prince of Naſſau was obſerved to be in the ſame condition. The whole line of attack was now viſibly diſordered. At length the day having cloſed, the two firſt ſhips appeared to be in flames, and others were beginning to kindle; and ſignals of diſtreſs were univerſally made. Captain Curtis, who commanded the Engliſh marine force in the Bay, to complete the confuſion, having advanced to the attack with his gun-boats, and raked the whole line of batteries with his fire, the Spaniſh launches, which had been employed in bringing off the men, no longer dared to appear; but were compelled, after ſeveral had been ſunk in the attempt, to abandon their ſhips to the flames, or to the mercy of the Engliſh.

The diſtreſs of the enemy was now wrought up to the higheſt pitch of calamity; and the Britiſh officers and ſeamen, ſeeing all reſiſtance at an end, now exerted themſelves to the utmoſt to ſave the vanquiſhed foe, and their humanity was, at the cloſe of this memorable conflict, no leſs conſpicuous than their valor. Captain Curtis, in particular, expoſed himſelf to the moſt imminent perſonal danger; and his pinnace was almoſt in contact with one of the largeſt batteries at the moment of exploſion. In the end the floating batteries were all conſumed; and the loſs of the Spaniards, excluſive of that ſuſtained by the troops on the iſthmus, was computed at 1500 men, whilſt that of the garriſon amounted to leſs than one-third of the number.

In the mean time Lord Howe, who commanded the grand fleet, conſiſting of thirty-four ſail of the line, was on his paſſage from Portſmouth in order to throw ſuccors into the fortreſs. He arrived at Cape St.

St. Vincent the 9th of October, and on the 11th he paſſed the Straits, where the combined fleets had for ſome time been ſtationed in order to intercept him; but a violent tempeſt drove them upon the Barbary coaſt, and prevented all poſſibility of attack. The St. Michael, of 72 guns, having ſeparated from the fleet, ran on ſhore on the rock of Gibraltar, and was taken poſſeſſion of by the garriſon. After fully executing the purpoſe of his deſtination, Lord Howe ſet ſail for England. The enemy making their appearance off Cape St. Vincent, October 20, the Britiſh Admiral lay-to in order to receive them; but they kept at ſo great a diſtance, that the cannonade, which laſted from about five in the afternoon till ten at night, did little damage; and his Lordſhip having no preſſing reaſons for renewing the fight againſt ſo ſuperior a force, continued his voyage without farther moleſtation to Portſmouth. The Governor of Gibraltar, General Elliot, for his gallant and heroic defence of that fortreſs, was raiſed to the Peerage by the title of Baron Heathfield, and a penſion annexed to the title equal in amount to that granted to Sir George Rodney.

This was the laſt tranſaction of importance during the continuance of the war in Europe; and thus the military career of Britain, after her repeated misfortunes, terminated with great ſplendor and *eclat*. All the belligerent powers were now inclined to liſten to overtures of pacification. The independence of America being virtually recognized by England, and a reſolution againſt offenſive operations having paſſed the Houſe of Commons, the war with the Colonies was in fact at an end. The original purpoſe of France being accompliſhed, ſhe could have no motive to perſevere in a conteſt the expence of which was enormous, and the farther ſucceſs uncertain. Spain, after extraordinary exertions, having failed in both her grand objects, the recovery of Gibraltar, and the conqueſt of Jamaica, had little reaſon to flatter herſelf that her future efforts would be more effectual than the paſt; and Holland would have neither the inclination nor ability to continue the war alone.

During the negotiation with France and Spain, protracted chiefly in

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Provisional articles of peace with America.

consequence of the demand in which Spain for some time resolutely persisted of the cession of Gibraltar, provisional articles of pacification between Great Britain and America were signed on the 30th of November 1782, by which the thirteen provinces were declared free and independent States; and by a boundary line very favorable to America, the whole country southward of the lakes on both sides of the Ohio, and eastward of the Missisippi, was ceded to the Colonies, with a full participation of the fisheries on the Banks of Newfoundland, and the Gulph of St. Laurence. In return for which the Congress engaged to RECOMMEND to the several States to provide for the restitution of the confiscated estates of the loyalists. But this recommendation eventually proved, as might have easily been foreseen, nugatory and useless; and this wretched portion of his Majesty's *deluded subjects* migrated in great numbers to the inhospitable wilds of Nova Scotia, and the barren shores of the Bahamas.

Dr. FRANKLIN, so lately the subject of the vilest and grossest abuse, had now the glory of signing this treaty on the part of the United States—the intelligence of which was received in America with emotions of exultation and rapture. The definitive treaty was not however signed till the following year, at the close of which New York, Charlestown, and Savannah, the only places in the possession of the English, were finally evacuated; and General Washington made his public entry into the first of these cities as soon as the royal army was withdrawn. The rejoicings on this occasion were celebrated with patriotic enthusiasm; after which an affecting leave was taken by the General of the friends and companions of his warfare, who accompanied him on his return to his own province, in silent and solemn procession, to the banks of the North River. When the barge quitted the shore, he waved his hat, bidding them for the last time adieu. To this valediction, fixing their regards on their beloved Commander till they could no longer distinguish his person, they replied by acclamations intermingled with suppressed sobs and involuntary tears. In every town and village through which the General passed, he was received with the highest demonstrations of gratitude and joy.

When

General Washington resigns his commission.

When he arrived at Annapolis, he ſignified to Congreſs his intention to reſign the command he had the honor to hold in their ſervice, referring to them the mode in which it ſhould be done. They reſolved it ſhould be in a public audience. When the day fixed for that purpoſe arrived, the hall of the Senate Houſe was crowded with perſonages of the higheſt merit and diſtinction; and General Waſhington, addreſſing the Preſident in a ſpeech remarkable only for its dignified ſimplicity, "demanded leave to ſurrender into their hands the truſt committed to him, and, having finiſhed the work aſſigned him, to retire from the great theatre of action to the tranquil ſcenes of private life, earneſtly recommending to the protection of Almighty God the intereſts of his dear country, and thoſe who have the ſuperintendance of them to his holy keeping." To this addreſs the Preſident replied in words to the following purport:—"The United States in Congreſs aſſembled, receive with emotions too affecting for utterance the ſolemn reſignation of the authority under which you have led our troops with ſucceſs through a perilous and doubtful war. Called upon by your country to defend its invaded rights, you accepted the ſacred charge before it had formed alliances, and whilſt it was without friends or a government to ſupport you—you have conducted the great military conteſt with wiſdom and fortitude, invariably regarding the rights of the civil power through all diſaſters and changes—you have, by the love and confidence of your fellow-citizens, enabled them to diſplay their martial genius, and to tranſmit their fame to poſterity. Having defended the ſtandard of liberty in this new world, having taught a leſſon uſeful to thoſe who inflict and to thoſe who feel oppreſſion, you retire with the bleſſings of your country; but the glory of your virtues will not terminate with your military command, it will continue to animate remoteſt ages. May the Almighty foſter a life ſo beloved with his peculiar care, and may your future days be as happy as your paſt have been illuſtrious!"[2] The grand and intereſting ſcenes which crowded upon the imagination of the General and the Preſident, almoſt deprived them of the power of articulation; and the mingled emotions of joy, regret, and admiration, which agitated the minds of the ſpectators, were expreſſed

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expreſſed more forcibly by looks and geſtures than they could have been by words.

Immediately on this reſignation, the late Commander "haſtened," to uſe his own words, "with ineffable delight to his ſeat at Mount Vernon, on the banks of the Potowmac;" whence, at the powerful call of his country, he in a ſhort time again emerged in order to aſſume the high ſtation of Preſident and Guardian of that new and noble Conſtitution which, by one of the happieſt and moſt extraordinary efforts of human virtue, wiſdom, and ability, has been ſubſtituted in America to her former feeble, inefficient, and defective form of government.

Seſſion of Parliament.

In Great Britain, to the affairs of which we muſt now revert, the ſeſſion of Parliament commenced December 5, 1782, with a very excellent ſpeech from the throne, in which his Majeſty, reverting after a long and inglorious ſeries of years to the genuine principles of Whig policy, declared, that he had loſt no time in giving the neceſſary orders for prohibiting offenſive operations againſt America, and had been directing his views to a cordial reconciliation with her. Such being his own inclination, and ſuch the ſenſe of his Parliament and people, he had not heſitated to conclude with them proviſional articles of peace, by which they were acknowledged free and independent States. He deplored this diſmemberment of the empire, which had become a matter both of policy and prudence; but teſtified a hope that religion, language, intereſt and affection would yet prove a permanent tie of union between the two countries. He ſpoke with pride and ſatisfaction of the late gallant defence of Gibraltar: he recommended an immediate attention to the great objects of public receipt and expenditure, and above all to the ſtate of the national debt. He applauded the liberal principles which had actuated the conduct of Parliament reſpecting Ireland; he preſſed a reviſion of the whole ſyſtem of trade with a view to its fulleſt extenſion; and, turning his attention to Aſia, pointed out our vaſt poſſeſſions there

as a moſt important object of regulation and care. He declared that the true ſpirit of the Conſtitution would be the invariable rule of his conduct, and called upon Parliament to exerciſe their temper, wiſdom, and diſintereſtedneſs."

Loyal addreſſes were voted in both Houſes without a diviſion; but ſome ſevere remarks having been directed in the Houſe of Peers againſt the inconſiſtency of the Miniſter, who had at a former period ſo ſtrongly oppoſed the recognition of American independence, his Lordſhip declared, "that he had exerted every effort to preſerve America to this country;" and with great animation exclaimed, "that he had not voluntarily yielded up this independency; he had merely ſubmitted to the controlling power of neceſſity and fate. It was not I," ſaid he, "that made this ceſſion—it was the evil ſtar of Britain—it was the blunders of a former Adminiſtration—it was the power of revolted ſubjects, and the mighty arms of the houſe of Bourbon."

Doubts having ariſen whether the acknowledgment of independency was abſolute or conditional, and Lord Shelburne declining to communicate any particulars of a negotiation actually pending, Mr. Fox moved in the Houſe of Commons an addreſs to the King, to lay before the Houſe copies of ſuch parts of the proviſional articles as related to the ſame; but this was oppoſed as inexpedient and improper, not only by the Chancellor of the Exchequer Mr. Pitt, but by the late Miniſter Lord North; and the queſtion being put, Mr. Fox's motion was negatived by a majority of 219 againſt 46—a diviſion perhaps fatal to the Miniſter, by inſpiring him with high and lofty ideas of his own ſtrength and ſecurity.

Strength of the new Miniſtry.

On the 23d of December the Parliament, after voting one hundred thouſand ſeamen and marines for the ſervice of the enſuing year, adjourned to the 21ſt of January 1783—the day preceding which preliminary articles of peace were ſigned between Great Britain, France, and Spain, which immediately after the receſs were ſubmitted to the conſideration

1783. Preliminaries of peace with France and Spain ſigned.

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ſideration of the two Houſes. By this treaty Great Britain guarantied to France the iſland of Tobago, and reſtored that of St. Lucia; alſo the ſettlements of Goree and Senegal in Africa; and the city of Pondicherri, with her other conqueſts in the Eaſt, accompanied by ſome additions of territory. Laſtly, the claims of Britain reſpecting Dunkirk were expreſsly relinquiſhed; and on her part, France agreed to reſtore, Tobago excepted, all her valuable and important conqueſts in the Weſt Indies. His Catholic Majeſty was allowed to retain Minorca and Weſt Florida, Eaſt Florida being alſo ceded in exchange for the Bahamas. Theſe iſlands had however already been recovered to the dominion of Great Britain in conſequence of the ſucceſs of an adventurous enterpriſe, gallantly conducted by Colonel Devaux, without the knowledge, and much leſs the ſupport or aſſiſtance, of Government. Holland having rejected the former advances of the Engliſh Court towards an accommodation, it was reſolved that ſhe ſhould not eſcape with total impunity; and the Britiſh Plenipotentiaries were directed to offer the reſtitution of the Dutch ſettlements in the poſſeſſion of England, with the important exception of Trincomalee, which their High Mightineſſes declared they could not reconcile with the profeſſions of moderation on the part of his Britannic Majeſty. On the other hand, Holland demanded an indemnification for the loſſes and expences of the war—a pretenſion which the Engliſh negotiators peremptorily rejected as totally inadmiſſible. Theſe oppoſite claims for the preſent impeded the concluſion of the treaty with that power; but the preliminaries of peace actually ſigned were laid before the two Houſes of Parliament, by the Secretaries of State, Lord Grantham and Mr. Townſhend, on the 17th of February, and in both they met with a very violent and unexpected oppoſition.

Debates on the peace in the Houſe of Lords.

An addreſs of thanks and approbation being moved in the Houſe of Peers by Lord Pembroke, and ſeconded by the Marquis of Carmarthen, a ſucceſſion of able and eloquent ſpeeches were made by the Lords Carliſle, Walſingham, Sackville, Stormont, and Loughborough, reprobating the preliminaries of peace as derogatory from the dignity, and in the higheſt degree injurious to the intereſts, of the nation. "The

dereliction of the loyaliſts of America, and the Indians our allies, was ſaid to be a baſeneſs unexampled in the records of hiſtory. In the loweſt ebb of diſtreſs we ought not to have ſubſcribed to terms ſo ignominious. Francis I. when conquered and a captive, wrote, 'that all was loſt except his honor;' and his magnanimity finally re-eſtabliſhed his fortune. The folly of our negotiations was everywhere apparent. In Africa, our trade was ſurrendered to France by the ceſſion of Senegal and Goree—in Aſia, Pondicherri was not only given back, but, to render the boon more acceptable, a large territory was made to accompany it—in America, the prohibitions againſt fortifying St. Pierre and Miquelon were removed, and the limits of the French fiſhery extended—and, under pretence of drawing a boundary line, the treaty grants to the United States an immenſe tract of country inhabited by more than twenty Indian nations—in the Weſt Indies, St. Lucia was relinquiſhed, which was of ſuch military importance, that ſo long as we retained this iſland in our hands, we might well have ſtood upon the *uti poſſidetis*, as the baſis of negotiation in that quarter—the ceſſion of Eaſt Florida to Spain was an extravagance for which it was impoſſible to find even the ſhadow of a pretence—To complete the whole, France was allowed to repair and fortify the harbor of Dunkirk, which, in the event of a future war, might annoy our trade in its centre, and counteract all the advantage of our local ſituation for foreign commerce; and, what is moſt wonderful, all theſe ſacrifices are made on the profeſſed ground of arranging matters on the principles of RECIPROCITY."

The Miniſter defended himſelf from theſe various attacks with great vigor and ability. His Lordſhip declared, "that PEACE was the object for which the nation at large had diſcovered the moſt unequivocal deſire; the end he had in view was the advantage of his country, and he was certain that he had attained it. The vaſt uncultivated tract of land to the ſouthward of the lakes," his Lordſhip ſaid, "was of infinite conſequence to America, and of none to England; and the retention of it, or even of the forts which commanded it, could only have laid the foundation of future hoſtility. If our liberality to Ireland was the ſubject of juſt applauſe, why act upon principles of

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illiberality to America? The refuſal of the Newfoundland fiſhery would have been a direct manifeſtation of hoſtile intentions; and as it lay on their coaſts, it was in reality impoſſible to exclude them from it by any reſtrictions; it is an advantage which nature has given them, and to attempt to wreſt it from them would not only be unjuſt, but impracticable. Of one objection his Lordſhip acknowledged that he deeply felt the force. His regret and compaſſion for the ſituation of the unhappy loyaliſts were as pungent as thoſe of their warmeſt advocates. This objection admitted only of one anſwer, the anſwer which he had given to his own bleeding heart—'It is better that a part ſhould ſuffer, rather than the whole empire periſh.' He would have daſhed from him the bitter cup which the adverſities of his country held out to him, if peace had not been abſolutely neceſſary—if it had not been called for with a unanimity and vigor that could not be reſiſted. No arts of addreſs or negotiation had been neglected, but the American Commiſſioners had no power to concede farther. The Congreſs itſelf had not the power—for, by the conſtitution of America, every State was ſupreme, including in itſelf the legiſlative and judicial powers; its juriſdiction, therefore, was not liable to control. In the mode of interpoſition, by recommendation alone could the Congreſs act. If, after all, the loyaliſts ſhould not be received into the boſom of their native country, Britain, penetrated with gratitude for their ſervices, and warm with the feelings of humanity, would afford them an aſylum; and it would doubtleſs be wiſer to indemnify them for their loſſes, than to ruin the nation by a renewal or prolongation of the calamities of war. The ceſſion of Eaſt Florida, his Lordſhip ſaid, was rendered unavoidable, by the miſtaken and ruinous policy of thoſe Miniſters who had brought the nation under the miſerable neceſſity of treating with its enemies on terms very different from thoſe it could formerly have commanded. This province, detached from Weſtern Florida, already conquered by the arms of Spain, was however of trivial value; and the amount of its imports and exports bore no proportion to the expence of its civil eſtabliſhment. We had, nevertheleſs, obtained a compenſation in the reſtitution of the Bahamas. Although the bounds of the French fiſhery were ſomewhat extended, by far the moſt eligible

ble parts of the Newfoundland coaſt were left in poſſeſſion of the Engliſh, and a ſource of future contention removed by the exact aſcertainment of limits. In exchange for St. Lucia, France had reſtored ſix of the ſeven iſlands ſhe had taken, and only retained Tobago—Senegal and Goree had been originally French ſettlements, but their commerce was inconſiderable; and the whole African trade was open to the Engliſh, by our ſettlements on the river Gambia, which were guarantied to us by this treaty. The reſtoration of Pondicherri, and of our other conqueſts in the Eaſt, muſt be acknowledged not a meaſure of expediency ſo much as of abſolute neceſſity, if the ſtate of the Eaſt India Company were adverted to. Such had been the formidable confederacy againſt which they were compelled to contend, ſuch the wretched derangement of their finances, and ſo expoſed to hazard were their vaſt and precarious poſſeſſions, that nothing but peace could recover to them their aſcendency in Aſia: in ſuch a ſituation it was impoſſible to procure terms of accommodation more honorable. The removal of the reſtraints relative to the harbor of Dunkirk—reſtraints diſgraceful to France, and of trifling advantage to England—was inveighed againſt without candor or reaſon. Dunkirk, as a port, was, as his Lordſhip aſſerted, far from poſſeſſing the conſequence aſcribed to it; it lies near a ſhoaly part of the channel; it cannot receive ſhips of a large ſize, and can never be a rendezvous for ſquadrons; it may indeed be a reſort for privateers, but theſe we know by experience could eaſily iſſue from other ports. In fine, the confederacy formed againſt us was decidedly ſuperior to our utmoſt exertions—our taxes were exorbitant—our debts, funded and unfunded, amounted to two hundred and forty-ſeven millions—our commerce was rapidly declining—our navy was overbalanced by the fleets of the combined powers, in the alarming proportion of more than fifty ſhips of the line. Peace was in theſe circumſtanees neceſſary to our exiſtence as a nation. The beſt terms of accommodation which our ſituation would admit had been procured; and his Lordſhip ventured to affirm, that they could be decried or oppoſed only by ignorance, prejudice, or faction." On a diviſion, the addreſs was carried by a majority of 72 to 59 voices.

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Debates on the peace in the Houſe of Commons.

A ſimilar addreſs in the Houſe of Commons was moved by Mr. Thomas Pitt, and ſeconded by Mr. Wilberforce, who urged in ſtriking and impreſſive language the expediency, the neceſſity, and advantages of peace. On which Lord John Cavendiſh roſe and declared, "that he alſo profeſſed himſelf an advocate for peace; but the queſtion was not whether a peace were neceſſary, but whether a better peace might not have been obtained—this was a queſtion which called for a ſerious deliberation. As the whole of the evidence proper to be produced was not before the Houſe, it was expedient to pauſe and heſitate. He propoſed therefore to annex to the addreſs the following words: "His Majeſty's faithful Commons will proceed to conſider of the treaties with that ſerious and faithful attention which a ſubject of ſo much importance to the preſent and future intereſts of his Majeſty's dominions deſerves; aſſuring his Majeſty, nevertheleſs, of their firm and unalterable determination to adhere inviolably to the ſeveral articles for which the public faith is pledged."

This amendment was ſeconded by Mr. St. John, member for the county of Bedford, and ſupported with all the power of his eloquence by Lord North. "The addreſs," this nobleman ſaid, "called for a vote of approbation, and he had no ſuch vote to give; for he conſidered the peace as diſhonorable and deſtructive. His Lordſhip wiſhed not, however, to ſet negotiations aſide which had been concluded under the ſanction of prerogative, nor to put thoſe who adviſed them under PERIL of PUNISHMENT."

Such was the *candor* of the noble Lord, and ſuch his *indulgence* to thoſe guilty of the crime of reſcuing the nation from the ruin which impended over it, as the inevitable reſult of that fatal ſyſtem patronized and ſupported by the noble Lord and his colleagues, till the patience and credulity of an abuſed and exaſperated people were at length exhauſted. He who, by his own wretched miſconduct, had created the neceſſity for making the ſacrifices in queſtion, ought ſurely in decency to have been the

the laſt man in the nation who ſhould have ſuggeſted the profligate idea of putting thoſe who adviſed them under PERIL of PUNISHMENT.

Coalition between Mr. Fox and Lord North.

Mr. Fox now roſe, and declared "his perfect concurrence with the ſentiments expreſſed by the noble Lord; and in ſtill more bitter terms reprobated the peace as the moſt diſaſtrous and humiliating that had ever diſgraced any country. He had been accuſed," he ſaid, "of having formed an union with the noble Lord whoſe principles he had oppoſed for ſeveral years of his life; but the grounds of their oppoſition were removed, and he did not conceive it to be honorable to keep up animoſities for ever. He was happy at all times to have a proper opportunity to bury his reſentments, and it was the wiſh of his heart that his friendſhips ſhould never die. The American war was the ſource of his diſagreement with the noble Lord; and, that cauſe of enmity being now no more, it was wiſe and fit to put an end to the ill-will, the animoſity, the feuds, and the rancor which it engendered. It was a ſatisfaction to him to apply the appellation of FRIEND to the noble Lord; he had found him honorable as an adverſary, and he had no doubt of his openneſs and ſincerity as a friend."

By a very great and reſpectable part of the Houſe, this declaration, which opened a perfectly new ſcene of things, was moſt indignantly received. Mr. Powys ſaid, "This was the age of ſtrange confederacies. The world had ſeen great and arbitrary deſpots ſtand forth the protectors of an infant republic—France and Spain had combined to eſtabliſh the riſing liberties of America. The Houſe now ſurveyed the counterpart of this picture—a MONSTROUS COALITION had taken place between a noble Lord and an illuſtrious Commoner—the lofty aſſertor of the prerogative had joined in alliance with the worſhippers of the majeſty of the people." On the diviſion the effect of this *monſtrous coalition* was immediately viſible, there appearing for the amendment 224 againſt 208 voices.

On the 21ſt of February Lord John Cavendiſh moved a ſeries of reſolutions,

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ſolutions, importing—" 1. That, in conſideration of the public faith, his Majeſty's faithful Commons will aſſiſt him in rendering the peace permanent. 2. That, in concurrence with his Majeſty, they will endeavor to improve the bleſſings of peace to the advantage of the nation. 3. That his Majeſty, in acknowledging the independency of America, has acted in conformity to the ſenſe of Parliament, and to the powers veſted in him by the act of the laſt ſeſſion. 4. That the conceſſions made to the adverſaries of Great Britain by the proviſional treaty, and the preliminary articles, are greater than they were entitled to either from the actual ſituation of their reſpective poſſeſſions, or from their comparative ſtrength."

A vehement debate aroſe on the laſt of theſe reſolutions; the merits of the peace were anew diſcuſſed; and the coalition, now openly avowed and gloried in, again underwent the ſevereſt crimination, and the moſt poignant ridicule. Lord North, elated with the proſpect not merely of perfect impunity, but of a re-admiſſion to the power and emoluments of office, ventured to expreſs, in high language, " his amazement at the reflections which had been thrown out againſt him. He did not," he ſaid, " repent of his conduct while a Miniſter; conſcious of his own innocence, he bade defiance to cenſure or puniſhment. Proud as he was of the coalition to which he had been invited, it ſhould be underſtood that he was not diſpoſed to make any ſacrifice of his public principles. He dreaded no accuſation, and he dared his enemies, whatever might be their abilities, their influence, and their character, to be deciſive, and to proceed againſt him"—expreſſions ſurely theſe, conſidering the calamities brought upon the nation by the groſs and flagrant miſconduct of this Miniſter, in the higheſt degree indecent and inſolent. The queſtion being put, was carried againſt the Miniſtry by a majority of 207 voices to 190.

Terms of the peace diſapproved of in the Houſe of Commons.

From this time it was obvious that ſome change in Adminiſtration muſt inevitably take place; but the Court hoped that a partial change might ſuffice. Various conferences were held on the ſubject of a new arrangement;

arrangement; but the COALITION, knowing their own ſtrength, were determined not to deviate in any point from their preconcerted plan. More than a month paſſed in a kind of miniſterial interregnum. At length Mr. Coke, member for Norfolk, moved an addreſs to the King, "that he would be graciouſly pleaſed to take into conſideration the diſtracted and unſettled ſtate of the empire, and condeſcend to a compliance with the wiſhes of this Houſe, by forming an Adminiſtration entitled to the confidence of his people." This was unanimouſly carried, and preſented to the King by ſuch members of the Houſe as were Privy Counſellors. His Majeſty replied, "that it was his earneſt deſire to do every thing in his power to comply with the wiſhes of his faithful Commons." This anſwer not giving ſatisfaction, Lord Surry moved in a few days another addreſs, framed in very ſtrong and pointed terms—"aſſuring his Majeſty that all delays in a matter of this moment have an inevitable tendency to weaken the authority of his government; and *moſt humbly entreating* his Majeſty that he will take ſuch meaſures towards this object as may quiet the anxiety and apprehenſion of his faithful ſubjects." But Mr. Pitt declaring that he had reſigned his office of Chancellor of the Exchequer, and that any reſolution or addreſs relative to a new arrangement of Adminiſtration was unneceſſary, Lord Surry conſented to withdraw his motion: and the Miniſters, who, reluctant to quit the luxury of power, had lingered in office to the laſt moment, now gave place to their determined and victorious antagoniſts.

Change of Miniſtry—Duke of Portland Firſt Miniſter.

The Duke of Portland was placed at the head of the Treaſury; and Lord John Cavendiſh was re-appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer; Lord NORTH and Mr. FOX were nominated JOINT SECRETARIES of STATE, the firſt for the Home, the latter for the Foreign Department; Lord Keppel, who had recently reſigned on account of his diſapprobation of the peace, was again placed at the head of the Admiralty; Lord Stormont was created Preſident of the Council; and Lord Carliſle was advanced to the poſt of Lord Privy Seal. The Great Seal was put into commiſſion—the Chief Juſtice Loughborough, ſo diſtinguiſhed for political verſatility, "who could change and change and yet GO ON," being declared

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declared Firſt Lord Commiſſioner; the Earl Northington was appointed to the Government of Ireland; and Mr. Burke reinſtated in his former poſt of Paymaſter of the Forces. Of the ſeven Cabinet Miniſters, the majority, who alſo occupied the moſt important poſts of Adminiſtration, were of the old Whig or Rockingham party;—Lord Stormont, Lord North, and Lord Carliſle, contenting themſelves rather with a participation of honors and emoluments than of power.

Notwithſtanding the admiſſion of theſe Tory Lords therefore into the Miniſtry, it could not but be acknowledged, as to all the grand purpoſes of government, a WHIG Adminiſtration—more eſpecially when the ability, the vigor, and the deciſion of its *efficient leader* were juſtly and impartially eſtimated. But, moſt unfortunately, no impartial eſtimate of the merits of this novel and heterogeneous arrangement could be hoped. The PUBLIC CONFIDENCE was loſt; and univerſal experience confirms the obſervation of a celebrated writer, "that the public confidence, once loſt, is NEVER completely regained." The Coalition was the theme of univerſal and paſſionate execration. All thoſe bitter and opprobrious expreſſions of contumely and reproach againſt the late Miniſter Lord North, with which the ſpeeches of Mr. Fox and Mr. Burke had been for ſo many years filled, were now recalled to the general recollection, and excited a degree of anger, indignation, and amazement, which had not been equalled ſince the memorable and infamous defection of Mr. Pulteney. When Lord Chatham, in one of his laſt ſpeeches in Parliament, "wiſhed that the VENGEANCE of the NATION might fall HEAVY upon the MINISTERS;" when Mr. Fox declared, "that he would purſue even to the SCAFFOLD the authors of the PUBLIC RUIN;" and when Mr. Burke affirmed, "that he had articles of IMPEACHMENT actually framed againſt Lord North, whom he ſtigmatized as a STATE CRIMINAL;" great allowance ought doubtleſs to be made for that warmth and ardor of patriotic zeal, which might prompt them to exceed the too preciſe limits of a ſtrict and ſober diſcretion. The late Miniſters, it muſt be acknowledged, had done nothing for which they could juſtly incur legal puniſhment. But a parliamentary vote of cenſure and con-

demnation of thoſe meaſures and principles which had brought the nation to the brink of perdition, was eagerly wiſhed for by the independent and intelligent part of the public; and ſome ſatisfactory aſſurance anxiouſly expected for the removal of men ſo unqualified for the taſk of government, from his Majeſty's perſon and councils FOR EVER;—ſending them into ignominious retirement, with the CURSES of their COUNTRY upon their HEADS.

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Lord Chatham, on receiving, not long before his deceaſe, repeated and high-ſtrained profeſſions of amity and regard from Lord Bute, apparently intended to cover ſome inſidious and political purpoſe, replied without heſitation, "that it was impoſſible for him to ſerve the King and Country either with Lord Bute or Lord North; and that if any thing could prevent the conſummation of public ruin, it could only be new counſels and new counſellors—a real change, from a ſincere conviction of paſt errors, and not a mere palliation, which muſt prove fruitleſs." There are no doubt ſituations of extraordinary difficulty and danger, which call for the united exertions of thoſe who have been moſt oppoſite in ſentiments and conduct: but the Nation was not at this time diſpoſed to believe, that any peculiar danger to the country exiſted under the adminiſtration of the Earl of Shelburne, who, whether in or out of office, had uniformly ſhewn himſelf a friend to liberty. The terms of the peace were generally deemed as good as there was any previous reaſon, from the relative ſituation of the belligerent powers, to expect; and the COALITION of perſons and principles radically hoſtile, and which no effort of art, or length of time, could aſſimilate, was univerſally branded as a groſs and palpable ſacrifice of every ſentiment of honor, conſiſtency, and rectitude, on the altar of ambition, intereſt, and revenge *.

Extreme unpopularity of the Coalition Adminiſtration.

One

* On the firſt intelligence of this aſtoniſhing coalition, Lord Camden remarked to a Nobleman of the higheſt rank, with whom he had been many years on terms of intimate friendſhip, and who, after a long courſe of political conflict, had fought and found wiſdom, virtue, and happineſs in the ſhades of retirement, "There is now an end of all public confidence in public men. Miniſters for the next half century are freed from all reſtraint, and

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Act of renunciation of the authority of Great Britain over Ireland.

One of the firſt meaſures of the new Miniſtry was to expedite the paſſing of a Bill, before pending, "for the purpoſe of preventing any writs of error or appeal from the kingdom of Ireland from being received by any of his Majeſty's Courts in Great Britain; and of renouncing, in expreſs terms, the legiſlative authority of the Britiſh Parliament in relation to Ireland." This was a neceſſary conſequence of the general plan of Iriſh emancipation; for the mere repeal of the Declaratory Act did not, in the view of the common law, make any difference whatever in the relative ſituation of the two countries.

Embarraſſments of the Eaſt India Company.

Soon after this, a bill was introduced by Sir Henry Fletcher, Chairman of the Eaſt India Company, "for ſuſpending the payments of the Company now due to the Royal Exchequer, and for enabling them to borrow the ſum of three hundred thouſand pounds, for their farther relief."

Lord John Cavendiſh declared this bill to be only a branch of a larger plan; and that it was brought forward ſeparately, in order to an-

may bid defiance to all oppoſition." To the ſame purpoſe the celebrated D'Avenant, ſpeaking of the ſuppoſed defection of thoſe from the cauſe of liberty who had been looked up to and relied upon as its moſt zealous defenders, ſays, "Men, finding themſelves thus forſaken, would believe they were bought and ſold; they would imagine there was no ſuch thing as virtue and honeſty remaining; they would think all pretenſions to the public good to be nothing but deſigns of ambitious perſons to lift themſelves up to high honors, upon the ſhoulders of the people: and when nations have before their eyes an *armed power*, and none in whom they can put any truſt, they ſeldom fail of ſubmitting to the yoke." This ſtate of things, while ſome have taken refuge in the wildeſt and moſt licentious principles of democracy, has induced in the generality a ſtate of political apathy bordering on deſpair. Faſcinated as by the mortal magic of the baſiliſk, the Nation is with open eyes advancing, by a ſort of fatal irreſiſtible impulſe, in the road to deſtruction; viewing with terrific inſenſibility the gulph of political perdition yawning before them.

Oh! how haſt THOU with jealouſy infected
The ſweetneſs of affiance!———
———Thy fall hath left a kind of blot,
To mark the full-fraught man, the beſt endowed,
With ſome ſuſpicion! I WILL WEEP for THEE!

SHAKESPEARE.

ſwer

ſwer an exigency which did not admit of delay. His Lordſhip viewed the territorial acquiſitions of the Company as a fruitful ſource of grievance. "It would," he ſaid, "have been more for their advantage, had they confined themſelves to the character of merchants. As theſe acquiſitions, however, had been made, they muſt be preſerved, and it was his opinion that the relief neceſſary to the Company ſhould be granted."

Lord Fitzwilliam, in the Upper Houſe, dwelt on the almoſt deſperate ſituation of the Eaſt India Company, and affirmed, "that, unleſs it paſſed, their bankruptcy would be inevitable. The expenditure of their ſettlements had far exceeded their revenue: bills had been drawn upon them which they were unable to anſwer without a temporary ſupply, ſo that the exiſtence of the Company depended upon the ſucceſs of the bill;" which accordingly paſſed both Houſes with little difficulty or oppoſition.

In the month of April 1783, the Chancellor of the Exchequer brought forward his plan for raiſing twelve millions by loan. The moſt remarkable circumſtance attending it was, that the money borrowed was funded at three per cent. at the extravagant rate of one hundred and fifty pounds ſtock for every hundred pounds ſterling; ſo that an artificial capital of ſix millions was created beyond and above the ſum actually paid into the Exchequer. This abſurd and pernicious mode of funding was expoſed and reprobated with much ability by Mr. Pitt in the Lower Houſe, and the Earl of Shelburne in the Upper, but with no effect.

Mr. Pitt's plan of Parliamentary Reform.

The former motion of Mr. Pitt for an enquiry into the ſtate of the repreſentation being negatived, he now brought forward, May 7, a ſpecific plan for adding one hundred members to the counties, and aboliſhing a proportionable number of the burgage-tenure and other ſmall and obnoxious boroughs. This plan, though ſupported by Mr. Fox, was negatived by a great majority; the numbers on the diviſion being 293 to 149. As there muſt of courſe ever be a ſtronger oppoſition againſt any ſpecific plan of reform in the firſt inſtance, than to a comprehenſive and

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general motion of enquiry only, the latter is evidently the moſt politic as well as reaſonable mode of introducing the queſtion to the notice and diſcuſſion of the Houſe; and had it been adopted by Mr. Pitt on this occaſion, it could not have ſo egregiouſly failed of ſucceſs. The motion was oppoſed in a very able ſpeech by Lord North, who with an happy alluſive pleaſantry declared, "that, while ſome with LEAR demanded an hundred knights, and others with Goneril were ſatisfied with fifty, he with Regan exclaimed, No, not ONE!" His Lordſhip, in a graver and more argumentative ſtrain, ſaid, "It was not true that the Houſe of Commons had not its full and proper weight in the ſcale of government; —his political life was a proof that it had. It was Parliament that had made him a Miniſter. He came amongſt them without connection. It was to them he was indebted for his riſe, and they had pulled him down;—he had been the creature of their opinion and of their power; —his political career was conſequently a proof of their independence; —the voice of the Commons was ſufficient to remove whatever was diſpleaſing to the ſentiments and wiſhes of the country; and in ſuch a ſituation to *parade* about a reformation was idle, unneceſſary, inexpedient, and dangerous." This reaſoning might perhaps have had ſome degree of weight, could it be loſt to the public recollection, that the Noble Lord was originally advanced to the premierſhip by the *fiat* of the *Executive Power*, and was continued in office, during the firſt and laſt years of his adminiſtration at leaſt, by the influence of the ſame power, in daring contrariety to the clear, unanimous, and decided ſenſe of the Nation. His Lordſhip's compulſive reſignation at the laſt, proved only that there are limits, beyond which even the complaiſance of the repreſentative body does not extend: and the infatuation of the Miniſters became at length ſo notorious, that Parliament, alarmed at their raſhneſs, and aſtoniſhed at their folly, happily and critically interpoſed to ſave the nation from deſtruction.

A bill for regulating the trade of the African Company being introduced towards the cloſe of the ſeſſion, with a clauſe prohibiting the officers of the Company from *exporting negroes*, that humane, intelligent, and

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Remarkable petition of the Quakers.

reſpectable claſs of citizens known by the appellation of Quakers, convened in their annual aſſembly in the metropolis, embraced this favorable occaſion to petition the Houſe of Commons, "That the clauſe in queſtion might be extended to all perſons whatſoever; profeſſing themſelves deeply affected with the conſideration of the rapine, oppreſſion, and blood attending this traffic.—Under the countenance of the laws of this country," ſay the petitioners, "many thouſands of theſe our fellow-creatures, entitled to the NATURAL RIGHTS OF MANKIND, are held as perſonal property in cruel bondage. Your petitioners regret, that a nation profeſſing the Chriſtian faith ſhould ſo far counteract the principles of humanity and juſtice." This petition excited in a remarkable degree the attention of the Houſe and of the Public; and laid the foundation of the ſubſequent noble and generous, though hitherto * unſucceſsful, efforts, to effect a total abolition of this deteſtable and inhuman commerce—efforts which, however they may terminate, will, in the volume of the *recording angel*, "on leaves more durable than leaves of braſs," enroll the names of WILBERFORCE, of SMITH, of DOLBEN, and many others, in the illuſtrious catalogue of the friends and benefactors of mankind; and more particularly of that deſpiſed and unfortunate race of men born only to miſery, and to whoſe wretched and moſt compaſſionable lot it has fallen "to plough the winter's wave and reap deſpair." Much buſineſs, comprehending details not ſufficiently important to demand a place in general hiſtory, having been completed, the Parliament was at length prorogued, July 16, by a ſpeech in which his Majeſty intimated his intention of calling them together at an early period, in order to reſume the conſideration of the affairs of the Eaſt Indies, which would demand their moſt ſerious and unintermitted attention.

Order of Council for regulating the commerce between America and the Weſt Indies.

In the courſe of the ſummer the King, as legally empowered by an act paſſed for that purpoſe, iſſued an Order in Council, limiting the commerce between the Continent of America and the Britiſh Weſt India Iſlands to ſhips Britiſh built. This was conformable to the grand principle on which the Act of Navigation was originally founded; and

* A. D. 1796.

though

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though this reſtriction gave extreme offence to the inhabitants of the United States, they could not in reaſon complain that they were precluded from enjoying the advantages of dependence and independence at one and the ſame time. The definitive treaties with France, Spain, and America, were at this period ſigned with no material alteration: alſo preliminaries of peace with the States General, by which all the conqueſts of England were reſtored, except the town of Negapatnam on the coaſt of Coromandel, which their High Mightineſſes found themſelves, however reluctantly, at length compelled to cede*.

Treaty of peace with the States General.

State of Europe.

During this interval of political repoſe in England, it will not be improper to caſt a tranſient view at the general poſture and relative ſituation of the great Continental Powers.

One of the moſt intereſting events which, ſince our laſt notice of foreign politics, had taken place in Europe, was the death of the Elector of Bavaria, December 30, 1777. This prince was the laſt of the Ludovician line of Electors, which had been in poſſeſſion of the duchy and its appendages near five hundred years. Theſe dominions reverted to the heir general of the deceaſed, Charles Theodore Elector Palatine; who being now himſelf advanced in life, and having no iſſue, both Electorates ſeemed likely ſoon to fall into the poſſeſſion of the Duke of Deux-ponts, his neareſt relation in the male Palatine line. Scarcely, however, had the new Elector arrived at Munich, before he found that he was oppoſed by a rival of ſuch ſuperior force as to leave him no room to hope, however clear his right, for ſucceſs in the competition.

* Nearly at this time, an ambaſſador from the United States of America, Mr. Adams, arrived in London. It is related that, on his firſt audience at St. James's, the King, addreſſing himſelf with much politeneſs to the Ambaſſador, ſaid, "that he had been the laſt man in his kingdom who had aſſented to the recognition of American independence: but, now it was actually eſtabliſhed, he would be the laſt man in the kingdom to violate it."—A lively illuſtration on one hand of the invincible pertinacity, and on the other of the probity of intention, which enter ſo conſpicuouſly into the character of this ill-adviſed, miſguided, and unfortunate Monarch.

This was no other than the Emperor, who advancing, on grounds of which it would be idle to examine into the validity, his imperial claim to the whole of the Lower Bavaria, and to all thoſe diſtricts of the Upper which had been formerly fiefs of the kingdom of Bohemia, cauſed a vaſt army to enter the Electorate, notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of the Regency, who in vain pleaded the laws of the Empire and the rights of ſovereignty.

The Elector Theodore, equally unable and unwilling to riſque the conteſt, ſigned a convention with the Emperor in January 1778, in which all the pretended rights of the Court of Vienna were allowed and conceded in their fulleſt extent. This tranſaction, however, could not fail to excite a general alarm throughout the Empire.

The Duke of Deux-ponts formally proteſted againſt this invaſion and dereliction of his rights, and called upon the Princes and Co-eſtates of the Empire, as members of the Germanic Body, and guarantees of the Treaty of Weſtphalia, to interpoſe for the preſervation of the Conſtitution, thus openly violated.

The King of Pruſſia, who regarded with a jealous eye whatever tended to the aggrandizement of the houſe of Auſtria, aſſumed, as well became him, the lead in this important and common concern. His ſeveral memorials on this ſubject to the Court of Vienna, and to the Diet of the Empire aſſembled at Ratiſbon, were however extremely guarded and temperate, whilſt the replies of the Imperial Court were in the higheſt degree haughty and ſupercilious.—"The Court of Vienna knew her own rights, and was the proper judge of them. An *amicable arrangement* had taken place, and his Imperial Majeſty did not think himſelf accountable to any Prince of the Empire for the meaſures he had purſued; and, being thoroughly ſatisfied with the JUSTICE of his CAUSE, was reſolved to ſupport his pretenſions by force of arms."

The King of Pruſſia, who evidently appears to have been reluctant to proceed

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proceed to extremities, at length propoſed to the Emperor to guaranty to him in full right the ceſſion of two conſiderable diſtricts of the duchy of Bavaria, contiguous to the Auſtrian territories, on condition that the Court of Vienna would relinquiſh her remaining claims. But this being refuſed with diſdain, his Pruſſian Majeſty publiſhed a manifeſto early in July 1778, ſtating "the unwarrantable and violent conduct of the Imperial Court, which, if ſuffered to proceed without control, would effect the total overthrow of the whole Germanic ſyſtem."

It was equally evident on the other hand, that the Emperor had from the firſt expected, and was prepared to riſque the event of a war for the ſake of this great and moſt deſirable acquiſition *.

With reſpect to the Emperor, this was "the ſpring of hope, and the ſummer of the paſſions;" but the Monarch of Pruſſia, who had already attained the higheſt ſeat in the temple of Fame, and was now faſt declining into the vale of years, would willingly have avoided a war which preſented no glorious or ſplendid object, and which was impoſed upon him by an unwelcome and imperious political neceſſity.

Saxony, departing from its long and intimate union with the Imperial Houſe, now joined with all its forces the King of Pruſſia, who in the beginning of July entered Bohemia at the head of a vaſt army on the ſide of Sileſia, while another of nearly equal force, under his brother Prince Henry, penetrated the paſſes of the mountains which ſeparate that kingdom from Saxony. Of the two Auſtrian armies, the Emperor in perſon commanded one, and the famous Mareſchal Laudohn the other, or, to ſpeak more properly, both; the whole plan and conduct of this campaign,

* "When the Emperor ſurveys the map of Germany," ſays a moſt agreeable and, though a Judge of the High Court of Juſticiary in Scotland, a moſt LIBERAL writer, the late Lord Gardenſtone, "he may well apply to the Electorate of Bavaria the words of the old rapacious neighbor in HORACE,—

——————O ſi angulus ille
Proximus accedat qui nunc denormat agellum!"

which

which on the part of the Auſtrians was entirely defenſive, being aſcribed to that juſtly celebrated General.

After a great variety of military movements and manœuvres unneceſſary to particularize, and indeed almoſt unintelligible in the relation, but which were ſaid on both ſides to diſplay uncommon proofs of ſkill, the King of Pruſſia, not being able to bring the Auſtrians to a general action, was finally compelled to evacuate Bohemia with great loſs. Mareſchal Laudohn, in the whole of his operations, ſeemed cloſely to have adhered to the model of his renowned predeceſſor, Mareſchal Traun, whoſe defenſive campaign of 1744 in Bohemia is ſo highly extolled by the Pruſſian Monarch as a maſter-piece of profeſſional judgment and ability.

Soon after the termination of the campaign, a negotiation for peace was ſet on foot by the Court of Vienna, whoſe councils the Emperor could no longer influence. His mother, the Empreſs-Queen, who poſſeſſed all the real and efficient power of the Auſtrian Houſe, ſighed for peace, while the Emperor her ſon was eager and ardent for the proſecution of the war, though nothing could be leſs encouraging than the proſpects now preſented to him. The whole Empire was firmly united in opinion and intereſt in oppoſition to the Imperial claims. Ruſſia openly declared, by her Ambaſſador at Ratiſbon, that if the uſurpation of Bavaria was not relinquiſhed, ſhe ſhould be under the neceſſity of furniſhing to Pruſſia the auxiliary troops ſtipulated by treaty; and even France declared to the Diet her reſolution in no reſpect to deviate from her guarantee of the Treaty of Weſtphalia.

There is moreover a poſſibility that the Empreſs-Queen, who had in the latter years of her life become a religious devotee, might entertain ſome *ſlight ſcruples* of conſcience at the ſacrificing ſo many myriads of lives in ſupport of an act of flagrant perfidy and injuſtice.

The motives for peace being thus urgent, the preliminary articles were ſigned at Teſchen, May 13, 1779, in conformity to which the whole Electo-

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rate was reſtored to its rightful poſſeſſor, the diſtrict of Burghauſen excepted. The Empreſs did not long ſurvive the pacification ſhe ſo anxiouſly ſought, dying November 12, 1780, much lamented by her ſubjects, whom ſhe had governed for forty years with parental affection and indiſputable ability.

JOSEPH II. her ſon early diſcovered that rage for innovation, without diſcrimination or judgment, which has in the ſequel rendered his name ſo unfortunately memorable. His character was however as yet very imperfectly known, and Europe thought much better of this Monarch, both in regard to the rectitude of his diſpoſition and the extent of his capacity, than TIME, the grand umpire of opinions, has eventually confirmed. "Ignorant of the ſciences belonging to the art of government," ſays a writer who intimately knew both the man and the monarch, "his intercourſe was with people ſtill more ignorant than himſelf. His ideas were confuſed, and he attempted in vain to emancipate himſelf from vulgar prejudices. His pride would admit of no contradiction. He deſired to appear infallible, and to impart this infallibility to all his officers. Flatterers and deceivers preſſed round the throne, and, terming his obſtinacy firmneſs, and his reſtleſſneſs love of glory, ſteeled his heart, naturally obdurate, againſt noble and exalted ſentiments; and aſſured him that he would become the greateſt of princes, and obſcure the glory of the great FREDERIC. Finding inſurmountable obſtacles to every innovation tending to good, he adopted meaſures of violence in preference to policy, and would have been in time the greateſt of tyrants."

His reign nevertheleſs commenced with an act of beneficence, truly imperial, in the promulgation of letters patent, granting the free exerciſe of their religion to the Proteſtants all over the Auſtrian dominions. By a ſecond edict, he declared all religious foundations in the Auſtrian Netherlands exempt from all foreign eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction; and other regulations were adopted for the purpoſe of reducing the number of religious houſes, and of diſcountenancing all monaſtic inſtitutions.

The Roman Pontiff, Pius VI. whoſe zeal for the church was very great, alarmed

alarmed at theſe proceedings, declared to the Emperor his intention, notwithſtanding his advanced age, to make in perſon a journey to Vienna, in order to confer with his Imperial Majeſty on the ſubject of theſe recent and dangerous innovations. The Emperor in reply aſſured his Holineſs, that his heart was truly catholic and apoſtolic; but that with regard to the late regulations, they had been made with due conſideration and good advice; and that, having already decided upon them, his Holineſs's journey was in this view entirely ſuperfluous.

The Pope however would not be deterred from the execution of his deſign, and on his actual arrival at Vienna he was treated by the Emperor with the higheſt demonſtrations of reſpect and affection: but no alterations whatever as to public meaſures took place, as may eaſily be ſuppoſed, in conſequence of this viſit.

The good underſtanding of the Ruſſian and Ottoman Empires had recently ſuffered great interruption, in conſequence of the oppoſition of intereſts involved in the election of a Khan of the Tartars, with reſpect to which neither Power, agreeably to the terms of the late peace, had a right to interfere. An explanatory agreement at length took place, by which the Khan Sahim Guerai, elected through the influence of Ruſſia, was acknowledged as lawful Khan of the Crimea by the Turkiſh Government.

In the year 1782, nevertheleſs, theſe diſturbances were revived, and the Czarina entered into an alliance, offenſive and defenſive, with the Emperor, in the evident expectation of an immediate war with the Porte. And haughty memorials were delivered by the Ambaſſadors of both the Imperial Courts at Conſtantinople, inſiſting that the Ottoman Court ſhould not henceforth interpoſe in the affairs of the Crimea; nor encroach upon the prerogatives of the Princes of Moldavia and Walachia; nor oppoſe the free navigation of the Euxine.

Soon after this the Khan of the Tartars, in conformity doubtleſs to the

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pre-concerted plan of the Imperial Courts, ſignified his reſolution to reſign his crown into the hands of the Czarina. After ſome affected heſitation, her Imperial Majeſty declared by a public manifeſto, dated April 1783, her acceptance of this reſignation, and her determination to take once for all the peninſula of the Crimea, together with the iſland of Taman, and the province of Cuban Tartary, on the other ſide of the Straits of Caffa, extending to Circaſſia, under her own immediate adminiſtration.

The Court of Conſtantinople, roufed by this new and unexpected attack, replied to the Ruſſian manifeſto with unuſual animation and energy. —"What pretenſions of right (ſay they) can her Imperial Majeſty have to territories annexed for ages to the dominion of the Porte? Would ſuch claims on any part of the Ruſſian empire not be inſtantly reſiſted? And can it be preſumed that the Sublime Porte, however deſirous of peace, will acquieſce in what ambition may term policy, but juſtice and equity would deem uſurpation? What Chriſtian power has the Porte offended? Whoſe territories have the Ottoman troops invaded? In the country of what prince is the Turkiſh ſtandard diſplayed? Content with the boundaries of empire aſſigned her by GOD and his Prophet, the wiſhes of the Porte are for peace; but if the Court of Ruſſia be determined in her claims, the Sublime Porte, appealing to the world for the juſtice of her proceedings, muſt prepare for war, relying on the decrees of Heaven, and confident of the interpoſition of the Prophet of prophets, who will protect his faithful ſervants in the hour of every difficulty."

The Ruſſian Court however appeared no leſs reſolute to maintain and ſubſtantiate, than that of Conſtantinople to reſiſt, her claims; and Prince Potemkin, a nobleman of great influence and authority at the Court of Peterſburg, was delegated to take poſſeſſion of the countries in queſtion, in the name of the Empreſs. A war now therefore appeared inevitable; but happily for the intereſts of humanity, the two leading kingdoms of Europe were at this period governed by wiſe and beneficent Miniſters, who ſincerely wiſhed to ſecure to mankind the ineſtimable bleſſings of

univerſal

univerſal peace. From motives which reflected the higheſt honor on thoſe celebrated ſtateſmen, the Comte de Vergennes and Mr. Fox offered the mediation of their reſpective Sovereigns to effect an accommodation: and the Porte, perceiving itſelf in a manner abandoned by France her antient ally, and wholly unable to contend againſt that tide of adverſe fortune which threatened to overwhelm the empire of the Ottomans in final and remedileſs ruin, at length reluctantly aſſented to the ceſſion of the provinces actually in the poſſeſſion of Ruſſia; and a treaty or convention to this purport was ſigned in the month of January 1784.

Thus did the Court of Peterſburg, with no expence of blood or treaſure, acquire an invaluable addition of territory, affording an unbounded ſcope for the aggrandizement of her commercial and maritime power; and which extended the limits of her empire from the frozen ſea of Archangel to the utmoſt ſhores of the Euxine. A new city, called Cherſon, had been already founded by the Empreſs in the centre of her Turkiſh conqueſts, deſtined probably, at ſome future period, to become the emporium of wealth and the ſeat of power. The former deſignations of the ceded countries were now by the Imperial mandate aboliſhed. Thoſe barbarous names ſo offenſive to claſſic faſtidiouſneſs were no longer heard, and the antient appellations, after the lapſe of a thouſand years, reſtored. The Crimea became the Taurica—Actiar was changed to Sebaſtopolis—Caffa was loſt in Theodoſia—and the Bog was happily ſuperſeded by the Hypanis.

The political ſtate of the remaining countries of Europe either requires no diſtinct animadverſion, or would lead to diſcuſſions not within the limits of the preſent Hiſtory. It may however be tranſiently remarked, that an event very little to be lamented took place February 1777, in the death of Don Joſeph I. King of Portugal. His reign was marked in the records of Hiſtory only by weakneſs and calamity; it was deeply ſtained with domeſtic blood, and rendered deteſtable by worſe than Dionyſian devices of cruelty. The earthquake of 1755 had laid his capital in ruins, and ſhook the kingdom in a political as well as phyſical ſenſe to its

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its centre. The conſpiracy of 1757 awakened all the malignity of ceaſeleſs ſuſpicion, and filled the dungeons of the State with the moſt virtuous of her citizens. Saved from ruin in the enſuing war with Spain by the interpoſition of England, this Monarch could not forget nor forgive the magnitude of the obligation; and the commerce of the Britiſh merchants, under the arbitrary and capricious conduct of the Marquis de Pombal, his favorite Miniſter, ſuffered under continual oppreſſion.

He was ſucceeded by his eldeſt daughter, Donna Iſabella, married by virtue of a Papal diſpenſation to Don Pedro, brother to the late King. At her acceſſion the priſon-doors were thrown open, and eight hundred perſons were ſet at liberty; but theſe were ſaid to bear a very ſmall proportion to the numbers who had periſhed in thoſe regions of darkneſs and deſpair, under the ſufferings and horrors of their confinement.

1783. Purſuant to the intimation in the concluding ſpeech of the laſt ſeſſion, the Parliament of Great Britain was convened at an early period of the winter, November 11, 1783; and his Majeſty ſtated, as a principal object of their conſideration, the ſituation of the Eaſt India Company. "The utmoſt exertions of their wiſdom (he ſaid) would be required to maintain and improve the valuable advantages derived from our India poſſeſſions, and to promote and ſecure the happineſs of the native inhabitants of thoſe provinces."

The addreſs paſſed without oppoſition. Mr. Pitt in his ſpeech on this occaſion warned the Miniſters, "that, as to the affairs of India, it would not be enough to attempt meaſures of palliation, and of a temporary nature; that would only increaſe the danger by removing it to a diſtance, and he expreſſed his ſurpriſe that this important buſineſs had been ſo long poſtponed."

Mr. Fox, well pleaſed at this language, acknowledged "that the ſtate of

of India was ſuch as would ill brook delay in their deliberations, and he was happy to give notice that on that day ſe'nnight he ſhould be prepared to make a motion relative to India."

Mr. Fox's India Bill moved.—

On the 18th of November, accordingly, Mr. Fox moved for leave to bring in a bill for veſting the affairs of the Eaſt India Company in the hands of certain Commiſſioners, for the benefit of the Proprietary and the Public. The plan propoſed by Mr. Fox was marked with all the characteriſtics of his ardent and daring mind. The total derangement of the finances of the Company, and their utter incompetency to govern the vaſt territories of which they had, by very queſtionable means, obtained the poſſeſſion, was too evident to admit of contradiction. The evil was notorious; the only difficulty was to deviſe an adequate remedy.

This famous bill propoſed no leſs than to take from the Directors and Proprietors the entire adminiſtration, not of their territorial merely, but of their commercial affairs, and to veſt the management and direction of them in the hands of ſeven Commiſſioners named in the bill, and irremovable by the Crown, except in conſequence of an addreſs of either Houſe of Parliament. Theſe were Earl Fitzwilliam, Preſident of the Board; Viſcount Lewiſham, eldeſt ſon to the Earl of Dartmouth; the Right Honorable Frederic Montague, the Honorable George Auguſtus North; Sir Gilbert Elliot, Sir Henry Fletcher, Baronets; and Robert Gregory, Eſq. who, it could not fail to be remarked, were divided upon the model and in the ſame proportion as the members of the Cabinet.—Theſe Commiſſioners were to be aſſiſted by a ſubordinate board of nine Directors to be named in the firſt inſtance by Parliament, and afterwards choſen by the Proprietors. And the bill empowered theſe Commiſſioners and Directors immediately to enter into poſſeſſion of all lands, tenements, books, records, veſſels, goods, merchandize, and ſecurities, in truſt for the Company.

This act, by which the charter of the Company was entirely ſuperſeded,

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was to continue in force four years, that is, till the year after the next general election;—and it was accompanied by a ſecond bill, enacting very excellent, wiſe, and equitable regulations for the future government of the Britiſh territories in Hindoſtan. The aſtoniſhment excited by the diſcloſure of this plan was very great; and while it was on one ſide of the Houſe extolled as a maſter-piece of genius, virtue, and ability, it was on the other reprobated as a deep and dangerous deſign, fraught with miſchief and ruin. "INDIA, it was true," ſaid Mr. Pitt, "wanted reform, but not ſuch a reform as this;—it wanted a *conſtitutional* alteration, and not a *tyrannical* one, that broke through every principle of equity and juſtice. By the bill before the Houſe, an attack was made on the moſt ſolemn charters: it pointed a fatal blow againſt the faith and integrity of Parliament: it broke through every tie by which man was bound to man. The principle of this bill once eſtabliſhed, what ſecurity had the other public companies of the kingdom? What ſecurity had the Bank of England? What ſecurity had the national creditors, or the public corporations? Or indeed, what aſſurance could we have for the GREAT CHARTER itſelf, the foundation of all our liberties? It would be folly in the extreme to ſuppoſe, that the principle, once admitted, would operate only on the preſent occaſion. Good principles might ſleep, but bad ones never. It was the curſe of ſociety, that when a bad principle was once eſtabliſhed, bad men would always be found to give it its full effect. The bill under conſideration included a confiſcation of the property, and a diſfranchiſement of the members, of the Eaſt India Company; all the ſeveral articles of whoſe effects were transferred by violence to ſtrangers. Imagination was at a loſs to gueſs at the moſt inſignificant trifle that had eſcaped the harpy jaws of A RAVENOUS COALITION. The power was pretended indeed to be given in truſt for the benefit of the Proprietors; but in caſe of the groſſeſt abuſe of truſt, to whom was the appeal? To the Proprietors? No:—to the majority of either Houſe of Parliament, which the moſt contemptible Miniſter could not fail to ſecure, with the patronage of above two millions ſterling given by this bill. The influence which would accrue from this bill—a new, enormous, and unexampled influence—was indeed in the higheſt degree alarming. Seven Commiſſioners choſen

oſtenſibly by Parliament, but really by Adminiſtration, were to involve in the vortex of their authority the patronage and treaſures of India. The Right Honorable Mover had acknowledged himſelf to be a man of ambition, and it now appeared that he was prepared to ſacrifice the King, the Parliament, and the People, at the ſhrine of his ambition. He deſired to elevate his preſent connections to a ſituation in which no political convulſions, and no variations of power, might be able to deſtroy their importance, and put an end to their aſcendency."

Theſe and ſimilar arguments againſt the preſent extraordinary meaſure of the Miniſter were alſo ably and eloquently enforced by the Lord Advocate, Mr. Jenkinſon, Mr. Grenville, and others. On the other hand, it was with equal eloquence and ability vindicated by Mr. Fox, who with warmth declared, "that he would riſque upon the execution of this bill whatever was moſt dear to him—whatever men moſt valued: the character of integrity, of talents, of honor, of preſent reputation and future fame; —theſe he would ſtake upon the conſtitutional ſafety, the enlarged policy, the equity and wiſdom of this meaſure." While the bill was pending, a petition was preſented from the Company, repreſenting the meaſure as ſubverſive of their charter, and operating as a confiſcation of their property, without charging againſt them any ſpecific delinquency, without trial, without conviction; a proceeding contrary to the moſt ſacred privileges of Britiſh ſubjects, and praying to be heard by counſel againſt the bill. The City of London alſo preſented a ſtrong petition to the ſame effect. But it was carried with rapidity through all its ſtages in the Houſe of Commons by deciſive majorities, the diviſion on the ſecond reading being 217 to 103 voices. And on the 9th of December, Mr. Fox, attended by a numerous train of Members, preſented the bill at the bar of the Houſe of Lords. On this occaſion, Earl Temple declared, "that he was happy to embrace the firſt opportunity of entering his proteſt againſt ſo INFAMOUS a bill; againſt a ſtretch of power ſo truly alarming, and that went near to ſeize upon the moſt ineſtimable part of our Conſtitution—our CHARTERED RIGHTS."

Mr. Fox's India Bill paſſes the Commons.

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The Duke of Richmond roſe on the ſame ſide, and diſplayed in a ſtriking manner the inconſiſtency of a part at leaſt of the preſent Adminiſtration, by a view of the Proteſt entered by Lord Rockingham and other Noble Lords, on the Journals of that Houſe, againſt the India Bill of 1773. This famous WHIG Proteſt concludes in the following remarkable words: "If the proviſions and precedent of this bill ſhould render the public faith of Great Britain of no eſtimation, the franchiſes, rights, and properties of Engliſhmen precarious; if the boundleſs fund of corruption furniſhed by this bill to the ſervants of the Crown ſhould efface every idea of honor, public ſpirit, and independence, from every rank of people; after ſtruggling vainly againſt theſe evils, we have nothing left but the ſatisfaction of recording our names to poſterity, as thoſe who reſiſted the whole of this iniquitous ſyſtem, and as men who had no ſhare in betraying to blind prejudices or ſordid intereſt every thing that has hitherto been held ſacred in this country." To this proteſt the ſignatures of the Duke of Portland, who held the higheſt poſt under the preſent Adminiſtration, and that of Lord Fitzwilliam, the future Preſident of the new India Board, were affixed. Lord Thurlow declared the preſent bill "to be a moſt atrocious violation of private property, in juſtification of which if the plea of political neceſſity were urged, that neceſſity muſt be proved by evidence at the bar of the Houſe, and not by reports from a Committee, to which he ſhould pay as much attention as to the romance of Robinſon Cruſoe. They were told, that the finances of the Company were much deranged; but could Parliament in juſtice forget that the Company were reſtricted from employing that credit which reſulted from its great and flouriſhing ſituation? and that if thoſe reſtrictions were taken off to-morrow, every demand to the State would be diſcharged? Could Parliament forget that the politics of this country had involved the Company in an extenſive and ruinous war? and that while we encountered loſs, misfortune, and diſgrace, in every other quarter of the globe, this delinquent Company had ſurmounted the moſt aſtoniſhing difficulties in India? Would Parliament forget, that when peace was reſtored to this unfortunate country, the conqueſts of this delinquent Company were given up to prevent farther ſacrifices of our more favorite poſſeſſions?"

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The ſecond reading of the bill took place on the 15th of December *, when counſel was heard at the bar of the Houſe in behalf of the Company. At eleven o'clock, the counſel requeſted of the Houſe an adjournment for the concluſion of their evidence; and a motion being made, it was carried in oppoſition to the Miniſters, by 87 to 79 voices.

On the 17th it was moved, That the bill be REJECTED. On this occaſion, Lord Camden diſtinguiſhed himſelf by a moſt able and eloquent ſpeech, againſt a meaſure which his Lordſhip affirmed to be in the higheſt degree pernicious and unconſtitutional. "To diveſt the Company of the management of their own property and commercial concerns was, his Lordſhip ſaid, to treat them as IDEOTS; and he regarded the bill not ſo much in the light of a commiſſion of bankruptcy as of lunacy. But as the means of throwing an enormous addition of weight into the ſcale, not of regal but miniſterial influence, it was ſtill more alarming. Were this bill to paſs into a law, his Lordſhip forcibly declared, we ſhould ſee the King of England and the King of Bengal contending for ſuperiority in the Britiſh Parliament." After a vehement debate, the motion of rejection was carried by 95 againſt 76 voices. As the firſt diviſions in the Upper Houſe were favorable to this bill, it will readily be imagined that ſome powerful cauſe, adequate to the extraordinary and unexpected effect produced, muſt have intervened. The ſolution of the phænomenon was indeed ſufficiently obvious.

Rejected by the Lords.

* During this interval, the regular buſineſs of the ſeſſion was proceeding in the uſual manner in the Houſe of Commons; and on the 12th of December, amongſt the ordinary eſtimates of the year, eighteen thouſand pounds were charged for the purchaſe of the princely manſion of Sir Gregory Page, on Blackheath, as a royal military academy;—a ſum not more than equal to the value of the materials. And as ſeveral thouſand pounds would by this means be ſaved in the repair of the old incommodious building at Woolwich; and likewiſe an allowance of five hundred pounds per annum for lodgings to the Officers, who would henceforth be accommodated in the new academy, the expence was reduced to a mere nothing, whilſt the purchaſe would have done honor to the taſte and magnificence of the nation; yet was it oppoſed with moſt prepoſterous obſtinacy by ſome weak and perverſe Members of the Houſe, as a wanton and ſcandalous waſte of the public money; and the Chancellor of the Exchequer had the injudicious complaiſance to conſent to omit it on the report.

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On the 11th of December, Earl Temple had held a conference with the KING, in the courſe of which his Lordſhip clearly and fully explained to his Majeſty the nature and tendency of a bill which had been hitherto honored with the King's entire approbation. The royal indignation was in conſequence of this diſcovery excited in a very high degree. The Monarch conſidered himſelf as having been DUPED and DECEIVED. A card was immediately written, ſtating, "That his Majeſty allowed Earl Temple to ſay, that whoever voted for the India Bill was not only not his friend, but would be conſidered by him as his enemy. And if theſe words were not ſtrong enough, Earl Temple might uſe whatever words he might deem ſtronger or more to the purpoſe." This interpoſition becoming a matter of public notoriety, Mr. William Baker, Member for Hertford, moved the Houſe of Commons on the very day the bill was rejected by the Lords, "That it was now neceſſary to declare, that to report any opinion or pretended opinion of the King upon any bill, or other proceeding, depending in either Houſe of Parliament, with a view to influence the votes of the Members, was an high crime and miſdemeanor." Mr. Pitt treated the motion lightly, and repreſented it as unworthy of the dignity of the Houſe to found any reſolutions upon rumors and hearſays.—But Earl Nugent, father-in-law to Earl Temple, with more ſerioufneſs and firmneſs declared, "That the Reſolutions before them went to the utter annihilation of ſovereignty. What! Were not Peers by their rank and ſituation hereditary Counſellors of the Crown?—Would that Houſe dare to derogate from the high dignity which the Conſtitution had annexed to their ſtation? Every Peer, and indeed every Commoner, under certain reſtrictions, had a right to addreſs the Sovereign. But the tendency of theſe Reſolutions was to make the Monarch a kind of priſoner of ſtate; and to ſhut him up from every ſpecies of information unacceptable to the exiſting Adminiſtration. Were any relation of his in a criſis of difficulty and danger to convey truths to his Sovereign of high importance to be known, though at the riſque of incurring the utmoſt puniſhment which the indignation of that Houſe could inflict, he ſhould conſider his conduct not merely as juſtifiable but tranſcendently meritorious; and ſuch as would tranſmit his name with honor to the lateſt poſterity." Other Members acknowledged

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ſomething of irregularity in theſe proceedings, and wiſhed that a meaſure ſo dangerous might have been counteracted in a mode more open and conſtitutional: but a great good had been obtained, and in this caſe it were not wiſe to examine into the cauſe with too accurate a diſcrimination and too ſevere a ſcrutiny. The reſolution moved by Mr. Baker paſſed nevertheleſs by a great majority.

Sudden diſmiſſion of the Coalition Miniſters.

The quarrel between the Crown and the Miniſters, ſupported as they were by a decided majority of the Houſe of Commons, having now become public and palpable, an entire change of Adminiſtration was at all hazards determined upon. At midnight on the 18th of December, a royal meſſage was ſent to the Secretaries of State, demanding the Seals of their ſeveral departments; and early the next morning letters of diſmiſſion, ſigned TEMPLE, were ſent to the other Members of the Cabinet.

Mr. Pitt Firſt Miniſter.

In a few days Mr. Pitt was declared Firſt Lord of the Treaſury and Chancellor of the Exchequer; the Marquis of Carmarthen, and Mr. Thomas Townſhend, created Lord Sydney, were nominated Secretaries of State; Lord Thurlow was reinſtated as Lord Chancellor; Earl Gower, created in the ſequel Marquis of Stafford, as Preſident of the Council; the Duke of Rutland was conſtituted Lord Privy Seal; Lord Howe placed at the head of the Admiralty, and the Duke of Richmond of the Ordnance. The Earl of Northington was recalled from his Government of Ireland, to which Lord Temple, who had retained the Seals of Secretary only three days, was again deſtined to ſucceed.

To the ſurpriſe, and unqueſtionably to the great eventual detriment of the public, the Earl of Shelburne was not included in the new arrangement of Adminiſtration. The intelligence of this change was, notwithſtanding, received by the nation with tranſports of joy.

The INDIA BILL, concerning which the public judgment was at the firſt ſuſpended, had now, by a multiplicity of able and popular tracts induſtriouſly

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duſtriouſly circulated, been completely developed and explained *; and it was almoſt univerſally condemned as a meaſure in the higheſt degree arbitrary and oppreſſive, and with conſummate artifice calculated to perpetuate the power of an Adminiſtration who were the objects of the national deteſtation. It is nevertheleſs a ſuppoſition abſolutely inadmiſſible, that ſuch men as the Duke of Portland, Lord John Cavendiſh, and Mr. Fox, had concerted a meaſure inſidiouſly adapted to ſerve their own purpoſe—knowing or believing the ſame to be inimical to the eſſential intereſts of their country. In fact, no plan for the government of India could be framed which was not liable to very great objection. The bill of Mr. Fox was primarily and profeſſedly deſigned for the reformation of abuſes in India; and as it was neceſſary for this purpoſe to eſtabliſh a new and extenſive ſource of authority and influence at home, very plauſible, and to perſons intereſted, doubtleſs, very convincing reaſons might be adduced to prove it more ſafe and conſtitutional to entruſt this power to Parliamentary Commiſſioners than to the Crown, whoſe influence it had been ſo lately the grand and favorite object of all true patriots to diminiſh. Nor was it poſſible that the parliamentary rejection of this bill could have been attended with ſuch ſignal effects, had not the popularity of the Miniſter with whom it originated been already completely and for ever annihilated by means of the fatal and ACCURSED COALITION.

Political conflict between the Crown and the Commons.

On the 22d of December, the Houſe of Commons being in a Committee on the State of the Nation, Mr. Erſkine moved, "That an addreſs be preſented to the King, ſtating, that alarming reports had gone forth of an intended diſſolution of Parliament, and humbly repreſenting to his Majeſty the inconveniences and dangers of a prorogation or diſſolution in the preſent conjuncture; and entreating the Sovereign to hearken to the advice of that Houſe, and not to the ſecret advice of particular perſons who

* Amongſt theſe the publications of Mr. Pulteney and Mr. Rous were particularly diſtinguiſhed, as the productions of men no leſs impartial than intelligent, truly attached to the principles of liberty, and writing not in the ſpirit of party or rhetorical exaggeration, but of calm and diſpaſſionate enquiry—ſolely actuated by the love of TRUTH.

might have private intereſts of their own ſeparate from the true intereſts of the King and People." BOOK XV. 1783.

This addreſs, which was of a complexion unknown in this country ſince the æra of the Revolution, was carried without a diviſion. The anſwer of the King was very diſcreet and temperate. His Majeſty ſaid, "It had been his conſtant object to employ the authority entruſted to him by the Conſtitution to its true and only end—the good of the people; and he was always happy in concurring with the wiſhes and opinions of his faithful Commons. He truſted they would proceed in the important matters mentioned in their addreſs with all convenient ſpeed, aſſuring them that he ſhould not interrupt their meeting after their adjournment by any exercite of his prerogative either of prorogation or diſſolution."

The Houſe now with tolerable ſatisfaction adjourned for the uſual Chriſtmas receſs to the 10th of January 1784, on which day the Committee on the State of the Nation was reſumed; and ſeveral reſolutions were brought forward by Mr. Fox, and agreed to by the Houſe—prohibiting the Lords of the Treaſury from aſſenting to the acceptance of the Company's bills from India—forbidding alſo the iſſue of any of the public money after a prorogation or diſſolution of Parliament, unleſs the Act of Appropriation ſhall have previouſly paſſed; and ordering accounts to be laid before the Houſe of the moneys already iſſued. 1784.

Theſe reſolutions were followed by a motion from the Earl of Surry—"1. That in the preſent ſituation of his Majeſty's dominions it was peculiarly neceſſary that there ſhould be an Adminiſtration that had the confidence of the public. 2. That the late changes in his Majeſty's Councils were accompanied by circumſtances new and extraordinary, and ſuch as did not conciliate the confidence of that Houſe." On this motion the Houſe divided, but it was carried in the affirmative by 196 to 142 voices.

On the 16th of January a reſolution was moved by Lord Charles Spencer, "That the continuance of the preſent Miniſters in truſts of the higheſt

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highest importance and respectability was contrary to the principles of the Constitution, and injurious to the interests of the King and People." Upon this question the House divided, ayes 205, noes 184; so that the anti-ministerial majority was by an ominous defection reduced from 54 to 21 voices.

About this time the Chancellor of the Exchequer introduced into the House a Bill for the better government of India, on principles which left the commercial concerns of the Company in their own hands; and established a Board of Control, consisting of certain Commissioners appointed by the King, possessing a negative on the proceedings of the Company in all matters of government or politics. On the motion of commitment, this bill was lost by 222 voices against 214—so that the Opposition majority was now diminished to 8.

Mr. Pitt's India Bill rejected.

A still more encouraging circumstance was, that addresses of thanks and approbation to his Majesty for the removal of his late Ministers now began to flow in from every part of the kingdom; and became at length so universal, that upon no occasion whatever was the sense of the people at large more clearly, strongly, and unequivocally ascertained. In this the City of London had taken the lead; and in their address they say, "Your faithful Citizens lately beheld with infinite concern the progress of a measure which equally tended to encroach on the rights of your Majesty's Crown—to annihilate the chartered rights of the East-India-Company—and to raise a new power unknown to this free government, and highly inimical to its safety. As this dangerous measure was warmly supported by your Majesty's late Ministers, we heartily rejoice in their dismission, and humbly thank your Majesty for exerting your prerogative in a manner so salutary and constitutional." And concluding in a manner very different from the usual tenor of their addresses in former times, they say, "Highly sensible of your Majesty's paternal care and affection for your people, we pray the Almighty that you may long reign in peace over a free, an happy, and united nation."

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The popularity acquired by the Monarch in conſequence of this diſmiſſion was indeed ſo great as to efface all memory of former diſagreements; and though originating in a cauſe merely accidental, and on the part of the Crown from a ſudden and paſſionate reſentment at a ſuppoſed invaſion of the prerogative, yet has it not ſuffered in the ſequel any diminution: on the contrary, from an extraordinary concurrence of circumſtances, the loyalty of the people has been elevated to a pitch of ardor which court-flattery itſelf will ſcarcely heſitate to acknowledge at leaſt commenſurate with the merits of the Monarch.

Alarmed at the novel and dangerous circumſtances of the nation, both parties ſeemed at length diſpoſed to pauſe, and a judicious idea, ſuggeſted by the independent intereſt in the Houſe of Commons, of a new Adminiſtration founded upon the wideſt and moſt comprehenſive baſis, was liſtened to with approbation; Lord North, after all the mighty miſchiefs of which he had been the occaſion or the inſtrument, declaring himſelf willing to retire, if conſidered as the obſtacle to a general union.

The King, by a meſſage to the Duke of Portland, expreſſed his deſire that an interview might take place between his Grace and Mr. Pitt, for the purpoſe of arranging a new plan of Adminiſtration on *fair* and *equal* terms. The Duke, previouſly to the interview, requeſted to be informed in what ſenſe he was to underſtand the words *fair* and *equal*; and Mr. Pitt declining any previous explanation, the negotiation terminated. But it was ſufficiently evident that the queſtion had reference to the ſuperiority of voices claimed by the Ex-Miniſters in the Cabinet—a point which Mr. Fox ſtill ſtood upon ground too high to concede.

The Houſe of Lords, hitherto the ſilent and paſſive ſpectators of this extraordinary conteſt, now thought proper to come forward; and at the motion of the Earl of Effingham their Lordſhips reſolved, "1. That an attempt in any one branch of the Legiſlature to ſuſpend the execution of law by ſeparately aſſuming to itſelf the direction of a diſcretionary power veſted by Act of Parliament, is unconſtitutional"—alluding to the reſolu-

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tion of the Commons reſpecting the non-acceptance of bills from India. "2. That by the known principles of the Conſtitution the undoubted authority of appointing to the great offices of the Executive Government was ſolely veſted in the King, and that this Houſe had every reaſon to place the firmeſt reliance on his Majeſty's wiſdom in the exerciſe of this prerogative." Theſe reſolutions, in the form of an addreſs, were preſented to the King. In return, the Houſe of Commons (February 16) reſolved at the motion of Lord Beauchamp, "1. That the Houſe had not aſſumed to itſelf a right to ſuſpend the execution of law; and 2. That for them to declare their opinion reſpecting the exerciſe of any diſcretionary power was conſtitutional, and agreeable to eſtabliſhed uſage."

The Oppoſition, who were yet the majority of the Houſe of Commons, found themſelves daily in a more embarraſſing ſituation. The King, the Houſe of Peers, and the Nation at large, were now evidently and openly united in ſentiment againſt them; their numbers were continually diminiſhing, and there was good reaſon to believe they would ſoon dwindle into a minority. Unſupported by the voice of the People, the Houſe of Commons can never appear great or reſpectable; but when they are alſo unſupported by the power and influence of the Crown, they muſt become inſignificant and contemptible. Some farther efforts, however, to ſuſtain an apparently ſinking cauſe, were yet with unbroken ſpirit attempted.

On the 20th of February an addreſs, carried by a majority of 20 voices only, was preſented to the King by the Houſe, expreſſive of "the reliance the Houſe had on the wiſdom of the Sovereign, that he would take ſuch meaſures as might tend to give effect to the wiſhes of his faithful Commons, by removing every obſtacle to the formation of ſuch an Adminiſtration as the Houſe of Commons had declared to be requiſite." To this the King again replied in terms happily adapted to the occaſion—mentioning "his recent endeavors to unite in the public ſervice, on a fair and equal footing, thoſe whoſe joint efforts might have a tendency to put an end to the unhappy diviſions and diſtractions of the country; obſerving, nevertheleſs, that there was no ſpecific charge or complaint ſuggeſted

geſted againſt his preſent Miniſters, and that numbers of his ſubjects had expreſſed to him in the warmeſt manner their ſatisfaction at the late changes. Under theſe circumſtances he truſted his faithful Commons would not wiſh that the eſſential offices of Executive Government ſhould be vacated until ſuch a plan of union as he had called for, and they had pointed out, could be carried into effect."

On the 1ſt day of March a yet ſtronger addreſs was moved and carried, but by a ſtill ſmaller majority, in which the Houſe "humbly beſought his Majeſty that he would be graciouſly pleaſed to lay the foundation of a ſtrong and ſtable Government, by the previous removal of his preſent Miniſters." To this the King replied in the ſame mild and firm language—repeating, that no charge had been brought againſt his preſent Miniſters; and adding this remarkable obſervation, "that if there were any juſt ground for their removal, it ought to be equally a reaſon for not admitting them as a part of that extended and united Adminiſtration which is ſtated to be requiſite."

Addreſſes having been unavailingly tried, Mr. Fox in the following week moved a REPRESENTATION to the Crown, which at great length, and in energetic language, ſtated "the dangerous and pernicious tendency of thoſe meaſures and maxims by which a new ſyſtem of Executive Government had been ſet up; which wanting the confidence of that Houſe, and acting in defiance to their reſolutions, muſt prove at once inadequate by its inefficiency to the neceſſary objects of government, and dangerous by its example to the liberties of the people." The motion was carried by a MAJORITY of ONE. And here the conteſt may be ſaid to have terminated; for the Mutiny Bill being brought forward on the following day, March 9; Mr. Fox, perceiving himſelf deſerted by many of his partiſans, abandoned his original intention of moving its poſtponement, as a ſecurity againſt a ſudden and premature diſſolution. The univerſal ſenſe of the nation in favor of the new Miniſters, which could no longer be denied, was aſcribed to an *unparalleled deluſion*; but Mr. Fox diſclaiming any intention of obſtructing the ſupplies, a diſſolution was ſaid to be in the

The Nation declares in favor of the Crown.

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highest degree indefensible. Little regard, however, was paid to the arguments of the Opposition against a measure so evidently to the advantage of the present Ministers; and on the 24th of March the Parliament was prorogued, and the next day dissolved by proclamation, and a new Parliament convened to meet on the 18th of May.

Parliament dissolved.

The influence of the Crown being now combined with the inclination and independent interest of the country, at the general election the effect produced was prodigious. The Coalitionists, even those who once stood highest in the estimation of the public, were almost every where thrown out: Lord John Cavendish for the city, Mr. Foljambe, the heir of Sir George Saville, for the county, of York; General Conway, for Bury; Mr. Coke, for Norfolk; Mr. Halsey, for Hertfordshire; Mr. Townshend, for Cambridge University; and Mr. Erskine, for Portsmouth. Mr. Fox himself, to the surprise of all, had a clear and great majority on the poll for Westminster, though the High Bailiff by a scandalous partiality refused to make the return in his favor—for which an action was subsequently brought by Mr. Fox, in the Court of King's Bench, and a verdict with large damages obtained.

Meeting of the new Parliament.

The King in his opening speech expressed "great satisfaction at meeting his Parliament at this time, after having recurred in so important a moment to the sense of his people. He entertained a just and confident reliance that they were animated by the same sentiments of loyalty and attachment to the Constitution which had been so fully manifested in every part of the kingdom. He recommended to their most serious consideration to frame suitable provisions for the good government of our possessions in the East Indies. Upon this subject Parliament would not lose sight of the effect which the measures they adopted might have on our own Constitution, and our dearest interests at home." The address proposed on this occasion contained strong expressions of approbation respecting the late dissolution, which Lord Surry on the ground of unanimity moved to omit. But Mr. Pitt declared, "that much as he was convinced of the importance

portance of unanimity, he would not purchaſe an hollow unanimity by paſſing over a great conſtitutional meaſure which the circumſtances of the times had made neceſſary and wiſe, and which had given the moſt entire ſatisfaction to every part of the kingdom." On this point, therefore, the Houſe divided, and the amendment of the Earl of Surry was rejected by a majority of 76 voices; ſo that the diſſolution appeared to have completely anſwered its intended purpoſe, and from this period Mr. Pitt may be regarded as the conſtitutional and efficient Miniſter of the Nation.

Triumph of the Miniſter.

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BOOK XVI.

State of Parties. Proceedings relative to the Weſtminſter Return. Motion of Mr. Sawbridge for an Enquiry into the State of the Repreſentation. Mr. Pitt's ſecond India Bill. Zeal of Mr. Burke for the Reform of Abuſes in India. Bill for the Prevention of Smuggling. Commutation Act. King's Debts a fourth Time diſcharged. Reſtoration of the Forfeited Eſtates in Scotland. Short Interval of Happineſs and Repoſe. State of Ireland. National Convention held at Dublin. Mr. Flood's Motion for a Reform of Parliament. Mr. Flood's ſecond Motion of Reform. Triumph of the Court. State of the Iriſh Commerce. Second National Convention. Commercial Propoſitions moved by Mr. Orde. Mr. Flood's third Motion of Reform. Farther Proceedings on the Weſtminſter Return. Mr. Pitt's ultimate Plan of Parliamentary Reform. Beneficial Regulations of Office. Shop Tax. Unjuſt Impoſition on Hawkers and Pedlars. Iriſh Propoſitions introduced into the Engliſh Houſe of Commons. Iriſh Propoſitions altered and new-modelled. Their final Rejection by the Iriſh Parliament. Fortification Project of the Duke of Richmond. Mr. Pitt's Plan for redeeming the National Debt. King's Debts a fifth Time diſcharged. Motion by Sir Watkin Lewes for a Repeal of the Shop Tax. Humane Attempt for the Relief of Hawkers and Pedlars. Wine Exciſe Bill. Eaſt India Regulations. Mr. Haſtings formally accuſed by Mr. Burke. Mr. Haſtings's premature and arrogant Defence. Deciſion in favor of Mr. Haſtings reſpecting the Rohilla War. Deciſion againſt Mr. Haſtings on the Benares Charge. Frantic Attempt to aſſaſſinate the King. Convention with Spain relative to the Moſquito Settlements. Seſſion of Parliament—Debates on the Commercial Treaty with France. Conſolidation

of the Cuſtoms. Poſt-horſe Tax farmed. Mr. Fox's Motion for the Repeal of the Shop-tax. Mr. Beaufoy's Motion for the Repeal of the Teſt. Application for Payment of the Prince of Wales's Debts. Charge againſt Mr. Haſtings reſpecting the Begums of Oude. Ferruckabad Charge. Charge reſpecting Contracts. Charge relative to Fyzoola Khan. Charge reſpecting Preſents. Charge relative to the Revenues. Mr. Haſtings impeached at the Bar of the Houſe of Lords.

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THE eſtabliſhed appellations of WHIG and TORY, as deſcriptive of the two grand political parties which under theſe or equivalent terms of diſtinction will doubtleſs ſubſiſt ſo long as the preſent Conſtitution of Government ſhall remain, though greatly changed from their original ſignification, it would nevertheleſs be faſtidious to reject. The gradations of ſentiment and principle which mark their progreſs it is however of indiſpenſable importance occaſionally to ſpecify. The principles of Whiggiſm may indeed in this reſpect be ſaid to have gained a complete triumph over thoſe of the antient Tories, inaſmuch as the once favorite maxims of Toryiſm—paſſive obedience, non-reſiſtance, and the divine and indefeaſible right of monarchy—have fallen into general contempt. Nor can any doctrines bearing the moſt diſtant analogy to theſe monſtrous abſurdities be now maintained, without the uſe of ſuch artificial and ambiguous phraſeology as, however magnificent in ſound and ſhow, ſhall vaniſh from the touch of reaſon as miſts and vapors from the noon-day ſun.

Agreeably then to the viciſſitudes which have in a long ſeries of eventful years taken place in the views and ſentiments of the oppoſing parties of the State, a WHIG muſt now be underſtood to mean a man who, in addition to the ſpeculative principles of liberty civil and religious which have deſcended to him from his anceſtors, entertains a lively and well-founded jealouſy leſt the prerogative of the Crown ſhould, in conſequence of the prodigious increaſe of its influence, ultimately abſorb the whole power and authority of the other branches of the Government, and with them the liberties of the nation at large, in its vaſt and tremendous vortex.

A modern

A modern Whig acknowledges and deeply regrets the improvidence of his anceſtors in contributing, by the facility of their compliances, to the accumulation of an immenſe public debt, and the eſtabliſhment of a ſtanding army, both of which are yet in a ſtate alarmingly progreſſive. He can ſcarcely forgive thoſe extravagant ebullitions of loyalty which could ſacrifice the moſt ſacred principles of the Conſtitution to the intereſt or ambition of the reigning family, in prolonging by a moſt unjuſtifiable ſtretch of power the exiſtence of Parliaments to a term of dangerous duration, and in furniſhing to a Miniſter little ſcrupulous of expedients, and regardleſs of conſequences, the means of univerſal and unbounded corruption. Whatever palliations of the fatal ſyſtem then adopted, the peculiarity of that Miniſter's ſituation, and the ſituation of the country at large in a political view, might then afford, had, it was affirmed, been long ſince entirely at an end; but the ſame ſyſtem is nevertheleſs reſolutely and uninterruptedly purſued, recovering Antæus-like from every apparent or accidental fall with renewed and redoubled vigor.

On the other hand, the modern Tories, although the deſcendants of thoſe who long entertained a moſt inveterate enmity againſt the family upon the throne, and who from motives not of the pureſt patriotiſm vehemently oppoſed in the former reigns the unconſtitutional meaſures of the Whigs, having at length entirely ſhaken off their old attachments, and being taken into favor and inveſted with power under the marked and too partial protection of the Court, ſuddenly became its open and zealous advocates—combining, as far as the ſpirit of the times would admit, the ſpeculative errors of one party with the practical errors of the other. The neceſſity of ſtrengthening the prerogative of the Monarch, and of ſupporting the DIGNITY of the CROWN, was from this time the inceſſant theme of their argument and declamation. Conceſſions and indulgencies were in their eſtimation things incompatible with the majeſty of the regal character. The high, harſh, and peremptory tone of AUTHORITY uniformly marked every act of Government under the almoſt conſtant predominance of this dangerous faction during the preſent reign, from the commitment of a printer, or the proſecution of a libeller, to thoſe meaſures of provo-

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cation and oppreſſion terminating in a war which rent in twain and had well nigh ſubverted the empire.

This party, now grown ſtrong and confident by an unexpected return of proſperity, aſſumed with oſtentatious audacity the appellation of the KING'S FRIENDS, in which novel capacity they heſitated not to give their eager and ardent ſupport to thoſe meaſures of Court policy which had been ever reprobated by the Tories of elder days as in the higheſt degree pernicious and unconſtitutional. The STANDING ARMY, ſo long the theme of their invective and reproach, was now affirmed to be neceſſary for the preſervation of the national tranquillity; the public debt was pronounced a public benefit; the connection with Hanover was honorable and uſeful; the influence of the Crown was the happy means of conſolidating the harmony of the different branches of Government; a long Parliament was ſaid to be attended with no ſuch inconvenient conſequences as had been previouſly and erroneouſly apprehended; and every attempt to reſtore that equality in the repreſentation, or rather to remove thoſe glaring inequalities ſo inconſiſtent with the ſpirit of the Conſtitution and the practice of former ages, was oppoſed and rejected by them in terms of unbounded obloquy and deteſtation, as leading to nothing leſs than the abſolute ſubverſion of Government. They profeſſed on all occaſions their dread of innovation and novelty—not adverting to the conſtant declaration of the antient Tories, that the things to which they objected were themſelves innovations wholly extraneous to the Conſtitution—and that they who merely wiſhed to *reſtore* were moſt unjuſtly accuſed of a fondneſs for innovation, or a dangerous propenſity to tamper with the Conſtitution by trying new and hazardous experiments.

Although the high and prepoſterous notions once prevalent reſpecting the AUTHORITY of the CHURCH had, in common with the old opinions relative to Civil Government, gradually fallen into diſrepute, the Tories of the preſent reign have been invariably characterized by the ſtrength of their attachment to the Eccleſiaſtical Eſtabliſhment, which they are delighted to applaud and extol as a model of purity and perfection. Any

ſuggeſtions

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ſuggeſtions of the expediency of a reform in the Church, whether in relation to the irregularities of its diſcipline, or the errors of its doctrine as exhibited in a ſet of obſolete and unintelligible articles of faith, are received by this claſs of men with a ſort of horror, as leading to foul ſuſpicions of ſectarian hereſy or atheiſtical profaneneſs; while the Diſſenters of all denominations are on the contrary viewed by them with eyes of jealouſy and hatred, and aſſiduouſly held up on all occaſions as the inveterate enemies of at leaſt one part of the Conſtitution, and as the doubtful friends at beſt of the other: and every idea of enlarging the limits of the toleration allowed them by law, and much more of extending to them the common privileges of citizens, they have uniformly exclaimed againſt with affected terror and real malignity *.

By

* The principal religious ſects now ſubſiſting in England are the Preſbyterians, Independents, Baptiſts, and Quakers. In the laſt century the Preſbyterians, differing little or nothing from the National Church in articles of faith or points of doctrine, and admitting almoſt univerſally epiſcopal government to be moſt agreeable to the primitive model, were yet highly offended at the retention of ſo great a part of the Romiſh ritual—her feaſts, her faſts, her veſtments, and her ceremonies. A conformity with theſe they regarded as unlawfully ſymbolizing with Popery—as an alarming and ſinful advance towards Antichriſtianiſm and Idolatry. When it was deemed neceſſary or expedient, at leaſt by the Long Parliament, in the courſe of the civil wars to call in the aſſiſtance of the Scottiſh nation, the Engliſh Preſbyterians embraced the Scottiſh Covenant as the indiſpenſable condition of attaining it—and Epiſcopacy being rejected in all its forms and modifications, the Scottiſh model or *platform* of government and diſcipline by claſſes and aſſemblies was adopted and eſtabliſhed throughout the kingdom. The Independents in a ſhort time totally ſupplanting the Preſbyterians, the new mode of worſhip fell into contempt—this daring and military ſect affirming each ſeparate church or congregation to poſſeſs a power over its own members, complete and *independent* of all other or ſuperior juriſdiction; thus, as the Hiſtorian Neale obſerves, "ſtriking at the main principles of the hierarchy." This opinion naturally led to the novel and noble principle firſt introduced by them of an univerſal and unlimited toleration. In a long ſeries of years the points of reſemblance and diſſimilarity between theſe two ſects are much changed. The Diſſenters of all denominations are now agreed as to the non-exiſtence of any higher eccleſiaſtical authority founded on Scripture or primitive antiquity than that of an individual Church or Congregation—and the difference now conſiſts entirely in oppoſing formulas of faith—the Independent Congregations adhering ſtrictly to the Calviniſtic or orthodox ſyſtem, and the Preſbyterians deviating into a wide field of latitudinarianiſm and hereſy, branching into all the theological diſtinctions of Arminianiſm, Arianiſm, Socinianiſm, &c. The Diſſenters of the latter denominations have indeed of late years choſen to decline

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By theſe grand and leading features are the oppoſite parties of the preſent reign clearly diſcriminated; and whether theſe parties ſhall continue to be known under the eſtabliſhed denominations of Whig and Tory, whether by the appellations of Court and Country, King's Friends or Patriots, is of little importance, ſo that the terms be diſtinctly defined and generally underſtood; although in different individuals theſe different ſyſtems will of courſe be blended and diverſified by all the poſſible tints and ſhades of moral and political variety.

No ſooner had the Whigs, after a long and laborious oppoſition, driven their antagoniſts the Tories from the helm, and found themſelves in full poſſeſſion of the powers of Government and the confidence of the People, than, in conſequence of the unfortunate miſunderſtanding and ſubſequent

altogether the appellation of Preſbyterians, as conveying ſince the days of Hudibras ideas of cant, grimace, and enthuſiaſm, by no means characteriſtic of theſe ſceptical, reaſoning, and philoſophical ſects; and have aimed to appropriate to themſelves the ſimple and dignified title of Chriſtian Unitarians. The Baptiſts, or, as they are more uſually and ſomewhat invidiouſly ſtyled, the Anabaptiſts, differ no leſs widely among themſelves as to ſpeculative points of doctrine, and have no common centre of union as a ſect but in their rejection of the rite of baptiſm as it has been cuſtomarily practiſed in the Chriſtian Church in all ages—confining it to adult Chriſtians in the mode of immerſion only. The Quakers, contrary to a prevalent but very erroneous opinion, are unqueſtionably ſincere believers in Chriſtianity, although it is certain that a great diverſity of ſentiments ſubſiſts among them as well as other profeſſors of Chriſtianity reſpecting the doctrines inculcated by it. But this benevolent and pacific ſect wiſely lay much more ſtreſs on the ſpirit and temper of the religion they profeſs, than on any peculiar dogmas of faith. And though it is their characteriſtic policy to withdraw from the public gaze, they have invariably, ſince the firſt fervors of the frantic zeal which for a ſhort period actuated or rather poſſeſſed them expired, diſtinguiſhed themſelves by an enlightened and active zeal in the cauſe of univerſal charity, humanity, and freedom both civil and religious. The Moravians conſtitute a fifth ſect, in a national and political view almoſt too inſignificant for mention. They had their origin in Germany within the preſent century—the famous Count Zinzendorf being their head and firſt founder. Notwithſtanding the ſpirit of fanaticiſm, and, if they are not heavily calumniated, of immorality, which marked their earlier ſtages of progreſſion, they are now known only as an humble, quiet, and induſtrious people, little connected with the community at large, ſubmiſſively obedient in religious matters to thoſe whom they regard as their ſpiritual ſuperiors, and in civil concerns to the Government of the country under whoſe protection they live, with little diſpoſition or ability to enter into any ſpeculative inveſtigation of theſe topics.

conflict

conflict of their leaders, they were again broken and divided; and each diviſion was under the neceſſity of ſtrengthening itſelf by forming new and dangerous connections with their former opponents. On the ſeceſſion of Mr. Fox, the Earl of Shelburne called in the aid, though in a ſomewhat covert manner, of the Jenkinſon party; and when a fair proſpect of ſupplanting that nobleman in a ſhort time occurred, Mr. Fox ſcrupled not, to the aſtoniſhment and indignation of the kingdom, publicly to coaleſce with Lord North and his numerous partiſans. The Earl of Shelburne having been far more guarded in his previous declarations, as well as his ſubſequent political aſſociations, eſcaped the obloquy which attended the more flagrant inconſiſtency of his once popular rival; who, by openly connecting himſelf with that individual Miniſter of the Crown whom he had ſo long and ſo ſucceſsfully labored to vilify and diſgrace, had for ever forfeited his claim to the flattering appellation of "the Man of the People."

On the diſmiſſion of the Coalition Adminiſtration, Mr. Pitt, the head of the new Miniſtry, was in a manner compelled, like his predeceſſor Lord Shelburne, to admit no inconſiderable proportion of the Tories to ſhare in the honors and emoluments of Government; and the nation, equally enraged at the Whigs and the Tories of the Coalition, willingly excuſed the re-admiſſion of thoſe Members of the Old Tory Adminiſtration who could plead the recent merit of inveighing againſt the Coalition, and of oppoſing the India Bill of Mr. Fox.

From this mixture of Toryiſm in the new Adminiſtration, nevertheleſs, the moſt pernicious and direful conſequences have ultimately reſulted. The reign of the preſent Monarch has indeed been diſtinguiſhed by a ſtrange and dreadful fatality; and the deplorable infatuation almoſt invariably actuating the National Councils, and which has been productive of ſuch mighty miſchiefs, may well appear to the contemplative and philoſophic mind—penetrating beyond the dark cloud which bounds the view of common obſervers—the deſtined means of accompliſhing the grand and beneficent purpoſes of that wiſdom in compariſon with which the

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the higheſt human ſagacity is as weakneſs and folly. But theſe are reflections which more properly appertain to the province of the theologiſt than the hiſtorian.

Proceedings relative to the Weſtminſter return.

After the diviſion which took place on the addreſs, and which terminated in the complete triumph of the new Miniſtry, the buſineſs which chiefly for a time occupied the attention of the Houſe and of the Public, was the complaint ſtated by Mr. Fox reſpecting the conduct of the High Bailiff of Weſtminſter, who had obſtinately and daringly refuſed to make the return in his favor, although he had upon the face of the poll a majority of 235 votes. Mr. Fox, however, was not deprived of his ſeat in Parliament by this infamous procedure, being, through the intereſt of his friend Sir Thomas Dundas, choſen Member for the Borough of Kirkwall, in the Orkneys; on which occaſion Mr. Pitt, in the height of his exultation, gratified his feelings by a ſarcaſtical delineation of his antagoniſt, as a man on whom a ſort of ſentence of baniſhment had paſſed—who had been driven by the efforts of patriotic indignation as an exile from his native clime, and forced to ſeek for refuge on the ſtormy and deſolate ſhores of the "Ultima Thulé."

On the 24th of May a reſolution was moved by Mr. Lee, late Attorney General, "that the High Bailiff of Weſtminſter on the day upon which the writ of election expired ought to have returned two citizens to ſerve in Parliament for that city." A violent debate enſued; and the previous queſtion having been moved by Sir Lloyd Kenyon, it was ordered that the High Bailiff ſhould attend the Houſe on the day following. The ſole pretext on which that officer reſted his defence was, that, having ground to ſuſpect the validity of many votes taken in the courſe of a poll of ſix weeks duration, he had granted a *ſcrutiny*, till the termination of which he could not *in conſcience* make the return. To this an obvious and deciſive anſwer preſented itſelf. The ſcrutiny is nothing more than a reviſion of the poll by the returning officer; and if ſuch reviſion is not, and cannot be, completed previous to the period at which the writ is returnable, the officer is bound, by the nature of his office, and the tenor of his oath, to

make

make the return agreeably to the poll as it was actually taken. For if vague preſumptions of the nature now alleged were admitted as juſt cauſes of procraſtination, elections would be thrown entirely into the hands of the returning officer, who, if gained over by the Court, might for any indefinite term prevent thoſe who were obnoxious to the Adminiſtration for the time being from taking their ſeats in Parliament; and the repreſentation of the kingdom would be thus rendered flagrantly corrupt, partial, and imperfect. Had the High Bailiff really felt thoſe *ſcruples of conſcience* by which he pretended to be thus embarraſſed, the law of Parliament allowed him to include all the candidates in the ſame return, which would at once have transferred the taſk and burden of the deciſion from his own conſcience to the conſcience of the Houſe. After long pleadings by counſel at the bar of the Houſe on either part, the motion was renewed, "that the High Bailiff be directed forthwith to make the return." To the diſgrace of the new Adminiſtration, this motion was vehemently oppoſed, and on a diviſion finally negatived—the ayes being 117, the noes 195. It was then moved and carried, "that the High Bailiff do proceed in the ſcrutiny with all practicable diſpatch." Thus was this buſineſs laid at reſt during the preſent ſeſſion; but the character of the new Miniſter ſuffered, in conſequence of the part which he took in the conduct of it, an indelible ſtain. Though as yet of years immature and unhacknied in the ways of men, he was indignantly perceived capable with alacrity and eagerneſs to juſtify injuſtice, and to become an active and voluntary inſtrument of mean and inſidious revenge.

Motion of Mr. Sawbridge for an enquiry into the ſtate of the repreſentation.

On the 16th of June a motion was made by Mr. Alderman Sawbridge, and ſeconded by Mr. Alderman Newnham, both of them repreſentatives of the City of London, that a Committee be appointed to enquire into the preſent ſtate of the repreſentation of the Commons of Great Britain in Parliament. The meaſure itſelf had the concurrence and ſupport of Mr. Pitt, though the new Miniſter profeſſed in the uſual language of Miniſters that the *time* was improper; and indeed the motion appears to have been calculated and deſigned rather to embarraſs the Miniſter than to promote the propoſed object. Mr. Dundas, who had ſupported the former propo-

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sition of Mr. Pitt, luckily found a distinction which enabled him to oppose the present motion, without in the least diminishing his reputation for consistency. His objection was, that the Committee now moved for was a select Committee, whereas the Committee for which he had formerly voted was a Committee of the whole House. On the division upon the previous question, the numbers were 201 to 127.

Mr. Pitt's second India Bill.

The grand business of the present session, however, was the arrangement of a plan for the future government of India. For this purpose Mr. Pitt on the 6th of July brought in a bill, founded on the general principles of that rejected by the former Parliament, and to which the Company had now given their slow and reluctant assent. By this bill a BOARD of CONTROL, composed of a certain number of Commissioners of the rank of Privy Counsellors, was established, the members of which were to be appointed by the King, and removable at his pleasure. This Board was authorized to check, superintend, and control the civil and military government and revenue of the Company. The dispatches transmitted by the Court of Directors to the different Presidencies were to be previously subjected to the inspection of the Superior Board, and counter-signed by them; and the Directors were enjoined to pay due obedience to the orders of the Board, touching civil and military government and revenues; and in case such orders do at any time in the opinion of the Directors relate to points not connected therewith, they are empowered to appeal to his Majesty in Council, whose decision is declared final. The bill moreover enacted, that the appointment of the Court of Directors to the office of Governor-General, President, or Counsellor in the different Presidencies, shall be subject to the approbation and recall of his Majesty. As to the zemindars, or great hereditary land-holders of India, who had been violently dispossessed of their property, and who, agreeably to the generous and decisive tenor of Mr. Fox's bill, were to have been universally and peremptorily reinstated in their zemindaries, the present bill provided only that an enquiry should be instituted in order to restore such as should appear to have been irregularly and unjustly deprived. Lastly, an high tribunal was created for the trial of Indian delinquents, consisting of three Judges, one

from

from each Court, of four Peers and ſix Members of the Houſe of Commons, who were authorized to judge without appeal—to award in caſe of conviction the puniſhments of fine and impriſonment—and to declare the party convicted incapable of ſerving the Eaſt India Company. Theſe were the grand and leading features of the bill, and the moſt tranſient obſervation ſufficed to ſhew that the objectionable parts of Mr. Fox's bill had been anxiouſly and completely avoided. The management of their commercial concerns was left in the hands of the Company, who, were diveſted only of that political power which they had ſo groſsly abuſed, and of that civil authority to the due exerciſe of which they were ſo manifeſtly incompetent. And this authority was not transferred to perſons who, like the Commiſſioners of Mr. Fox, might attempt to eſtabliſh an unconſtitutional influence in Parliament, not merely independent of, but in direct oppoſition to, the regular and conſtitutional authority of the Crown; but in the effort to ſteer clear of the rock of Scylla, it was evident that Mr. Pitt had plunged into the gulph of Charybdis, and that by this bill a vaſt acceſſion of influence reſulted to the Crown, already poſſeſſing a dangerous, formidable and increaſing aſcendency over the other branches of the Legiſlature.

Mr. Fox, with his uſual powers of diſcrimination, attacked the weak and exceptionable parts of this bill, although the utmoſt energy of his eloquence was found inadequate to excite the general attention of the public to the merits or demerits of the meaſure in queſtion—prepoſſeſſed as they now almoſt univerſally were in favor of the Miniſter with whom it originated, and in whom they placed the moſt entire and unlimited confidence. Mr. Fox urged with great force and animation, that this bill eſtabliſhed a weak and inefficient government, by dividing its powers. To the one Board belonged the privilege of ordering and contriving meaſures; to the other, that of carrying them into execution. It was a ſyſtem of dark intrigue and deluſive art. By the negative veſted in the Commiſſioners, the CHARTERED RIGHTS of the Company, on which ſuch ſtreſs had been laid, were inſidiouſly undermined and virtually annihilated. If it were right to veſt ſuch powers in a Board of Privy Counſellors, let it be

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done explicitly and openly, and ſhew the Company and the world, that what they dared to do they dared to juſtify. Founded on principles ſo heterogeneous, how could ſuch a government be other than the conſtant victim of internal diſtraction? The appeal allowed from the deciſions of the Board of Control to the Privy Council was affirmed by Mr. Fox to be palpably nugatory and ridiculous. The bill he had introduced, exhibited at the firſt bluſh the features of openneſs, fairneſs, and reſponſibility. The preſent plan was full of darkneſs and diſguiſe. In a covert and concealed mode, an immenſe patronage was transferred to the Crown, which, inſtead of correcting abuſes, opened a door to every ſpecies of colluſion and corruption. It was calculated to eſtabliſh an Indian government of the iſland of Great Britain. Againſt the clauſes of the bill reſpecting the zemindars, Mr. Fox entered his ſtrongeſt proteſt. The zemindars ought, in his opinion, to be rated by a fixed rule of paſt periods, and not of a vague and indefinite future enquiry. The new tribunal Mr. Fox ſtigmatized as a ſcreen for delinquents; as a palpable and unconſtitutional violation of the ſacred right of Trial by Jury. Since no man was to be tried but on the accuſation of the Company or the Attorney-General, he had only to conciliate Government in order to his remaining in perfect ſecurity. It was a part of the general ſyſtem of deception and deluſion, and he would venture to pronounce it a "Bed of Juſtice," where juſtice would for ever ſleep. On the motion of commitment, the numbers were ayes 276, noes 61; and it was carried in triumph to the Houſe of Peers, where, after an oppoſition vigorous in point of exertion, but feeble in regard of numbers, the bill paſſed Auguſt 9, 1784. It was accompanied by a proteſt, in which it was ſeverely branded as a meaſure ineffectual in its proviſions, unjuſt in its inquiſitorial ſpirit, and unconſtitutional in its partial abolition of the Trial by Jury.

Zeal of Mr. Burke for the reform of abuſes in India.

Amongſt thoſe who had chiefly diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the inveſtigation of Indian affairs, and whoſe indignation had been moſt ſtrongly awakened at the diſcovery of the enormous oppreſſion exerciſed in thoſe diſtant regions, was Mr. Burke. Agreeably, indeed, to the general caſt of his character and genius, Mr. Burke's acuteneſs of reſearch, and that extenſive

extenſive knowledge of the ſubject which he had acquired by long and indefatigable attention, was obſcured and rendered in a great meaſure uſeleſs, and even pernicious, by the violence of his paſſions, and the obſtinacy of his prejudices. Not ſatisfied with exhibiting facts ſufficiently atrocious in their own nature in the ſimple garb of truth, Mr. Burke was eager upon all occaſions to impreſs the public mind, and heighten the general effect, by all the arts of rhetorical amplification and embelliſhment. So little of philoſophy, however, entered into the oratory of this famous ſpeaker, that the effect produced upon the public mind was directly oppoſite to that which he himſelf expected and intended. Amidſt the blaze of declamation, and the thunders of invective, the ingenuous enquirer after TRUTH found it inſuperably difficult to aſcertain with preciſion thoſe points on which the charge of criminality reſted. To the moſt careleſs obſerver, it was apparent that in numerous inſtances facts were diſtorted and diſguiſed; that the moſt invidious conſtruction was invariably annexed even to the moſt indifferent actions; that every thing was ſeen through the medium of falſe and artificial colorings; that the dignified candor which gives weight to an accuſation was wholly wanting. His calmneſs was ſettled rancor; his warmth, the phrenſy of rage and revenge. Mr. Burke had long ſingled out Mr. Haſtings, late Governor General of India, as the object of his moſt furious attacks; but from the circumſtances now enumerated, the feelings of the public were in a conſiderable degree excited in his favor. Added to this, the ſucceſſes of the late war in India, contraſted with the defeats and diſaſters ſuſtained by the nation in all other parts of the globe, caſt a certain ſplendor around the character of Mr. Haſtings, who had acquired the popular appellation of the *Saviour of India*; while to appreciate the real merits of his long and eventful adminiſtration required a ſagacity and diligence of reſearch for which the inclination and ability were, to ſpeak in general terms, equally wanting. Mr. Burke had alſo entirely loſt the degree of credit which he once poſſeſſed with the public, by ſtanding forward as the avowed advocate and champion of the deteſted Coalition, of which he was indeed more than ſuſpected to have been the original projector, although the bitterneſs of his former invectives againſt the late Miniſter Lord North could not be

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exceeded by his moſt virulent effuſions againſt the more recent object of his intemperate abuſe, Mr. Haſtings. In a word, Mr. Burke appeared in the view of the public at this period, as a man of talents indeed, but totally deſtitute of judgment, and even of principle; who, actuated by pride, ſpleen, and ambition, affected to aſſume the elevated character of a CICERO dragging a delinquent of the firſt magnitude—a VERRES—to public juſtice: while Mr. Haſtings, on the other hand, was regarded as a man deſerving highly of his country, and who had from ſecret and ſiniſter motives become the unfortunate object of an unjuſt and iniquitous perſecution.

Early in July, the Miniſter, Mr. Pitt, acquainted the Houſe with the arrival of Sir Elijah Impey, Chief Judge of the Supreme Court of Judicature at Bengal, who had been recalled by the King, in conformity to an Addreſs of that Houſe. Mr. Burke upon this remarked, that the reſolutions upon the ſubject were originally moved and ſeconded by Sir Adam Ferguſon and General Smith, who were not members of the preſent Parliament. The charge againſt the delinquent in queſtion having already received the ſanction of that Houſe, it might be proper to proceed againſt him by impeachment. For his own part, however, he totally declined taking the lead in this buſineſs. What hope could he, a ſolitary and unaſſiſted individual, entertain of ſucceſs, when the Nobleman now preſiding in the Houſe of Peers had expreſsly declared, in relation to the Reports in which the proceedings originated, that he regarded them no more than the romance of Robinſon Cruſoe? He therefore earneſtly recommended it to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, as the chief conductor and repreſentative of the Executive Government, to enforce the reſolutions of that Houſe relating to Sir Elijah Impey. But Mr. Pitt totally, and in the moſt unequivocal terms, declined any concern in the affair. This was not the only indication of a fixed determination in the preſent Miniſtry to diſcountenance all judicial inveſtigation of the antecedent tranſactions in India.

On the 28th of July, Mr. Burke moved, That the Houſe ſhould reſolve itſelf

itſelf into a Committee, to enquire into the facts ſtated in the different Reports relative to India. He aſſerted, that his character was at ſtake. If, as had been ſuggeſted, the Reports were mere fables, they were indeed calumnies of the moſt bold and unprincipled nature, and he himſelf was an infamous calumniator. The two ſets of Reports originating from the different Committees acknowledged as their parents Mr. Dundas and himſelf. The Right Honorable Gentleman had indeed ſeen the drawn ſcymitar lifted up to divide and deſtroy his offſpring without diſcovering any ſymptom of emotion. But the ſpectacle was too horrid for his feelings. He wiſhed to intercept the arm of the executioner, and to receive the bloody and flagitious ſtroke in his own perſon: "*Adſum qui feci,*" exclaimed the orator, "*in me convertite ferrum!*" In contempt of this flight of eloquence, Mr. Dundas coolly moved the *Order of the Day.*

Diſappointed in this attempt, Mr. Burke two days afterwards brought forward a ſeries of reſolutions, intended as a foundation for an enquiry into the conduct of Mr. Haſtings. On this Mr. Pitt roſe, and aſked, "How that Houſe, as a Houſe of Parliament, knew as a fact the tranſactions on which Mr. Burke grounded his motions? If the motions paſſed, from what office were the papers expected to proceed? To relieve the Houſe from theſe embarraſſments, he ſaid, he ſhould move the *Order of the Day.*" This ſecond interruption was more than the patience of Mr. Burke could endure. He affirmed the inſenſibility of Government to the foul enormities lately perpetrated, and ſtill perpetrating, by our countrymen in the Eaſt, to be truly ſhocking. He deprecated the day that the knowledge of them had come to his mind. The miſerable objects it exhibited, nations extirpated, provinces deſolated, cities and countries overwhelmed in one maſs of deſtruction, conſtantly dwelt on his imagination. The cries of the native Indians were never out of his ears; an impreſſion of horror had ſeized on his mind, which deprived him of ſleep, and night and day preyed upon his peace. The reality of the facts ſtated in the Reports had been impeached. Why then would not the men who denied them ſtand forward and ſupport their allegations? Oh! what, ſaid this impaſſioned orator, would I not give to find the ſcenes of horror there deſcribed

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ſcribed nothing more than a fiction! To me it would be a diſcovery more precious and grateful than the diſcovery of a new world. He declared, that he wiſhed it for the honor of humanity, from ſympathy to millions of ſuffering and helpleſs individuals, from an anxious deſire to retrieve the honor of the Houſe, and of the country at large, from infamy and execration. He conjured Mr. Pitt to reflect with ſerioufneſs on this buſineſs. The voice of India cried aloud for juſtice. He was at a loſs, he ſaid, how to account for the callous inſenſibility of the Miniſter, at a time of life when all the generous feelings of our nature are moſt lively and ſuſceptible;—and proceeding in reflections very pointed and perſonal, he was loudly called to order; and ſtill perſevering in his exclamations and reproaches, was at length compelled to ſit down amidſt the univerſal clamor and tumult of the Houſe.

Bill for the prevention of ſmuggling.

On the diſmiſſion of this unwelcome buſineſs, the attention of the Houſe was immediately transferred to a bill introduced by the Miniſter for the more effectual prevention of the practice of ſmuggling, which had of late years ariſen to a moſt alarming height. This bill contained various prudential, but ſomewhat ſevere, regulations. The diſtance from ſhore, at which ſeizures ſhould in future be deemed lawful, was extended, and the conſtructing of veſſels of a certain form and dimenſion peculiarly calculated for contraband purpoſes prohibited. But by far the moſt extraordinary part of the preſent plan was the reduction of the duties paid by the Eaſt India Company on the importation of TEA, which was affirmed to be the grand medium of the ſmuggling traffic; and the conſequent impoſition of a new duty on windows, already moſt grievouſly burdened, to the amount of the deficiency, eſtimated at no leſs than ſix hundred thouſand pounds per annum. This was ſtyled by the Miniſter a Commutation Tax; and the equity of it was defended on the general and vague idea, that, teas being an article of univerſal conſumption, the weight of the tax would be compenſated by a proportional abatement in the purchaſe of the commodity. Nothing however could be more fallacious than this ſtatement, nor perhaps any impoſt more oppreſſive in its practical operation. It is obvious,

Commutation Act.

obvious, that in large towns and cities, ground for the purpoſe of building being very valuable, houſes are erected on a comparatively confined ſcale, and the number of windows is very moderate. But in ſmall towns and villages, where ground is cheap, houſes are for the moſt part conſtructed on a more convenient model, with ranges of offices, and windows commanding the court-yards, gardens, &c. contiguous to the dwelling. On theſe peaceful and rural retreats the tax fell heavily indeed; and the miſerable effects of it are fully apparent in the multitude of windows ſtopped up in farm-houſes and other country reſidences, to the inexpreſſible injury of the eaſe, health, and comfort of a very great proportion of the community. But in the metropolis and other opulent and populous towns the tax fell lightly; and in conſequence of the greater prevalence of luxury, the reduction of the duty on tea more than compenſating in ſuch ſituations for the addition of the new tax, this meaſure was applauded as a happy ſtroke of finance. A vigorous but unavailing oppoſition to the bill was nevertheleſs made by Mr. Fox, who aſked, what connection there was between an impoſt upon tea and an impoſt upon windows, to entitle the latter to be denominated a commutation for the former? He affirmed it to be the eſſence of financial injuſtice and oppreſſion to take off a tax upon luxury, and to ſubſtitute in its ſtead a tax upon that which was of indiſpenſable neceſſity. Spirits were a leading article of ſmuggling, and a luxury in common uſe, as well as tea. But would the Miniſter venture to purſue the commuting principle of this bill to its full extent, and, aboliſhing the duties on ſpirituous liquors, to impoſe another tax upon windows, and aſſign as a reaſon, that all men may be preſumed or expected to drink rum and brandy in their own houſes? The obligations of this kingdom to the Eaſt India Company, and the vaſt revenue we derived from the commerce carried on by them, had been much inſiſted on; but ſurely it was at all times eaſy, without having recourſe to their inſtrumentality, to obtain the ſame revenue by the ſame means.

Mr. Courtenay, a member of the Houſe, diſtinguiſhed no leſs by the readineſs of his wit than the vigor of his underſtanding, remarked, that the bill

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bill now before the Houſe was the counterpart of the deteſtable *Gabelle* or Salt-tax in France. There an impoſt was laid upon that article, and every man was obliged to take and pay for a certain quantity, whether he wanted it or not. As the preſent Adminiſtration had in other reſpects degraded the Commons of Great Britain to a level with the Parliaments of France, it was indeed perfectly conſiſtent in them to introduce a ſimilar principle of taxation. The bill at length paſſed the Houſe by a very great majority; after no very long interval receiving the royal aſſent: and it muſt be confeſſed, that in a commercial and financial view it has beyond the moſt ſanguine previous calculation anſwered its intended purpoſe.

The remaining great operation of finance during this extraordinary ſeſſion, was the providing for the arrears of the unfunded debt left at the concluſion of the war, amounting to more than twenty millions. This was diſpoſed of partly in the four per cents, and partly in a newly created five per cent. ſtock, made irredeemable for thirty years, or until twenty-five millions of the exiſting funds ſhould be extinguiſhed. The taxes for the payment of the intereſt of this vaſt ſum were, in the preſent exhauſted ſtate of the national finances, upon the whole allowed to be happily and judiciouſly choſen.

King's debts a fourth time diſcharged.

It muſt not be omitted, that the ſum of ſixty thouſand pounds was in the courſe of the ſeſſion voted to his Majeſty, to enable him to diſcharge the debt contracted in the civil liſt. This was the fourth grant for the ſame purpoſe ſince the acceſſion of the preſent King. Much altercation aroſe on this occaſion between the old and the new Miniſtry, as to the preciſe period when this new debt was incurred. All however that the public at large could be fully certified of was, that with a civil liſt revenue of eight hundred thouſand pounds, afterwards increaſed to nine hundred thouſand pounds per annum, excluſive of the revenues ariſing from the crown lands, more than fourteen hundred thouſand pounds had been voted within the ſpace of about fifteen years, for the payment of the debts of the Crown. And the ſtern obſervation of the famous MILTON could not but forcibly recur in ſuch circumſtances to the public recollection—

"That

"That the very trappings of a monarchy were more than ſufficient to defray the whole expence of a republic *."

Reſtoration of the forfeited eſtates in Scotland.

The laſt meaſure which came under parliamentary diſcuſſion during the preſent ſeſſion, was a bill introduced by Mr. Dundas, and of a nature perfectly congenial to the urbanity and good humour, which, notwithſtanding his political frailties, characterized that able and verſatile Miniſter, for the reſtoration of the eſtates forfeited in Scotland in conſequence of the rebellions of 1715 and 1745. Mr. Dundas declared the meaſure to be in his opinion worthy of the juſtice and generoſity of Parliament. He ſaid, there was not one of the families comprehended in the ſcope of it, in which ſome perſon had not atoned for the crimes and errors of his anceſtors, by ſacrificing his blood in the cauſe of his country; and that the Sovereign had not for a long ſeries of years paſt a more loyal ſet of ſubjects than the Highlanders of Scotland and their Chieftains. Of this the late Lord Chatham was deeply ſenſible, and that illuſtrious Stateſman had publicly recognized the rectitude of the meaſure now propoſed. And he truſted, that the remains of a ſyſtem, which, whether directed at firſt by narrow views or found policy, ought certainly to be temporary, would be completely annihilated under the adminiſtration of his ſon. He did not however mean, that the eſtates ſhould be freed from the claims exiſting againſt them at the time of forfeiture. This might be regarded as a premium for rebellion. He therefore propoſed the appropriation of ſuch ſums, amounting to about eighty thouſand pounds, to public purpoſes; fifty thouſand of which he would recommend to be employed in the completion of the grand canal reaching from the Frith of Forth to that of Clyde. This bill was received in a manner which did honor to the feelings of the Houſe. Mr. Fox in particular, with his uſual generoſity, beſtowed upon it the higheſt encomiums, and profeſſed himſelf deterred only by the

* "I would rather," ſaid Louis XII. of France, in anſwer to ſome ſatirical reflections on his too rigid attention to œconomy, "that my Courtiers ſhould laugh at my parſimony than that my ſubjects ſhould weep at my prodigality." This was nobly ſpoken: but what would that Monarch, ſo juſtly celebrated for his beneficence and patriotiſm, have ſaid to a conduct which united at once the extremes of parſimony and prodigality!

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lateneſs of the ſeſſion, from endeavoring to enlarge its operation to what he conceived to be its juſt and proper extent. Nevertheleſs, when the bill was ſent to the Lords, it met with a moſt determined and malignant reſiſtance from the Lord Chancellor, who expatiated with much ſatisfaction on that maxim of antient wiſdom, which pronounced treaſon to be a crime of ſo deep a dye, that nothing leſs was adequate to its puniſhment than the total eradication of the perſon, the name, and the family out of the community. Happily, on dividing the Houſe, this Nobleman was left in a ſmall and diſgraceful minority, and the bill finally paſſed with that public approbation and applauſe it ſo juſtly merited.

An end was put to the ſeſſion Auguſt 20, 1784, the King returning his warmeſt thanks to the two Houſes, for their zealous and diligent attention to the public ſervice. He predicted the happieſt effects from the bill for the better government of India. He ſpoke in terms of high commendation of the laws enacted for the improvement of the revenue. He thanked his faithful Commons for their proviſion for the arrears of the Civil Liſt; deploring, nevertheleſs, in the accuſtomed ſtyle, the *unavoidable burdens* impoſed upon his people. He noticed the definitive treaty with Holland, and the peace concluded in India; and truſted, from the aſſurances of foreign powers, that the preſent tranquillity would prove of permanent duration.

Short interval of happineſs and repoſe.

In the interval between the prorogation of the Parliament and its reaſſembling in the courſe of the enſuing winter, the nation enjoyed a flattering and delightful repoſe. Highly gratified with the recent change which had taken place, they viewed with unbounded complacency and confidence the Miniſter now at the head of affairs; and indulged the moſt fond and ſanguine hopes, that under his auſpices Britain would be reſtored to her former enviable ſtate of proſperity and greatneſs: and the name of PITT, endeared by the recollection of all that can intereſt the feelings of a generous and grateful people, ſeemed anew conſecrated to patriotiſm, to liberty, and to virtue.

State of Ireland.

Ireland, however, at this period exhibited a very diſſimilar picture. The political tempeſt which had agitated that kingdom during the latter years of the late war had not yet ſubſided. Much had indeed been acquired, but much alſo yet remained to be done. The two queſtions which at the preſent juncture chiefly occupied the public attention, were thoſe which related to the ſtate of their commerce, and the ſtate of their repreſentation.

So long ſince as the 1ſt of July 1783, the delegates of forty-five volunteer corps had aſſembled at Liſburne, in the county of Antrim, to conſider of the meaſures proper to be adopted, in order to effect a reform in the national repreſentation. A committee was by them appointed to meet at Belfaſt, at the head of which preſided Colonel Sharman. By this committee letters were addreſſed to many perſons in the ſiſter kingdom, moſt diſtinguiſhed for their talents, their virtues, and their zeal in the cauſe of liberty, requeſting their advice and opinion on this important ſubject; among theſe were the Duke of Richmond, Lord Effingham, Mr. Pitt, Dr. Price, and Dr. Jebb. The moſt remarkable of the anſwers returned to this committee was that of the Duke of Richmond, who recommended with great force, and in the moſt decided language, the plan of UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE. "All plans merely of a ſpeculative nature," this bold reformer affirmed, "had been found inſufficient to intereſt and animate the great body of the people, from whoſe earneſtneſs alone any reform was to be expected. A long excluſion from any ſhare in the legiſlation of their country had rendered the great maſs of the people indifferent whether the monopoly that ſubſiſted continued in the hands of a more or leſs extended company; or whether it were divided by them into ſhares of ſomewhat more or leſs juſt proportion. They had been ſo often deceived, that they were ſcarcely now diſpoſed to confide in any ſet of men. Nothing but ſelf-evident conviction that a meaſure tended effectually to the recovery of their rights, could, or indeed OUGHT, to intereſt them in its favor."

The meeting at Liſburne was quickly followed by an aſſembly of de-

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National Convention held at Dublin.

legates held at Dungannon, for the province of Ulſter; at which the Earl of Charlemont, Generaliſſimo of the volunteer corps throughout the kingdom; Mr. Conolly, conſidered as the firſt Commoner in point of property; and the Biſhop of Derry, brother to the late Earl of Briſtol, nominated in the year 1766 to the Lord Lieutenancy of Ireland, were preſent. The provinces of Leinſter and Munſter followed the example of Ulſter—a NATIONAL CONVENTION was appointed to be held at Dublin on the 10th of November.

Such was the poſture of affairs in that kingdom, when the Parliament of Ireland, recently elected, met on the 14th of October 1783. The Earl of Northington opened the ſeſſion with a judicious ſpeech, in which he profeſſed to anticipate the greateſt national benefits from the wiſdom and temper of the new Parliament. On the very firſt day of the ſeſſion the thanks of both Houſes were voted to the different volunteer corps of Ireland for their public ſervices: and a farther proof of the independent ſpirit now prevalent appeared in the reſolution propoſed by Lord Mountmorres, and which received the ſanction of both Houſes, "That, in the preſent ſtate of the kingdom, it was expedient that there ſhould be a Seſſion of Parliament held every year."

On the 10th of November the National Convention met agreeably to their appointment. Of this formidable aſſembly the Earl of Charlemont was elected preſident. On the motion of the Biſhop of Derry, a committee was forthwith appointed to digeſt a plan of reform, who in a ſhort time reported their opinion, That every *Proteſtant freeholder*, or leaſeholder, poſſeſſing a freehold or leaſehold for a certain term of years of forty ſhillings value, reſident in any city or borough, ſhould be entitled to vote in the election of member for the ſame: That decayed boroughs ſhould be enabled to return repreſentatives by an extenſion of franchiſe to the neighbouring pariſhes: That the ſuffrages of the electors ſhould be taken by the Sheriff or his deputies on the ſame day at the reſpective places of election: That penſioners of the Crown, receiving their penſions during pleaſure, ſhould be incapacitated from ſitting in Parliament: That

every Member of Parliament accepting a penſion for life, or any place under the Crown, ſhould vacate his ſeat: That each Member ſhould ſubſcribe an oath, that he had neither directly nor indirectly given any pecuniary or other conſideration, with a view of obtaining the ſuffrage of any elector: Finally, That the duration of Parliament ſhould not exceed the term of three years. This report was received by the Convention with great applauſe, and reſolutions to the ſame purport unanimouſly paſſed.

Mr. Flood's motion for a reform of Parliament.

On the very next day Mr. Flood, long known by his able and eloquent exertions in the cauſe of liberty, moved the Houſe of Commons for leave to bring in a bill for the more equal repreſentation of the people in Parliament. It now appeared that the Coalition Miniſters, as yet in the zenith of their power, had formed a fixed determination to oppoſe to the utmoſt the encroachments of a dangerous and armed democracy, unknown in their newly aſſumed capacity to the laws and to the conſtitution.

Mr. Yelverton, Attorney-General, declared that the queſtion thus introduced did not deſerve to be diſcuſſed, but that it ought to be regarded as an inſult upon the Houſe. If the bill originated, as it was notorious it did, with a body of armed men, they ſhould decidedly ſet their faces againſt receiving it. They did not ſit there to receive propoſitions at the point of the bayonet. He entertained an extreme reverence for the volunteers, for the eſſential ſervices they had conferred on their country; but when they formed themſelves into a political body, to diſcuſs the modes of reforming Parliament, and to regulate the affairs of the Nation; when they would probe the wounds of the Conſtitution with the ſword, he would be their moſt determined opponent. The queſtion was now, Whether the National Convention or the Parliament of Ireland were to legiſlate for the country? What phænomenon was it they had ſo lately ſeen? Armed men drawn up in files, preparing the way for other armed men, reſorting in faſtidious pomp to a general aſſembly, and diſplaying all the oſtentation of a real Parliament! Would they ſubmit to this? Was it decent for Parliament to enter into any ſort of compromiſe with this Congreſs?

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Congreſs? Were the Members of that Houſe free in their deliberations while this Military Congreſs were ſitting? No: it was neceſſary they ſhould ſay to the Volunteers—"You have obtained a conſtitution and commerce; and now, inſtead of dictating to the Legiſlature of the kingdom, go to your own homes, change your attire, and turn your ſwords, no longer needed for the defence of your country, into plough-ſhares and pruning-hooks." This ſpeech, ſeconded by the efforts of Mr. Pelham, Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant, and other zealous partiſans of Government, was deciſive; and notwithſtanding the ardent exertions of the rival patriots, Mr. Flood and Mr. Grattan, the Houſe at a very late hour divided—Ayes 77, noes 157.

Deſirous to fix a ſtill farther ſtigma on the meaſures of the Convention, it was immediately moved by Mr. Yelverton, "That it was now neceſſary to declare that this Houſe would ſupport the rights and privileges of Parliament againſt all encroachments." This reſolution being carried by a great majority, an addreſs to the King was moved, expreſſive of the ſenſe felt by the Houſe of the bleſſings they enjoyed under his auſpices, and aſſuring him that they were determined to ſupport inviolate the preſent Conſtitution with their lives and fortunes. In this addreſs the Lords concurred. A proteſt, however, ſigned by the Earl of Charlemont and four other Peers, was entered in the Journals of the Houſe againſt it.

Mr. Flood reported to the National Convention, at their ſitting of the 1ſt of December, the conduct of the Houſe of Commons; but far from diſplaying any ſymptoms of reſentment, or even ſurpriſe, they came only to a tame and unintelligible reſolution, "That they would carry on individually ſuch *inveſtigations* as might be neceſſary to complete the *plan* of Parliamentary Reform;" not adverting to their recent and unanimous approval of a plan of reform, which they now virtually diſcarded as incomplete. But their humiliation was yet more apparent in the addreſs voted on the following day to the King, on the motion of Mr. Flood, in the name of the Delegates of all the Volunteers of Ireland, "expreſſive of their duty

duty and loyalty, claiming the merits of their paſt exertions, and imploring the King that their humble wiſh to have certain manifeſt perverſions of the parliamentary repreſentation of that kingdom remedied by the Legiſlature in ſome reaſonable degree, might not be attributed to any ſpirit of innovation, but to a ſober and laudable deſire to uphold the Conſtitution, to confirm the ſatisfaction of their fellow ſubjects, and to perpetuate the cordial union of both kingdoms." This act of paſſive obedience and ſubmiſſion being ended, the Convention adjourned *ſine die*.

So unexpected and extraordinary a termination of a buſineſs which had previouſly wore ſo menacing and formidable an aſpect, merits ſome attention. The Convention probably did not at all expect a conduct ſo ſpirited and deciſive on the part of the Houſe of Commons. If they reſolved on the proſecution of their plan, in direct contravention to the declared ſenſe of the Houſe, the moſt alarming conſequences might be expected to enſue. Excluſive of the perſonal riſque which they muſt in that caſe neceſſarily incur as members of an illegal and TRAITOROUS aſſembly, they unqueſtionably neither wiſhed themſelves, nor was it by any means clear that their conſtituents were prepared to ſupport them in any attempt, to ſubvert the eſtabliſhed government by force. The proſpect of ultimate advantage bore no proportion to the certainty and magnitude of the evil to be encountered. Another conſideration of the greateſt moment was, that this Convention well knew they did not really poſſeſs the confidence of the Nation, taking that term in its proper and moſt extenſive ſenſe. It was an undoubted fact that more than two thirds of the inhabitants of the kingdom were Catholics, who, if the propoſed plan of reform had been adopted, would receive no benefit from it; and who were of courſe wholly indifferent as to the ſucceſs of it. By ſome daring and deciſive ſpirits it was indeed propoſed at the provincial meetings, to place the Catholics in the new order of things preciſely upon the ſame footing with the Proteſtants. This would indeed have given irreſiſtible weight to the application; but men capable of cool and ſober reflection, though firm and zealous friends to ſafe and moderate reform, were with reaſon ſtartled at the idea of ſo novel and hazardous an experiment.

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ment.—The notion of abſtract rights, founded on a falſe metaphyſic theory, will never operate powerfully but on the minds of ſpeculatiſts, who, remote from ſcenes of action and danger, "dream over books, and leave mankind unknown."

The real practical enquiry with the generality of perſons on this grand queſtion of UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE, as it undoubtedly ought to be on all occaſions of a political nature, was—What will be the EFFECT PRODUCED? And it was obvious that the recognition of this claim would at once throw the entire power of the kingdom into the hands of the Catholics; and no credulity could ſurely reach that degree of infatuation, as to expect a body of men ſo ignorant, bigoted, and ferocious, as the collective maſs of the Iriſh Catholics, to make a wiſe and temperate uſe of the power thus prepoſterouſly put into their hands. To reform the Government and Conſtitution upon Proteſtant principles, and ſtill to preſerve the *Proteſtant aſcendancy*, was all that, in preſent circumſtances, the ſtate of the kingdom would bear; and all that an enlightened benevolence would conſequently aim to accompliſh. A liberal and patriotic Proteſtant Government would undoubtedly relieve the Catholics from all poſitive penalties, and grant them a participation of all civil rights and privileges conſiſtent with a regard to its own ſafety. And in conſequence of the gradual and certain diffuſion of knowledge under a mild and beneficent government, there was good reaſon to hope that the time would at no very diſtant period arrive, when all diſtinctions might be ſafely and for ever extinguiſhed. The National Convention ſaw clearly the dilemma to which it was reduced; but they choſe what appeared to them the leaſt of the two evils; and rather than call in the aid of the great body of Catholics, without which their ſtrength was unequal to the conteſt, they ſubmitted quietly and tamely to the chaſtiſement of that Government whoſe authority they had inſulted, and in a manner defied: incurring by this means the cenſure of the moderate for their violence, and of the violent for their moderation.

The Parliament of Ireland adjourned for the Chriſtmas receſs, on the

22d

22d of December, 1783. Previous to their re-aſſembling, that memorable miniſterial revolution had taken place in England, which advanced Mr. Pitt to the helm of government; and the Duke of Rutland had in conſequence ſuperſeded the Earl of Northington in the Viceroyalty of Ireland.

Mr. Flood's ſecond motion of reform.

On the 13th of March, 1784, Mr. Flood renewed his motion, as it was hoped by the friends of parliamentary reform, under more favorable auſpices, the new Engliſh Miniſter having diſtinguiſhed himſelf as one of its moſt eloquent and zealous advocates. Mr. Yelverton having been for his recent ſervices promoted to the high ſtation of Lord Chief Baron of the Court of Exchequer, Mr. Fitzgibbon, who ſucceeded him in the office of Attorney-General, oppoſed the preſent motion with equal zeal, though he allowed that, as it now came before the Houſe in a regular and conſtitutional form, ſupported by numerous petitions from different parts of the kingdom, it was entitled to reſpect and attention. On the ſecond reading it was nevertheleſs rejected on a diviſion by 159 to 85 voices.

This final deciſion was received with ſecret ſatisfaction by thoſe friends of reform who dreaded the emancipation of the Catholics, as an evil yet greater than the permanent predominance of the preſent ſyſtem of influence and corruption. But the murmurs of the majority were diſtinctly heard. The Ulſter Volunteers, who had from the commencement of the buſineſs ſtood conſpicuous in the van, preſented on a ſubſequent occaſion an addreſs to their General, the Earl of Charlemont, expreſſing "their ſatisfaction at the decay of thoſe prejudices which had ſo long involved the Nation in feud and diſunion, which, by LIMITING the RIGHTS of SUFFRAGE, and circumſcribing the number of their citizens, had in a great degree created and foſtered the ariſtocratic tyranny, the ſource of every grievance, and againſt which the public voice now unanimouſly exclaimed." The Earl of Charlemont, in reply, coldly profeſſed himſelf "free from every illiberal prejudice againſt the Catholics, but he could not refrain from the moſt ardent entreaties to the Volunteers, to deſiſt from a purſuit that would fatally clog and impede the proſecution of their

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favorite purpoſe; and beſought them not to indulge any opinion which muſt and would create diſunion." This anſwer being aſſiduouſly circulated throughout the kingdom, effectually cauſed, or moſt ſenſibly heightened, that diſunion which it profeſſed to deprecate. The object itſelf ſeemed now relinquiſhed in deſpair, and the triumph of the Court was complete.

State of Iriſh commerce.

The other grand object to which the attention of the kingdom of Ireland was at this period directed, related to the actual ſtate of her commerce. The free trade granted to the Iriſh nation had produced none of thoſe advantages reſpecting which ſhe had indulged ſuch ſanguine and credulous expectations. The manufacturers, and lower claſſes of the people in general, were expoſed to all the evils ariſing from the extremeſt indigence; and it began to be clearly perceived, that while the preſent ſyſtem of commercial intercourſe with England ſubſiſted, there was little proſpect of a favorable change in the ſituation of Ireland. While all Engliſh manufactures and commodities were imported at a trifling per-centage *ad valorem* into the Iriſh ports, duties amounting nearly to a prohibition were impoſed upon the produce or manufactures of Ireland, with ONE very important exception, that of LINEN, on the importation into England. The general voice of the people of Ireland now loudly called for PROTECTING DUTIES, in order to foſter the infant manufactures of that country, and to compel the inhabitants to conſume the produce of native ingenuity and induſtry.

On the 31ſt of March Mr. Gardiner, member for the county of Dublin, in an able ſpeech depicted the diſtreſſes of the kingdom, traced the cauſe, and pointed out the remedy. He contraſted the condition of the people of Ireland with that of the people of England. He aſked, "What was the reaſon of ſo vaſt a difference? Were Iriſhmen leſs capable by nature of earning a livelihood than their neighbors? Was there any diſadvantage in the nature of their climate, or was the ſituation of their country, a ſituation adapted to render them the general mart of Europe, ſuch as to prevent their proſperity? No people were more laborious,

laborious, more ingenious, or more active. There was not any branch of manufacture in which they were encouraged, that they had not carried to an high degree of perfection. If then the evil did not ariſe from any of theſe cauſes, to what was it to be attributed, but to the vaſt importation of foreign articles, by which a home conſumption was denied, and their manufactures nipped in the bud? Mr. Gardiner therefore called upon the Houſe to copy the conduct of England, of France, and other commercial countries, by *protecting* their manufactures at home. From an adherence to the ſyſtem now recommended, England, notwithſtanding the preſſure of an immenſe debt of two hundred and forty millions, had attained to a pitch of greatneſs truly aſtoniſhing." At the concluſion of his ſpeech, Mr. Gardiner moved for an high duty on woollens imported into the kingdom.—This, after a very warm debate, was negatived by a vaſt majority, and the whole ſyſtem of *protecting duties* ridiculed and reprobated as futile, viſionary, and pernicious. At the failure of this ſecond grand attempt at relief and reform, the diſappointment of the people kindled into rage, and the ſhort-lived popularity of the new Viceroy, founded on the extreme unpopularity in Ireland, no leſs than in England, of the preceding Coalition Miniſtry, was now in the ſpace of a month—*a little month*—entirely at an end.

Such was the ſtate of the metropolis at this period, that it was thought neceſſary to countermand the embarkation of ſeveral regiments deſtined to the Eaſt Indies, and to furniſh the garriſon of Dublin, conſiſting of about 4000 regular troops, with thirty rounds of powder and ball per man. Before the end of the ſeſſion an addreſs was unanimouſly voted by the Houſe of Commons to the Sovereign, repreſenting the diſtreſſed ſtate of the kingdom, and praying for the eſtabliſhment of a more advantageous ſyſtem of commerce between Ireland and Great Britain; and on the 14th of May 1784 the Parliament was prorogued. The laſt meaſure adopted by this aſſembly ſeemed in ſome meaſure to calm the violence of the people, and to ſuſpend the effervеſcence of their anger and diſcontent.

On the 7th of June an extraordinary meeting of the aggregate body

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of the citizens of Dublin was convened by the Sheriffs, in which they came to ſeveral important reſolutions, declaratory of "the clear, original, and impreſcriptible right of the people of Ireland to a frequent election, and an equal repreſentation. They call upon the nation to unite with them in the meaſures neceſſary to its introduction, and in preſenting petitions to the King for a diſſolution of the exiſting Parliament. They aſſert, that the force of the State conſiſts in the union of the inhabitants—that an equal participation in ALL the rights of a man and a citizen was proper, henceforth, to engage all the members of the State to co-operate efficaciouſly for the greateſt general good. Finally, that it would be of the happieſt conſequence to the proſperity of the State, and the maintaining of civil liberty, to extend to their brethren the Roman Catholics, the RIGHT of SUFFRAGE *as fully* as was compatible with the maintenance of the PROTESTANT GOVERNMENT."

Second National Convention.

In an addreſs to the people of Ireland, they propoſe the election of five delegates from each county, city, and conſiderable town, to meet in Dublin, October 25 next enſuing, in NATIONAL CONGRESS. On the 9th of Auguſt, reſolutions nearly ſimilar were agreed to at a general meeting of the Freeholders of the county of Dublin; and a petition was alſo voted by them to the King for a diſſolution of the preſent Parliament. On application being made to the Lord Lieutenant to tranſmit theſe petitions to England, his Grace without heſitation "declared it to be his duty ſo to do. At the ſame time he informed them that he ſhould not fail to accompany them with his entire diſapprobation, as they included unjuſt and indecent reflections upon the laws and the Parliament of Ireland, and as they tended to foment fatal diſſenſions among the people."

The town of Belfaſt, diſtinguiſhed much more for its zeal than its diſcretion in the cauſe of liberty, nearly at the ſame time voted a petition of a nature moſt extraordinary, and in the higheſt degree exceptionable, to the King, which they tranſmitted to Mr. Pitt, in order to its being preſented by the Miniſter to the Sovereign. The prayer of the petition was, "That the King would be pleaſed to diſſolve the preſent, and to

iſſue

iſſue the writs neceſſary for the aſſembling of a new Parliament, ACCORDING to the PLAN of REPRESENTATION which ſhould be agreed upon in the NATIONAL CONGRESS of the 25th of October." Mr. Pitt in reply very calmly and forcibly remarked, that he had undoubtedly been and ſtill continued a zealous friend to a reform in Parliament, but he muſt beg leave to ſay that he had been ſo on grounds very different from thoſe adopted in the petition. What was *there* propoſed he conſidered as tending to produce ſtill greater evils than any of thoſe which the friends of reform were deſirous to remedy. He had great concern in differing ſo widely on this ſubject from a body of men who profeſſed to be guided by motives of loyalty and reverence for the Conſtitution: but, animated himſelf by the ſame motives, and ſincerely anxious for the proſperity and freedom of every part of the Britiſh empire, he had thought it his duty to communicate to them his ſentiments with fairneſs and preciſion."

Conſcious of its ſtrength, notwithſtanding the extreme unpopularity of its meaſures, the Government of Ireland did not long content itſelf with a cold expreſſion of diſapprobation at the proceedings now in contemplation. The 20th of September had been fixed upon as the day for electing five delegates to repreſent the city of Dublin in NATIONAL CONGRESS. A ſhort time previous to the intended meeting, Mr. Fitzgibbon, the Attorney General, wrote a letter to the Sheriffs, "expreſſing his aſtoniſhment at having read a public ſummons ſigned by them for this purpoſe—and declaring them reſponſible for ſuch outrageous breach of their duty to the laws of their country, and ſignifying his reſolution to proceed officially againſt them." The Sheriffs, in a conſternation at this menace, refuſed to take any part in the buſineſs. After ſome embarraſſment and delay, five delegates were nevertheleſs choſen, and a reſolution paſſed, declaring the conduct of the Attorney General to be a violation of Magna Charta. The Attorney General, holding this reſolution in contempt, actually filed informations againſt the High Sheriffs of various counties, for convening and preſiding at ſimilar meetings. Notwithſtanding all obſtacles, the NATIONAL CONGRESS met on

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1784. the 25th of October. After a ſeſſion of three days only, finding their numbers on the return very incomplete, they adjourned to the 20th of January 1785; having previouſly paſſed ſeveral reſolutions, importing, that the appointment of that aſſembly, and the ſteps that had been taken, were in entire conformity with the Conſtitution of Ireland.

1785. Commercial propoſitions moved by Mr. Orde. On the ſame day commenced the ſecond ſeſſion of the Parliament of Ireland; and in a ſhort time Mr. Orde, Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant, laid before the Houſe, in a ſeries of propoſitions, the grand commercial regulations digeſted, during the receſs, into a regular ſyſtem. There were two plans obviouſly and radically different, on which a permanent arrangement might be formed on the baſis of equality—1. A ſyſtem of mutual prohibition. 2. A ſyſtem of mutual admiſſion. The propoſitions, eleven in number, moved by Mr. Orde, were framed in conformity to the latter, and beyond compariſon the wiſer, of theſe oppoſite ſyſtems.

An arrangement founded on the baſis of mutual prohibition, or, in the more favorite and faſhionable language, *of protecting duties*, would have been fatal to the great ſtaple manufactory of LINENS imported into England, not only duty-free, but with the poſitive advantage of a bounty. On the ſyſtem of prohibition Ireland would have been totally deprived of the Colonial traffic; and the city of Cork, the emporium of the kingdom, and the grand mart of the Weſt Indian and victualling trade, would have been precipitated from the height of proſperity into the depth of diſtreſs and ruin. It would have amounted to a virtual declaration of national enmity and hoſtility; and there was good reaſon to fear leſt Ireland ſhould have ſunk under the weight of ſo unequal and dangerous a competition. On the other hand, the ſyſtem of amicable equalization was open to very plauſible and even ſerious objections.

Such was the prodigious inferiority of Ireland in almoſt every branch of traffic, that, were the high prohibitory importation duties repealed by England, there was but little ground to hope that Ireland would for many years to come find herſelf materially or ſenſibly benefited. It was urged by Mr.

Mr. Flood and other members in the Oppoſition, that the greater object was now about to be ſacrificed to the leſs; Ireland had aſked for bread, and England had given her a ſtone; ſhe had aſked for protecting duties, and ſhe was offered equalization; amid a parade of conceſſion the real *deſideratum* was withheld. This might be compared to the procedure of a certain company of ſtrolling players, who advertiſed the tragedy of Hamlet, in which the part of Hamlet was by particular deſire to be omitted. By the propoſed regulations Ireland was indeed at liberty to ſend her woollens to Leeds and Halifax, and her coals to Sunderland and Newcaſtle. England would not ſuffer, even under the new ſyſtem, the exportation of her raw wool to Ireland; but then Ireland was at liberty, when the quality of her wool was improved, and the price lowered, to retaliate, by prohibiting the exportation of Iriſh wool to England—and this was called equality. The ſtarving woollen-manufacturer of Ireland was in the mean time left to periſh; and if he preſumed to complain, he was told that he ought to reſt ſatisfied, for that the linen manufacture would under the new ſyſtem flouriſh more than ever.

By the laſt propoſition it was reſolved, "that whatever ſum the groſs hereditary revenue of the kingdom ſhould produce above the amount of the regular peace eſtabliſhment, ſhould be appropriated towards the ſupport of the naval force of the EMPIRE, in ſuch manner as the Parliament of Ireland ſhall direct." This was inveighed againſt as a palpable colluſion—an artifice by which a revenue was to be raiſed in Ireland, to be afterwards applied to the advantage of Great Britain. Had England, it was aſked, ever entered into a war on the account of Ireland? Had ſhe ever equipped a ſhip more than ſhe would have done had Ireland been ſunk into the abyſſes of the ocean? Were Ireland entirely independent of and unconnected with England, it was forcibly aſſerted that the Miniſter who ſhould form a treaty of commerce with England on the foundation of theſe reſolutions, would deſerve to be impeached for ſacrificing the eſſential intereſts of Ireland. In the heat and paſſion of debate, it was affirmed to be fortunate for Mr. Orde that he was at preſent in a civilized country; had

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had he brought forward his plan in a Poliſh Diet, he would not have lived to carry back his anſwer.

Notwithſtanding theſe reaſonings and invectives, the good ſenſe and moderation of the Houſe were well ſatisfied with the conceſſions made by England, ſo far ſurpaſſing what the moſt ſanguine expectation a few years ſince could have ventured to indulge. The propoſitions were received not only with approbation, but with joyful applauſe, and were ultimately ratified by a very deciſive majority of the Houſe. In the mean time the NATIONAL CONGRESS had continued its ſittings almoſt unregarded. In a brief and final addreſs to the people of Ireland, this aſſembly obſerved, "that if the abuſes of former Parliaments did not inſpire a diſtruſt of thoſe which were to come—if the venerable opinion of thoſe illuſtrious men who were now no more, and the aſſiſtance of thoſe whoſe preſent labors co-operated with them in the ſame purſuit, had no influence to awaken their fears, to animate their efforts, and to invigorate their hopes, this and every other endeavor muſt ſink into oblivion; and they would ſhortly repoſe in indolent acquieſcence, under ſuch a Repreſentation as would gall themſelves and their poſterity with increaſing taxes and oppreſſions."

Mr. Flood's third motion of reform.

After long delay Mr. Flood, on the 12th of May (1785), preſented once more his bill for effecting a reform in the Repreſentation, ſomewhat varied from that of the laſt year. A previous motion of the ſame ſenator, "that it be an inſtruction to the Committee appointed to prepare the bill, that no borough in the province of Connaught having leſs than forty, or in the other provinces having leſs than ſeventy electors, ſhould be permitted to return more than one Member to Parliament," was negatived without a diviſion. On the introduction of the bill, Mr. Brownlow obſerved, "that he greatly doubted indeed whether there was virtue enough in that Houſe to paſs the bill; but whatever might be its fate, he would be bold to affirm, that ſooner or later the reform ſo repeatedly denied WOULD and MUST be given." Mr. Flood remarked, "that when

when his firſt Bill of Reform was preſented to that Houſe, the objection was, that it was preſented on the point of a bayonet—the *air-drawn dagger* of Macbeth had appeared to the affrightened imagination and conſcience of the Houſe. Theſe apprehenſions had at length ſubſided; a more favorable treatment might now therefore be reaſonably expected. At leaſt he called on the Houſe to permit the printing of the bill, that the voice of the public might be heard reſpecting it; and not, like mutes in a ſeraglio, to ſtrangle it on that day while in the act of challenging a fair and free trial and diſcuſſion." The bill was nevertheleſs with little ceremony rejected, on a diviſion of 112 to 60 voices.

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It is now proper to revert to the ſtate of affairs in England. On the 24th of January (1785) the ſeſſion was opened with a ſpeech from the throne, the principal feature of which was the recommendation of the King to the two Houſes of Parliament, "to apply their earneſt attention to the adjuſtment of ſuch points in the commercial intercourſe between Great Britain and Ireland as are not yet finally arranged." The firſt buſineſs which attracted the notice of the Houſe of Commons was the ſtate of the Weſtminſter Scrutiny, which had now exiſted for a period of eight months. In this time two pariſhes only had been ſcrutinized—the reſult was, that 105 votes had been ſtruck off the poll of Mr. Fox, and 87 from that of Sir Cecil Wray, the examination of which was not yet cloſed. Fifteen pariſhes more remained for future inveſtigation; ſo that there exiſted but little apparent probability that the queſtion relative to the return would be decided before the next general election. The miſerable imbecility of what was now for the firſt time dignified by the appellation of the COURT OF SCRUTINY, was expoſed in the moſt ſarcaſtic and contemptuous terms. The High Bailiff had no power to ſummon witneſſes, to impoſe an oath, or to commit for contumacy. The ſcrutiny was evidently a mere perſonal act of reviſion, and the High Bailiff himſelf declared that he acted under the ſole authority of the reſolution of that Houſe.

Farther proceedings on the Weſtminſter return.

Mr. Pitt, however, condeſcended to vindicate the proceedings of this

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mock judicature, and maintained with unaltered countenance, "that the expediency of the ſcrutiny was amply juſtified by the experiment." Mr. Fox, with generous and indignant warmth, replied, "that he well remembered the day when he congratulated the Houſe on the acquiſition of Mr. Pitt's ſplendid abilities; it had been his pride to fight in conjunction with him the battles of the Conſtitution; he had been ever ready to recognize in the Right Honorable Gentleman a formidable rival, who would leave him far behind in the purſuit of glory—but he had never expected that this rival would become his perſecutor. He thought he had poſſeſſed an elevation of mind wholly incompatible with ſo low and grovelling a paſſion. He conſidered the preſent meaſure with regard to Weſtminſter, as a *ſuccedaneum* to expulſion. The caſe of the Middleſex election, ſo much reprobated, had at leaſt the merit of being more manly; for the procedure now adopted accompliſhed the ſame end of expulſion, without daring to exhibit any charge againſt the perſon expelled."

The motion of Mr. Welbore Ellis, "that the High Bailiff do attend at the bar of this Houſe," was at length negatived, February 9 (1785), by a majority of 174 to 135 voices. This being ſuch a majority as by no means diſcouraged future efforts, a ſimilar motion was ſoon after made by Colonel Fitzpatrick; this was negatived by a majority of nine voices only. And on the 3d of March, being a third time repeated by Mr. Alderman Sawbridge, it was carried in the affirmative, ayes 162, noes 124; leaving the Miniſter, and the veteran phalanx of courtiers and *King's friends*, in one of the moſt diſgraceful minorities ever known in the Britiſh Houſe of Commons.

Mr. Fox now, as Member for Weſtminſter, moved to expunge the reſolutions of the 8th of June laſt, relative to this buſineſs, from the Journals of the Houſe; but the Miniſter, now ſeriouſly alarmed, ſummoned all his ſtrength to oppoſe this attempt to redeem the honor of the Houſe thus wilfully and wantonly degraded; and on a diviſion it was carried in the negative, ayes 139, noes 244. Fortunately for Mr. Pitt, the public attention

attention was quickly turned to another and higher ſubject of political diſcuſſion, in which he appeared in a light far different—ſuch indeed as tended to revive in his favor all the former flattering prepoſſeſſions of thoſe who viewed the late proceedings in Parliament with inexpreſſible regret and aſtoniſhment.

Mr. Pitt's ultimate plan of parliamentary reform.

On the 18th of April (1785) Mr. Pitt brought forward his final plan for a reform in the repreſentation, in ſome degree varying from his preceding attempts, and in all reſpects guarded, temperate, and judicious. "He roſe," he ſaid, "with hopes infinitely more ſanguine than he had ventured to entertain at any former period. There never was a moment when the minds of men were more enlightened on this intereſting topic, or more prepared for its diſcuſſion. He declared his preſent plan of reform to be perfectly coincident with the ſpirit of thoſe changes which had taken place in the exerciſe of the elective franchiſe from the earlieſt ages, and not in the leaſt allied to the *ſpirit of innovation.* So far back as the reign of Edward I. before which the component orders of the repreſentative body could not be diſtinctly traced, the franchiſe of election had been conſtantly fluctuating. As one borough decayed and another flouriſhed, the firſt was aboliſhed and the ſecond inveſted with the right. Even the repreſentation of the counties had not been uniform. King James I. in his firſt proclamation for calling a Parliament, directed that the Sheriffs ſhould not call upon ſuch decayed and ruined Boroughs to ſend Members to that Parliament. For this diſcretion, as veſted in the Crown, he was certainly no advocate; but he wiſhed to eſtabliſh a permanent rule to operate like the diſcretion out of which the Conſtitution had ſprung—that the principle on which it was founded ſhould be reſcued from the accident and caprice in which it was unhappily involved. He wiſhed to bring forward a plan that ſhould be complete, gradual, and permanent; a plan that not only corrected the inequalities of the preſent ſyſtem, but which would be competent to preſerve the purity it reſtored, and give to the Conſtitution not only conſiſtency, but, if poſſible, immortality. It was his deſign that the actual number of the Houſe of Commons ſhould be preſerved inviolate. His

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immediate object was to ſelect a certain number of the decayed and rotten boroughs, the right of repreſentation attached to thirty-ſix of which ſhould be transferred to the counties, in ſuch proportions as the wiſdom of Parliament might preſcribe; and that all unneceſſary harſhneſs might be avoided, he recommended the appropriation of a fund of one million to be applied to the purchaſing of the franchiſe of ſuch boroughs, on their voluntary application to Parliament. When this was effected, he propoſed to extend the bill to the purchaſing the franchiſe of other boroughs, beſides the original thirty-ſix; and to transfer the right of returning Members to large towns, hitherto unrepreſented, upon their petitioning Parliament to be indulged with this privilege."

The other moſt important particulars of Mr. Pitt's plan were the admitting of copyholders to an equality with freeholders, and the extending the franchiſe in populous towns, where the electors were few, to the inhabitants in general. The reſult of this plan was to give one hundred Members to the popular intereſt in the kingdom, and to extend the right of election to one hundred thouſand perſons, who, by the exiſting proviſions of the law, were excluded from it. This was a very wiſe and excellently digeſted plan, which did great honor to the framer; and the eloquence, ability, and vigor, with which it was ſupported, left no reaſonable ground of doubt as to the ſincerity with which it was brought forward.

The moſt important animadverſion in the courſe of the debate to which this motion gave riſe, was made by Mr. Fox, who, juſtly remarking "that government was not a property, but a truſt," ſtrongly objected to the idea of purchaſing franchiſes of boroughs which from their inſignificance were no longer entitled to ſend Members to Parliament—"whatever was given for conſtitutional purpoſes ſhould be reſumed when thoſe purpoſes were no longer anſwered." With this and ſome other leſs important exceptions, Mr. Fox beſtowed upon the plan of the Miniſter a very juſt and liberal tribute of praiſe; and it yet remains a doubt, whether, upon the ground of *expediency*, Mr. Pitt was not fully

juſtified in propoſing that regulation which the more unaccommodating and decided policy of Mr. Fox diſdained to approve.

On the other hand, the whole plan was reprobated and ridiculed by Mr. Powys, as "the mere knight-errantry of a political Quixote. It was an example, a precedent, an incitement, to the wildeſt and moſt paradoxical *noſtrums* that ſpeculative theoriſts could deviſe. They got by it what Archimedes wanted—a foundation for their inventions—a *fulcrum* from which they could throw the Parliament and Conſtitution of England into the air. He could not contemplate it with any degree of patience. He ſhould not treat it, therefore, with the ceremony of calling for the order of the day; but as its purpoſes were ſo hoſtile to the Conſtitution, ſo menacing and unqualified, he would meet the queſtion in front by giving it a direct and unequivocal contradiction. It cannot be ſuppoſed owing to the ſuperior force of ſuch *arguments* as theſe, that on a diviſion, after a long-protracted debate, the bill was rejected by a majority of 248 to 174 voices.

Beneficial regulations of office.

In conſequence of the very able reports preſented from time to time by the Commiſſioners of Accounts appointed by Act of Parliament, Mr. Pitt in the courſe of the preſent ſeſſion brought in three ſeveral bills, for the better auditing and examining the public accounts, and for the regulation and reform of the public offices, which paſſed both Houſes with much applauſe, and no material oppoſition. The balances of the Navy and Ordnance Offices were by theſe bills ordered, as thoſe of the Paymaſter of the Forces by a former regulation, to be paid into the Bank. The antient mode of proceeding by the Auditors of the Impreſt was aboliſhed as wholly frivolous and nugatory, though the perquiſites of the Auditors were eſtimated at no leſs than 34,000l. annually in times of peace, and during the war they had riſen to a height incredibly enormous. A new and efficient commiſſion of examination and control was inſtituted; many of the inferior departments of office, or heads of ſervice, were conſolidated; and the whole now aſſumed the appearance of a regular and rational ſyſtem.

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Shop tax.

The remaining part of the floating arrear of debt, conſiſting of navy bills and ordnance debentures, was now funded on five per cent. ſtock; and the intereſt, amounting to above four hundred thouſand pounds per annum, was provided by freſh taxes; one of which, a tax on retail ſhops, calculated at one hundred and twenty thouſand pounds per annum, proved ſingularly obnoxious. It was ſaid to be, under a new denomination, neither more nor leſs than a partial houſe tax; and the whole body of retail traders were univerſally agreed, that it was utterly impracticable, for obvious reaſons, to indemnify themſelves by raiſing the price of their different commodities upon the conſumer. By way of recompenſe or *douceur* to the ſhop-keeper, Mr. Pitt propoſed, by a deed of unprecedented oppreſſion, proceeding certainly from prejudice or inattenion, rather than any fixed malignity of deſign, to revoke and take away the licence from all *hawkers and pedlars*, whom he ſtyled "a peſt to the community, and a nurſery and medium for the preſervation of illicit trade." That this claſs of traders were engaged in, and derived their chief ſupport from, illicit practices, was a very heavy and ſerious charge, and ought to have been clearly proved at the bar of the Houſe, in order to have juſtified a meaſure of ſuch unexampled ſeverity, and of a nature ſo highly penal. Far from being the *peſts* of ſociety, an impartial and diſintereſted perſon can diſcern in theſe itinerant traders, only an induſtrious claſs of men, who purſue an occupation perfectly innocent in itſelf, and highly uſeful to the inhabitants of ſmall towns and villages, who would otherwiſe find it difficult to procure the various articles of merchandize with which they are thus occaſionally ſupplied. Upon what principle of equity or juſtice any Government could exerciſe the power of preventing theſe people from enjoying the fruits of their honeſt labor, and of devoting them to remedileſs ruin, it is ſurely difficult, or rather impoſſible, to diſcover.

Mr. Fox, ſtruck with the inhumanity and utter indefenſibility of the propoſed regulation, generouſly and powerfully pleaded, in conjunction with Mr. Dempſter, Mr. Courtenay, and other gentlemen, though with very incomplete ſucceſs, in behalf of this friendleſs and unprotected de-

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ſcription of men. In the reſult, the prohibition was changed to a heavy duty, which, combined with other ſevere reſtrictions, would, *it was hoped*, effect the ſame ultimate purpoſe. "Had we been informed," ſays a very intelligent and truly philanthropic writer (Lord Gardenſtone), ſpeaking of this prohibitory regulation, "that Nadir Sha, or any other oriental deſpot, had invented a tax for the purpoſe of exterminating the object of it, we ſhould naturally have exclaimed, that this was the extremity of oppreſſion." The principle of this bill was in the courſe of the debate truly affirmed by Mr. Dempſter to be no leſs iniquitous than that of the expulſion of the Moriſcoes from Spain, or of the Huguenots from France.

Unjuſt impoſition on hawkers and pedlars.

But the ſubject which chiefly engaged the attention of Parliament during the preſent ſeſſion was the projected plan of commercial intercourſe with Ireland. In the opening of this important buſineſs, Mr. Pitt made ſome excellent obſervations on "the ſpecies of policy which had been long exerciſed by the Engliſh Government in regard to Ireland, the object of which was, to debar her from the enjoyment and uſe of her own reſources, and to make her completely ſubſervient to the intereſt and opulence of this country. Some relaxation of this ſyſtem had taken place indeed at an early period of the preſent century; more had been done in the reign of King George II.; but it was not till within a very few years that the ſyſtem had been completely reverſed. Still however the future intercourſe between the two kingdoms remained for legiſlative wiſdom to arrange; and the PROPOSITIONS moved by Mr. Orde in the Iriſh Parliament, and ratified by that aſſembly, held out, he ſaid, a ſyſtem liberal, beneficial, and permanent*. If the queſtion ſhould be aſked, whether, under

Iriſh Propoſitions introduced into the Engliſh Houſe of Commons.

* Theſe famous Propoſitions, eleven in number, were in purport and ſubſtance, and diveſted of their technical form, as follows:

I. That it is the opinion of this Committee, that it is highly important to the general intereſt of the Britiſh empire, that the trade between Great Britain and Ireland be encouraged and extended as much as poſſible, and for that purpoſe, that the intercourſe and commerce be finally ſettled and regulated on permanent and equitable principles for the mutual benefit of both countries.

II. That

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under the accumulation of our heavy taxes, it would be wiſe to equalize the duties, and to enable a country free from thoſe taxes to meet us in their own market and in ours, he would anſwer, that Ireland, with an independent Legiſlature, would no longer ſubmit to be treated with inferiority. A great and generous effort was to be made by this country, and we were to chooſe between inevitable alternatives. Our manufactures however were ſo decidedly ſuperior to theirs, that the immunities propoſed would be in fact, and for many years to come, productive of little alteration. It would require time for the acquiſition of both capital and ſkill; and as theſe increaſed, the difference between the price of labor there and in this country would be inceſſantly diminiſhing. After all, there might, he admitted, be ſome branches of manufacture in which Ireland might rival and perhaps excel England. But this ought not to give

II. That all articles, *not* the growth or manufacture of Great Britain or Ireland, ſhould be imported into each kingdom from the other, reciprocally, at the ſame duties to which they are liable when imported directly from the place of their product; and that all duties originally paid on the importation into either country reſpectively, ſhall be fully drawn back on exportation to the other.

III. That no prohibition ſhould exiſt in either country againſt the importation of any article of the other, and that the duty on importation ſhould be preciſely the ſame in both countries, except where an addition may be neceſſary in conſequence of an internal duty on any ſuch article of its own conſumption.

IV. That where the duties on articles of the product of either country are different on the importation into the other, they ſhould be reduced where they are higheſt to the amount payable in the other; and that all ſuch articles ſhould be exportable from the kingdom into which they ſhall be imported as free from duty, as the ſimilar commodities or home manufacture of the ſame kingdom.

V. That in all caſes where either kingdom ſhall charge articles of its own conſumption with an internal duty; the ſame articles, when imported from the other, may be charged with a duty adequate to countervail the internal duty.

VI. That no prohibition or new duty ſhall hereafter be impoſed in either kingdom on the *importation* of any article the product of the other, except ſuch additional duties as may be requiſite to countervail the duties on internal conſumption.

VII. That no prohibitions or new duties ſhall be hereafter impoſed on the *exportation* of any article of native growth, except ſuch as either kingdom may think expedient from time

give us pain. We muſt calculate from general and not from partial views. Above all, we ſhould learn not to regard Ireland with an eye of jealouſy. It required little philoſophy to reconcile us to a competition which would give us a rich cuſtomer inſtead of a poor one. The proſperity of the ſiſter kingdom would be a freſh and inexhauſtible ſource of opulence to us."

Theſe comprehenſive and liberal ideas, ſo oppoſite to the wiſdom and policy of paſt ages, were on this great and intereſting occaſion received by the Britiſh Houſe of Commons with general complacency and approbation, and by the public at large with apparent tranquillity and acquieſcence. The vaſtneſs of the plan, and the multiplicity and complexity of the objects which it embraced, ſeemed to keep the public mind in a kind of ſuſpenſe; and for near a month after its firſt introduction, there were

time to time, upon corn, meal, malt, flour, and biſcuit; and alſo, except where there now exiſts any prohibition not reciprocal, or duty not equal; in every ſuch caſe, the prohibition may be made reciprocal, or the duties raiſed ſo as to make them equal.

VIII. That no bounties whatever ſhould be payable in either kingdom on the exportation of any article to the other, except ſuch as relate to corn, meal, malt, flour, and biſcuits, and ſuch as are in the nature of drawbacks or compenſation for duties paid; and that no bounty ſhould be granted in Ireland on the exportation of any article imported from the Britiſh plantations, unleſs in caſes where a ſimilar bounty is payable in Britain; or where ſuch bounty is merely in the nature of a drawback or compenſation for duties paid internally, over and above any duties paid thereon in Britain.

IX. That the importation of articles from foreign States ſhould be regulated in each kingdom, ſo as to afford an effectual preference to ſimilar articles of the growth and produce of the other.

X. That it is eſſential to the commercial intereſts of Ireland, to prevent as much as poſſible an accumulation of national debt; that therefore it is highly expedient that the annual revenue of this kingdom ſhall be made equal to its annual expence.

XI. That whatever ſum the groſs hereditary revenue of the kingdom, after deducting all drawbacks, repayments, or bounties granted in the nature of drawbacks, ſhall produce above the ſum of ſix hundred and fifty-ſix thouſand pounds in each year of peace, wherein the annual revenue ſhall equal the annual expence, and in each year of war, without regard to ſuch equality, ſhould be appropriated towards the ſupport of the naval force of the empire, in ſuch manner as the Parliament of Ireland ſhall direct.

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no indications diſcernible of ſerious or determined oppoſition. Mr. Fox, indeed, at the onſet of the buſineſs, commenced the attack, by ſarcaſtically obſerving, that by far the greater part of Mr. Pitt's ſpeech was little elſe than a reply to Mr. Orde in the Iriſh Houſe of Commons. In Ireland, the Propoſitions had been ſtated as in the higheſt degree advantageous to that country; as rendering it the emporium of Europe, and the ſource and ſupply of the Britiſh markets. Here the great recommendation of the ſyſtem was, that the benefits accruing to Ireland were, if not wholly viſionary, at beſt trivial and remote;—that Ireland could not rival England;—that ſhe was poor and feeble, and would very long in all probability remain ſo. He muſt, however, do Mr. Orde the juſtice to acknowledge, that his arguments were far the moſt ſolid and convincing. As to the report of the Privy Council, to whom the conſideration of this buſineſs had been previouſly referred, Mr. Fox remarked, "that a queſtion which appeared to him of primary importance had been entirely overlooked by them; he meant the propriety and policy of permitting the produce of Africa and America to be brought into Great Britain through Ireland. By this meaſure, we threw down the whole fabric of our Navigation Laws. The period was not very diſtant when the charter of the Eaſt India Company would expire; and, according to the tenor of the reſolutions now propoſed, there remained no power in this country to renew it with the ſame, or indeed any excluſive privileges. Mr. Fox cenſured the precipitancy with which this buſineſs was urged, and contended for the neceſſity of calling the merchants and manufacturers to the bar of the Houſe, in order that the Houſe might be fully informed in a caſe of this momentous nature, before they proceeded to vote a definitive reſolution."

On the 14th of March, Mr. Eden moved, that the Commiſſioners of Cuſtoms and Exciſe ſhould be examined at the bar of the Houſe; which was carried in the affirmative.

On the ſame day, a petition was preſented by Mr. Stanley, member for Lancaſhire, from the manufacturers of that county, praying to be heard by

by counſel againſt the bill. Petitions were likewiſe preſented from Liverpool, Glaſgow, and Mancheſter. The malign ſpirit of commercial jealouſy appeared to be at length thoroughly awakened, and petitions upon petitions were ſent up to Parliament, in incredible numbers, from every quarter of the kingdom. At the end of a long and tedious inveſtigation of facts and examination of witneſſes, Mr. Pitt was reluctantly compelled to acknowledge the neceſſity of making ſome material alterations and amendments in his original plan.

On the 12th of May 1785, Mr. Pitt brought forward, in conſequence of the additional lights thus thrown upon the buſineſs, a ſeries of Propoſitions, ſo altered, modified, and enlarged, as to exhibit in its new form what might well be conſidered as a new ſyſtem.

Mr. Fox, in the language of triumph, congratulated the Houſe on the happy eſcape they had made from the ſyſtem propoſed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer but two months ſince; all oppoſition to which was then treated as the effect of faction and diſappointment. "If," ſaid Mr. Fox, "the original reſolutions had paſſed, we ſhould have loſt for ever the monopoly of the Eaſt India trade; we muſt have hazarded all the revenue ariſing from ſpirituous liquors; we ſhould have ſacrificed the whole of the Navigation Laws of this country. If theſe reſolutions had paſſed into a law, we ſhould have riſqued the loſs of the Colonial market for the manufactures of Great Britain, and incurred the moſt extenſive danger to the Colonies themſelves; we ſhould have left it in the power of Ireland to have drawn a revenue from our conſumption. The juſt alarm of the Miniſter on the ſubject of the Navigation Laws," Mr. Fox ſaid, "ſufficiently appeared from the extraordinary nature of the remedy he had thought it expedient to adopt, which was no other than to aſſert that, notwithſtanding the independence of Ireland, ſhe muſt ſtill in commercial laws and external legiſlation be governed by Britain." Mr. Fox affirmed, "that the wild ſcheme of extravagant ſpeculation compriſed in the reſolutions did not originate with the Iriſh nation. A ſtranger had been ſent thither to offer a *noſtrum* of his own invention for the relief of

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a diſordered State. For the irritation and ill humour exiſting in that country, Miniſters were reſponſible. The violences which they committed in Ireland merited the moſt deciſive and general reprobation. Their attacks on the liberty of the preſs;—their endeavors to prevent legal meetings, for the purpoſe of deliberating on the beſt means of reforming the national repreſentation;—their proceedings againſt men by ſummary attachment, were meaſures which might well be ſuppoſed to inflame the minds of the people of Ireland. Now imprudent inſult was to be compenſated by imprudent conceſſion. But let the Houſe beware of a deſign ſo inſidious and ruinous as that of a commutation of Engliſh commerce for Iriſh ſlavery. The Propoſitions, as they were even now modified, were far too complicated and extenſive to be voted by the majority of the members of that Houſe, on any other ground than that of confidence in the Miniſter: and ſurely the Right Honorable Gentleman had ſufficiently demonſtrated, that implicit confidence in him was as dangerous as it was abſurd; that infallibility was no more his prerogative, than that of the reſt of the world." The Houſe at length divided on the motion of adjournment, ayes 155, noes 281; and at eight o'clock in the morning, the firſt reſolution, broken into two diſtinct propoſitions in the new arrangement, paſſed the Houſe. The remaining reſolutions were ſubſequently carried after an obſtinate conteſt; and on the 30th of May they were carried up to the Houſe of Lords.

Here they were again the ſubject of long and laborious inveſtigation; in the courſe of which the Lords Stormont and Loughborough chiefly diſtinguiſhed themſelves on the part of Oppoſition. Various amendments, though not of very material import, were offered and received by the Houſe. In the progreſs of the buſineſs, the Earl of Shelburne, recently created Marquis of Lanſdowne, made a remarkable ſpeech, which, though not unfavorable to the meaſure before the Houſe, clearly manifeſted how little cordiality ſubſiſted between that Nobleman and the preſent Miniſter, notwithſtanding their former intimate political connection;—ſo frail are the friendſhips and ſo tranſient the attachments of Stateſmen!—The Marquis entered into a very maſterly ſurvey of the conſtruction and general

ral effect of the propoſed arrangement. He declared "the reſult of his enquiry to be very oppoſite to that of the merchants and manufacturers, however reſpectable, who had been examined at their Lordſhips' bar. Though much valuable information might doubtleſs be derived from their evidence, it muſt not be forgotten that they were men peculiarly ſubject to prejudice and error, in all caſes where their perſonal intereſt was concerned. Were any one, for inſtance, to aſk a manufacturer of Halifax, 'what was the greateſt crime upon earth? was it felony, was it murder, was it parricide?' he would anſwer, 'No—none of theſe; it was the exporting of WOOL *.' His Lordſhip declared himſelf of opinion, that the unlimited commerce of Ireland would not create a formidable competition to England. Ireland, deſtitute as ſhe was of the grand materials for ſhipbuilding, timber and iron, was incapable of the carrying trade, and had little capital. Theſe were diſadvantages not to be eaſily or ſpeedily ſurmounted. The Noble Lord ſaid, he was himſelf recently arrived from the groves of Bowood, and had not entered into any accurate or minute inveſtigation of this buſineſs. But Miniſters muſt have been loſt in the moſt criminal infatuation, if they had not prepared this great ſyſtem with due and proper deliberation—if they had not made themſelves maſters of its bearings and tendencies. He placed the utmoſt reliance on the integrity and abilities of *the Nobleman now at the head of affairs in Ireland, and on thoſe of his Secretary*. He was certain *they* would not diſgrace themſelves in a tranſaction to which they were in every reſpect equal. Delay he knew to be dangerous, ſomething deciſive muſt be done. If this were not the proper meaſure, what was to be ſubſtituted? Plauſible objections might no doubt be adduced. It might be urged, that the pre-

* When the famous Colbert applied to the principal merchants in France, to know what regulations would be beſt calculated to improve the manufactures and extend the commerce of the kingdom, the anſwer he obtained from them was, "*Laiſſez nous faire*,"—Let us alone. Nevertheleſs, that great Miniſter, who ſaw things, not through the diſtorted medium of perſonal intereſt, but with the clear diſcernment and comprehenſive beneficence of a Stateſman and a Patriot, is now univerſally allowed, by his "wild and viſionary ſpeculations," as they were then doubtleſs ſtyled, to have laid the foundation of the commercial grandeur and proſperity of France.

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ſent ſyſtem would be acceptable in neither kingdom;—that the author of it was too young, and was ignorant of what ſhould conſtitute a Miniſter;—that if others more competent to this taſk had remained longer in office, things would have been better and more ſatisfactorily ſettled. It might be ſaid, 'How, in the name of God, did this man contrive to elevate himſelf to the rank of a Miniſter?' We muſt however take things as we found them. The moſt ſerious intereſts of both countries were at ſtake, and the moſt alarming conſequences might attend the poſtponement of this buſineſs."

Iriſh Propoſitions altered and new-modelled.

The Iriſh reſolutions were ſent down from the Lords to the Commons the 19th of July 1785. After much freſh and eager debate, the amendments of their Lordſhips were agreed to by the Commons; and on the 28th of July, an Addreſs was preſented to the King by both Houſes of Parliament, acquainting his Majeſty with the ſteps which had been taken in this affair; adding, "that it remained for the Parliament of Ireland to judge of the conditions according to their wiſdom and diſcretion, as well as of every other part of the ſettlement propoſed to be eſtabliſhed by mutual conſent." The two Houſes now adjourned themſelves to a diſtant day; and on the 30th of September 1785 the Parliament was prorogued by royal proclamation.

The amended Propoſitions having been tranſmitted to Ireland, Mr. Orde, on the 12th of Auguſt, moved for leave to bring in a bill for eſtabliſhing the ſyſtem of commercial intercourſe therein contained. This Miniſter defended the variations that now appeared, by alleging the natural progreſs of a meaſure of this nature. Ireland had, in the early part of the ſeſſions, ſtated what ſhe had thought herſelf entitled to claim, and Britain in return had declared what ſhe was willing to concede. Mr. Orde averred, that the amendments made by the Britiſh Parliament to the original Propoſitions did not in reality interfere with the proſperity of Ireland. Wiſhing, however, to follow the example of mature deliberation given by England, it was his intention, after bringing in the bill and printing it, to pauſe, in order to learn the ſentiments of the country re-

ſpecting it. Let the Houſe receive every petition that could be brought; —let them liſten to all the evidence that could be offered. On a compariſon of the two ſets of Propoſitions, the magnitude and importance of the alterations ſtrikingly appeared. By the third of the Engliſh reſolutions, Ireland was virtually interdicted, even after the expiration of the charter of the Eaſt India Company, from exporting articles to England, the growth and produce of any of the countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope to the Straits of Magellan. By the ſame reſolution, this interdiction was extended to arrack and foreign brandy; alſo to rums and other ſtrong waters not imported from the Britiſh colonies in the Weſt Indies. By the fourth reſolution, it was declared to be highly eſſential that the laws for regulating trade and navigation ſhould be the ſame in both countries; and, for that purpoſe, that all laws which have been made, OR SHALL BE MADE, in Great Britain, ſecuring excluſive privileges to the ſhips and mariners of Great Britain, Ireland, and the Britiſh colonies and plantations, and for regulating and reſtraining the trade of the Britiſh colonies and plantations, ſuch laws impoſing the ſame reſtraints and conferring the ſame benefits on the ſubjects of both kingdoms, ſhould be in force in Ireland, BY LAWS to be paſſed by the PARLIAMENT of that kingdom, for the SAME TIME and in the SAME MANNER as in GREAT BRITAIN. By the fifth reſolution, this legiſlative power of regulation and control was in like manner extended to all goods and commodities imported into Ireland from the Britiſh or foreign colonies in Africa and America. By the ſixth and ſeventh reſolutions, the commercial intercourſe between the two kingdoms was incumbered with many burdenſome and rigorous regulations reſpecting bonds, cockets, certificates, &c. in order effectually to repreſs all illicit practices apprehended from the circuitous commerce granted to Ireland. By the eighth, the regulating power of Britain is extended to all goods exported from Ireland to the Britiſh colonies in the Weſt Indies, America, or the coaſt of Africa. By the ninth, Ireland is excluded, ſo long as the charter of the Eaſt India Company ſhall exiſt, from trading to any port beyond the Cape of Good Hope to the Straits of Magellan; and during the continuance of the ſaid charter, no goods of the growth, produce, or manufacture of India ſhall be allowed to be imported into Ireland but

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through Great Britain. By the fifteenth reſolution, the bounties allowed by Great Britain on the exportation of beer to Ireland, and ſpirits diſtilled from corn, are expreſsly continued. By the ſixteenth, it is provided, that all goods the produce of the North American States, which are ſubject to higher duties on importation into Great Britain, than the like goods the produce of the Britiſh colonies—ſuch articles ſhall be ſubject to the ſame duties on importation into Ireland.

Theſe were the grand and leading features of difference between the old Propoſitions and the new: and ſo great was the diſſimilarity, that the Iriſh Parliament ſeemed ſcarcely to recognize the traces of its own original creation. A general ſentiment of amazement and indignation ſeemed to pervade the Houſe; and the FOURTH RESOLUTION in particular, by which England aſſumed a power of legiſlative regulation and commercial control with reſpect to Ireland, was rejected with a kind of horror.

Mr. Grattan, who had ſupported the Propoſitions in their primitive form, now exerted the whole force of his eloquence to expoſe them to the public ſcorn and deteſtation. "What," ſaid this powerful orator, "is this pretended equitable arrangement but a plan to perpetuate to England all her advantages, and to Ireland all her diſadvantages? Ireland is required to grant a monopoly of the trade of India to the preſent Eaſt India Company during its exiſtence, and to Great Britain for ever after. This is not a ſurrender of the political rights of the country, but of the natural prerogatives of man—not of the privileges of Parliament, but of the rights of nations. They were not to ſail beyond the Cape of Good Hope and the Straits of Magellan—an awful interdict! Other interdicts extended to a determined period of time, but here was an eternity of reſtraint. Other interdicts extended to particular places, for local reaſons—but here regions of immenſe extent were indiſcriminately forbidden, and the bounties which Providence had given they were prohibited to enjoy. It reſembled a Judgment of GOD, rather than an Act of Legiſlature, whether they meaſured it by extent of ſpace, or infinity of duration—and had nothing

thing human about it except its preſumption. The principle of equal duties and equal reſtrictions," Mr. Grattan ſaid, "did not conſtitute an equality of participation, becauſe the condition of the two countries was totally diſſimilar. Suppoſing Great Britain, in order to anſwer the exigency of ſome future war, or to fund her preſent debt, ſhould raiſe her colony duties ſtill higher; Ireland muſt follow, not becauſe ſhe wanted the tax, but leſt her exemption from taxes ſhould give her manufactures any comparative advantage. Iriſh taxes were to be precautions againſt the proſperity of Iriſh manufactures. Nay, worſe than this; the Propoſitions in queſtion would make Engliſh jealouſy the barometer of Iriſh taxes. The excluſion of foreign plantation produce would have ſeemed ſufficient for every purpoſe of power and dominion; but, for the purpoſe of aggravation and inſult, the independent States of America were moſt ungraciouſly brought into the arrangement, and expreſsly named, as if North America continued a part of the Britiſh dominions. This was called a ſyſtem of conceſſion and compenſation; but," ſaid Mr. Grattan, "the people of Ireland, *without* compenſation, obtained a colony trade, a free trade, the government of their army, the extinction of the unconſtitutional powers of the Council, the reſtoration of the judicature of their Lords, and, finally, the independence of their Legiſlature. Let them ſee now what they obtain *by* compenſation:—A covenant not to trade beyond the Cape of Good Hope and the Straits of Magellan;—a covenant not to take foreign plantation produce,—not to take American produce but as Great Britain ſhall permit;—a covenant not to take Britiſh plantation produce but as Great Britain ſhould preſcribe;—a covenant never to protect their own manufactures, never to guard the *primum* of thoſe manufactures. Surely ſome God preſided over the welfare of Ireland, who made it wiſdom to fulfil their duty, and who annexed the penalties of folly as well as infamy to the ſurrender of their privileges. From the conſideration of commerce," ſaid this animated orator, "I proceed to a queſtion much more high and ineſtimable—before which the ideas of protecting duties, of reciprocal duties, of countervailing duties, vaniſh into nothing; and by the tendencies of which, the prudence of every head and the energies of every heart are called forth to ſhield the newly-acquired rights of a nation

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ſo long depreſſed, and ſo recently and wonderfully emancipated. If any body of men could think the Iriſh Conſtitution incompatible with the unity of the Britiſh empire, a doctrine which he abjured as ſedition againſt both, he would anſwer, 'Periſh the Empire, live the Conſtitution!' No transfer of legiſlative authority could be made. They, the limited truſtees of delegated power, born for a particular purpoſe, confined to a particular line, and bearing an inviolable relationſhip to the people who ſent them to Parliament, could not break that relationſhip, counteract that purpoſe, and ſurrender, diminiſh, or derogate from thoſe privileges they lived but to preſerve. The Propoſitions granted a perpetual Money Bill—a Money Bill to continue as long as Great Britain ſhall pleaſe, with a covenant to increaſe it as often as ſhe ſhall require. The trade and the purſe of the nation were alike in covenant. Paſs this bill, and they had no conſtituents; their conſtituents had no repreſentatives:—they were the mere regiſter of the Britiſh Parliament, and the equalizer of Britiſh duties. But have you traced the map of the globe? Have you marked there the countries, the right of trading to which you are to ſurrender for ever? Have you ſurveyed the ſettlements of the ſeveral European nations in Aſia, in Africa, in America? Have you conſidered the ſtate of North America—its preſent ſituation, its future growth, and every incident in the endleſs ſucceſſion of time that may attend that nurſe of commerce and ASYLUM of MANKIND? Are you competent to declare, that a free trade to thoſe vaſt regions will never in the efflux of time tend to the advancement of the intereſts of Ireland? If you poſſeſs ſatisfactory information upon this ſubject, it muſt be by inſpiration, not by knowledge.—Let us then guard our free trade and free conſtitution as our only real reſources. They are the reſult of great virtue, of much perſeverance, and the ſource to this Houſe of immortal honor. Let us preſerve uncontaminated to the lateſt generations the dignity of Parliament, the majeſty of the People, and the imperial ſovereignty of the Iriſh Crown and Nation." The feelings of the Parliament and of the People of Ireland were on this ſubject in perfect uniſon. Scarcely could the great and acknowledged talents of Mr. Fitzgibbon obtain him any ſhare of attention when he roſe to ſpeak in vindication of a meaſure ſo ſupremely obnoxious. "If England relaxed her

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Navigation Laws in favor of Ireland, ſhe had a right," Mr. Fitzgibbon affirmed, "to expect to be followed by her in a code of laws which had been the ſource of her commercial opulence, and the baſis of her maritime ſtrength. It had been inſinuated, that they could trade to more advantage with the colonies of foreign States. But what foreign States would allow them to trade with their colonies? Who was to protect them if foreign States refuſed to do them juſtice? Or who was to aſſert their rights, ſuppoſing them to be violated? When an arrangement ſo advantageous was offered to Ireland, for what reaſon was it that ſhe heſitated and demurred? Becauſe ſhe is told that the treaty ſtruck at the independence of her Legiſlature. But it is as an independent power that Ireland has negotiated. It is as to an independent power that the overtures of Britain are made. An arrangement of trade could not be agreed upon between two nations, unleſs they ſettled at the ſame time principles of mutual reſtriction; and if the Iriſh nation would never condeſcend to promiſe compliance with any condition of a treaty, ſhe muſt determine never to make any commercial treaty, or any treaty whatever." Mr. Fitzgibbon concluded a moſt able ſpeech, by remarking, "that whatever might have been intimated concerning the poſſibility of Ireland ſtanding alone, he was convinced, that, ſituated as ſhe was in the neighborhood of powerful Popiſh countries, with a great majority of her people of the Popiſh religion, ſhe could not exiſt one hour as a Proteſtant State if the protection of England were withdrawn." After a vehement debate, in which both parties exerted their utmoſt ability and eloquence, the Houſe divided at nine in the morning upon the motion of Mr. Orde for leave to bring in the bill, ayes 127, noes 108. Such a diviſion in the firſt ſtage of the buſineſs was equivalent to a defeat: and on the Monday following, Mr. Orde moved the firſt reading of the bill and the printing it; declaring, that he did not intend to make any further progreſs in the buſineſs during the preſent ſeſſion. He had completed his duty reſpecting it. If it were revived, it muſt be by a motion from the public, who at the commencement of the enſuing ſeſſion might take ſuch further ſteps as they thought proper.

Iriſh Propoſitions finally rejected.

In order to preclude a motion of cenſure framed by Mr. Flood, the Secretary

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cretary then moved an adjournment; and Mr. Flood conſenting, not without difficulty, to wave his motion, the adjournment was carried without a diviſion. Public illuminations teſtified the joy excited by the ſudden termination of this extraordinary buſineſs; and from this period, no effort has been made in either kingdom to revive in any ſhape this important and intereſting diſcuſſion.

Upon the whole, though it might perhaps juſtly be regarded as too daring an experiment, the probability is, that a commercial treaty founded on the baſis of the original Propoſitions would have proved very beneficial in practice. The prodigious inferiority of ſkill, of credit, and of capital, muſt have effectually prevented Ireland from becoming formidable as a competitor to England; and in proportion as Ireland advanced in opulence, her artificial wants would have increaſed, and conſequently her conſumption of Britiſh manufactures and commodities.

Notwithſtanding the great alarm excited when the firſt commercial conceſſions were made to Ireland, no detriment was in fact ſuſtained by Great Britain: on the contrary, the trade to England continued rapidly to increaſe, even in regard to thoſe very articles which Ireland was allowed to import from the place of their growth and produce. From the year 1781 to the year 1784 muſcovado ſugars imported from the Weſt Indies roſe from 7,384 cwt. to 27,492 cwt.; and in the ſame term ſugars imported from Britain roſe from 130,056 to 160,083 cwt. Another remarkable fact is, that the linen manufacture both in England and Scotland has flouriſhed with conſtant and regular acceleration, notwithſtanding the unlimited competition of the Iriſh nation. According to a ſeven years average, ending A. D. 1755, not more than 576,373 yards were exported from England; and in the year 1771 the export amounted to no leſs than 4,411,040 yards. Why then might not a ſimilar competition be as ſafely and advantageouſly eſtabliſhed in other branches of commerce? Theſe arithmetical ſtatements ſhew to a demonſtration the extreme weakneſs and futility of thoſe fears and apprehenſions which are ſo apt to agitate the mercantile world at the ſlighteſt breath of innovation, and their total incompetency

competency to deduce, from a comprehenſive and impartial ſurvey of the whole ſyſtem, juſt and accurate concluſions. Conſidering, nevertheleſs, the narrow limits of the higheſt human ſagacity, it muſt be acknowledged that prudence would have dictated a temporary duration to this commercial arrangement, in order to bring the utility of it to the infallible touchſtone of experience. As to the fourth propoſition of the Engliſh ſeries, which was the immediate cauſe of the poſitive and peremptory rejection of the whole, it might in all probability have been very ſafely diſpenſed with, as there is no reaſon to doubt but that Ireland would have ſpontaneouſly adopted with good-faith and good-will any regulations neceſſary to enforce a treaty which ſhe found upon the whole conducive to her proſperity. BOOK XVI. 1785.

The Parliament of Great Britain, after a tranquil interval of a few months, met on the 24th of January, 1786. In the ſpeech from the throne the King declared to the Houſe of Commons his earneſt wiſh to enforce œconomy in every department; recommending to them the maintenance of our naval ſtrength on the moſt reſpectable footing; and above all the eſtabliſhment of a FIXED PLAN for the reduction of the NATIONAL DEBT. Nothing remarkable paſſed until about the middle of February, when the eſtimate of the ordnance was brought up in the Committee of Supply. Upon this occaſion Mr. Pitt called the attention of the Houſe to the plan laid before them in the courſe of the laſt ſeſſion, under the ſanction of the Duke of Richmond, Maſter General of the Ordnance, for FORTIFYING the DOCKYARDS of the kingdom; the propriety of which it was then agreed to refer to a Board of Land and Sea Officers, whoſe report Mr. Pitt ſtated to be in the higheſt degree favorable to the plan of fortification ſubmitted to their deciſion; but the report itſelf he declined, as a matter of too ſerious and delicate a nature, to lay before the Houſe. 1786. Fortification plan of the Duke of Richmond.

The diſcontent and ſurpriſe manifeſted when the queſtion was laſt year under diſcuſſion, now roſe into great warmth of indignation and reſentment. "If the report or the eſſentials it contained were not to be in

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ſome mode ſubject to the inſpection of the Houſe, they were, it was affirmed, in exactly the ſame ſituation in which they had ſtood before the Board was appointed. They muſt decide, not upon their own judgements, but in deference to the authority of others. But the Houſe of Commons were not juſtified in voting away the money of their conſtituents upon the grounds of paſſive complaiſance and courtly ſubmiſſion. The expence attending this novel ſyſtem would be enormous, and it was their duty before they adopted it to be fully convinced of its neceſſity."

General Burgoyne, who was one of the Board, controverted the aſſertion of Mr. Pitt as to the entire approbation expreſſed by them of the ſyſtem in queſtion. "It was well known," he ſaid, "that caſes hypothetically put admitted only of a direct anſwer given under the admiſſion of the hypotheſis. It remained to be aſcertained, whether the caſe thus hypothetically put was ſufficiently within the limits of probability to deſerve attention. Several of the caſes on which the Board were called upon to decide were mere *poſtulata*, and hypothetically as extravagant as if it were aſked, Suppoſe by ſome convulſion of nature the Straits of Dover ſhould vaniſh out of exiſtence, and the coaſts of England and France were to unite, would it not be expedient to fortify the iſthmus between the two countries?"

Mr. Pitt, waving the farther diſcuſſion of the queſtion for the preſent, declared his determination to bring the buſineſs in the moſt ſpecific and ſolemn manner before the Houſe. He accordingly after a ſhort delay moved a reſolution, "That it appeared to the Houſe, that to provide effectually for ſecuring the dock-yards of Portſmouth and Plymouth by a permanent ſyſtem of fortification was an eſſential object for the ſafety of the State, &c. &c." A violent debate aroſe, in the courſe of which no Member diſtinguiſhed himſelf ſo eminently as Mr. Sheridan, a gentleman who had been for ſome time gradually riſing to a very elevated height of parliamentary reputation; and previous to his introduction into the Houſe of Commons the public had long known and admired the brilliant talents

talents of this ſecond Congreve in dramatic literature. Mr. Sheridan ſtated forcibly the danger to which the Conſtitution would be expoſed in conſequence of this vaſt addition to the military power of the Crown. "Theſe ſtrong military holds, maintained by numerous and diſciplined garriſons, would afford tenfold the means of curbing and ſubduing the country as would ariſe from doubling the preſent army eſtabliſhment. Could any one," he exclaimed, "poſſibly imagine that the ſyſtem now recommended was to end with Portſmouth and Plymouth, and that the reaſonings of the Miniſter would not apply to other parts of the kingdom? No—we were to figure to ourſelves the ſame Board of Officers, acting under the ſame inſtructions, and deliberating with the ſame DATA, going a circuit round the coaſts of the kingdom. He wiſhed to ſee the eſtimate for the ſtationary defence of ſuch places as Chatham, Sheerneſs, &c. in addition to the two-and-twenty thouſand men demanded for Portſmouth and Plymouth. Mr. Sheridan profeſſed, nevertheleſs, his readineſs to abide by the deciſion of the Board of Officers, if it could be fairly ſhewn that, upon a full and unfettered inveſtigation of the ſubject, they had reported it as their clear and unqualified opinion, that the plan propoſed by the Duke of Richmond was ſuch as it became the wiſdom of Parliament to adopt. But if the profeſſional abilities of the Duke of Richmond were ill-employed in the fabrication of ſo wild a project, it muſt be acknowledged they conſpicuouſly appeared in the planning and conſtructing the report in queſtion. There were certain detached *data*, like advanced works, to keep the enemy at a diſtance from the main object in debate. Strong proviſions covered the flanks of his aſſertions. His very queries were in caſemates. No impreſſion, therefore, was to be made on this fortreſs of ſophiſtry by deſultory obſervations; and it was neceſſary to aſſail it by regular approaches. Much ingenuity likewiſe had been ſhewn in extracting ſuch parts of the report as were deemed moſt favorable to the propoſed ſyſtem. The minutes which contained the opinion of the naval officers in condemnation of the plan were wholly omitted, becauſe they were mixed with matter of ſuch dangerous import that no chemical proceſs known in the Ordnance elaboratory could poſſibly ſeparate them; while

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on the contrary every approving opinion, like a light oily fluid, floated at the top, and was capable of being preſented to the Houſe pure and untinged by a ſingle particle of the argument and information upon which it was founded."

The Miniſter upon this occaſion found himſelf very generally deſerted by the Country Gentlemen or Independent Intereſt in the Houſe; and the diviſion was rendered memorable by an exact equality of numbers, both the ayes and the noes amounting to 169. The Speaker being of courſe compelled to give his caſting vote, acquired much credit and applauſe by adding his negative to thoſe who had voted for the rejection of this chimerical, abſurd, and extravagant ſyſtem.

It is very remarkable that the Miniſter, notwithſtanding this defeat, had the temerity after an interval of a few weeks to bring forward the queſtion once more in a new form, by moving, "That an eſtimate of the expence of ſuch part of the plan of fortification recommended in the late report, as might appear moſt neceſſary to be carried into immediate execution, be referred to a Committee of Supply"—the probable expence of which was eſtimated at *only* 400,000l.! This was received with extreme diſapprobation; it was ſaid to be impoſſible for Parliament to ſubmit to ſo open an attack upon their declared ſentiments, and they were called upon to reſiſt it in the moſt peremptory manner. Mr. Pitt, perceiving the ſenſe of the Houſe ſo manifeſtly adverſe to this attempt, thought proper to withdraw his motion; on which Mr. Fox expreſſed his earneſt hope "that the Miniſter would in future pay more reſpect to the opinion of the Legiſlature, and not attempt to force an obnoxious meaſure upon the country." The pertinacity of Mr. Pitt in this buſineſs occaſioned much ſpeculation: and thoſe who recollected the tenor of his conduct reſpecting the Weſtminſter return, were not backward to throw diſgraceful imputations upon his integrity. It was thought by many to be impoſſible that a man of Mr. Pitt's diſcernment could be the ſincere and cordial advocate of ſo prepoſterous a ſcheme; and it was ſtrongly ſuſpected that the Duke

of Richmond, in the proſecution of this favorite project, relied upon far other and higher ſupport than that which could be derived from the obſcure and ambiguous deciſion of a Board of General Officers *.

The grand buſineſs of the ſeſſion, as alluded to in the ſpeech, was not brought forward till the month of March, when Mr. Pitt moved for the appointment of a ſelect committee, by ballot, to report to the Houſe the ſtate of the public revenue and expenditure. The reſult of their enquiry was in a very high degree pleaſing and ſatisfactory. The amount of the revenue for the current year was eſtimated by the committee at 15,397,000l.—the permanent expenditure, including the Civil Liſt, and the intereſts payable on the different funds, amounted to 10,554,000l.—the peace eſtabliſhment, allowing eighteen thouſand men for the navy, and the uſual complement of ſeventy regiments for the army, excluſive of life-guards and cavalry, was eſtimated at 3,924,000l. —in all, 14,478,000l.; of conſequence there remained a ſurplus of more than 900,000l.

Mr. Pitt obſerved upon this report, "that though this was ſtated to be the annual expenditure, a conſiderable interval muſt elapſe before this reduction could take place; this term he fixed at four years. The ex-

* The fortification projects of the Duke of Richmond became, in conſequence of this parliamentary inveſtigation of their merits, the theme of the public deriſion and ridicule; and, according to the obſervation of that unerring judge of mankind, the Duc de la Rochefoucault, "ridicule is like a gangrene, which, when once it faſtens upon one part of a character, is eaſily extended to the reſt." In a humorous political publication of the times, ſtyled The Rolliad, the Duke of Richmond is thus ſeverely and ſarcaſtically apoſtrophized:

With gorges, ſcaffolds, breaches, ditches, mines;
With culverins whole and demi, and gabines;
With trench, with counterſcarp, with eſplanade;
With curtins, mote, and rhombo, and chamade;
With polygon, epaulement, hedge and bank;
With angle ſaliant, and with angle flank;
Oh thou ſhalt prove, ſhould all thy ſchemes prevail,
An Uncle Toby on a larger ſcale!

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ceedings of the army, navy, and ordnance, together with the ſums neceſſary for the indemnification of the American loyaliſts, he calculated would not during this period fall ſhort of three millions. The war from which we were juſt delivered had been moſt expenſive and ruinous; theſe unavoidable exceedings were amongſt the bitter fruits of it; but if during the firſt years of peace extraordinary expences were incurred, they afforded alſo extraordinary ſavings. There were ſums appropriated during the war to different ſervices, which had not been expended; four hundred and fifty thouſand pounds had already been paid into the Exchequer upon this account. There were moreover immenſe ſums in the hands of former Paymaſters, which it was expected would ſoon be brought to account; theſe he conjecturally ſtated at the ſum of one million. There was a balance of 600,000l. due to Government from the Eaſt India Company. When to theſe were added the improvements that might yet be made by judicious regulations in the different branches of the revenue, he was not," Mr. Pitt ſaid, "he hoped, too ſanguine in affirming that we poſſeſſed reſources equal to all our ordinary and extraordinary demands. The propoſition which he now ſubmitted to the Houſe was, the appropriation of the annual ſum of one million to be invariably applied to the liquidation of the public debt. The ſurplus of the revenue amounting to the ſum of 900,000l. only, Mr. Pitt moved for an additional duty on ſpirits, on certain kinds of timber imported, and on perfumery, which would together be more than ſufficient to make up the deficiency. This annual million Mr. Pitt wiſely propoſed to veſt in the hands of certain commiſſioners, to be by them applied regularly to the purchaſe of ſtock; ſo that no ſum ſhould ever lie within the graſp large enough to tempt him to violate this ſacred depoſit. The intereſts annually diſcharged were, conformably to this plan, to be added to and incorporated with the original fund, ſo that it would operate with a determinate and accelerated velocity; being in this reſpect framed upon the model of the ſinking fund formerly projected by Sir Robert Walpole. This fund was alſo to be aſſiſted by the annuities granted for different terms, which would from time to time fall in within the limited period of twenty-eight years, at the expiration of which Mr. Pitt calcu-

Mr. Pitt's plan for redeeming the national debt.

lated that the fund would produce an income of four millions per annum. When a progreſs ſo conſiderable was made in the reduction of the debt, Parliament might with propriety pauſe, and adopt ſuch new meaſures for the relief of the Nation, and the extinction of the moſt oppreſſive and burdenſome taxes, as to the legiſlative wiſdom ſhould ſeem meet. The commiſſioners to be nominated under the act were the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, the Maſter of the Rolls, the Governor and Deputy Governor of the Bank of England, and the Accomptant General of the High Court of Chancery. Such were the perſons, Mr. Pitt ſaid, whom he ſhould propoſe to be appointed to this truſt. This plan had long been the wiſh and the hope of all good men, and he felt inexpreſſible pleaſure in being able to flatter himſelf that his name might be inſcribed on that firm column, which was now about to be raiſed to national faith and national proſperity."

It was in the progreſs of the bill ſuggeſted by Mr. Fox, "that whenever a new loan ſhould hereafter be made, the commiſſioners ſhould be empowered to accept the loan, or ſuch proportion of it, as ſhould be equal to the caſh then in their hands; the intereſt and *douceur* annexed to which ſhould be applied to the purpoſes of the ſinking fund." This amendment, the only one of material conſequence offered, was received with candor and facility by Mr. Pitt, who declared it to be "an auſpicious omen of the ultimate ſucceſs of the plan, that its propriety and neceſſity had been ſo obvious as to overcome the ſpirit and prejudice of party, and create an unanimity of ſentiment in perſons who more, he was ſure, from accident than inclination were ſo frequently of different opinions."

The bill finally paſſed with great and deſerved approbation; all intelligent perſons throughout the kingdom perfectly concurring in the ſentiments expreſſed in the recent report of the Commiſſioners of Public Accounts upon this ſubject. "This debt," ſay theſe impartial and faithful reporters, "is ſwelled to a magnitude that requires the united

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efforts of the ableſt heads and the pureſt hearts to ſuggeſt the proper and effectual means of reduction. A PLAN muſt be formed for the reduction of this debt, and that without delay: NOW is the favorable moment of peace. The evil does not admit of procraſtination, palliatives, or expedients. It preſſes on, and muſt be met with force and firmneſs: what *can* be done, the ſupport of public credit, the preſervation of national honor, and the juſtice due to the public creditor, demand *ſhould* be done. It MUST be DONE, or SERIOUS CONSEQUENCES will enſue."

King's debts a fifth time diſcharged.

Notwithſtanding the acknowledged neceſſity of œconomy in every department of government, it is grievous to relate, that even before the Sinking Fund Bill paſſed into a law, a meſſage from the KING to the Houſe of Commons was delivered by the Miniſter, ſtating, "that it gave him great concern to inform them, that it had not been found POSSIBLE to confine the expences of the Civil Liſt within the annual ſum of eight hundred and fifty thouſand pounds, now applicable to that purpoſe. A farther debt had been NECESSARILY incurred, and the King relied on the ZEAL and AFFECTION of his PARLIAMENT to make proviſion for its diſcharge."

In ſupport of the motion grounded on this meſſage, Mr. Pitt ſtated, "that under Mr. Burke's Reform Bill an annual reduction of fifty thouſand pounds from the Civil Liſt had been ſet apart by Parliament for the liquidation by inſtalments of the ſum of three hundred thouſand pounds, then iſſued in Exchequer bills for the ſupply of former deficiencies. Of this debt one hundred and eighty thouſand pounds yet remained unpaid, and a freſh debt of thirty thouſand pounds had accrued: and he reſted the neceſſity of a grant equal to theſe united ſums upon this *perplexing dilemma*: Either Parliament had, at the period referred to, directed that, when the propoſed liquidation ſhould be effected, the Civil Liſt ſhould be allowed fifty thouſand pounds per annum more than was neceſſary, or it was then put upon a footing of fifty thouſand pounds per annum leſs than was neceſſary. Experience had proved the latter to

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be the caſe; and therefore it was reaſonable to expect that the ſum of two hundred and ten thouſand pounds, now wanting to clear off the old and new incumbrances, would be voted without heſitation."

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In reply to Mr. Pitt's courtly logic, it was obvious to obſerve, that the Parliament which fixed the expenditure of the Civil Liſt at eight hundred and fifty thouſand pounds, until the debt previouſly contracted ſhould be liquidated, thought it at leaſt POSSIBLE that the DIGNITY of the CROWN might be ſufficiently ſuſtained without paſſing the preſcribed limits; and it was by a very peculiar ſort of reaſoning that the actual tranſgreſſion of a law was urged as affording of itſelf an adequate and ſatisfactory proof of the neceſſity of the tranſgreſſion. It might even perhaps occur to ſome of the members, however indecorous the mention of it in a parliamentary debate, that the Executive Government of the Republic of America was ſupported, without any apparent forfeiture of DIGNITY, at leſs than one FORTIETH part of the expence.

This demand was the more extraordinary, as the King in his ſpeech from the throne at the opening of the ſeſſion, December 1782, had ſaid, "I have carried into ſtrict execution the ſeveral reductions in my Civil Liſt expences, directed by an act of laſt ſeſſion; I have introduced a farther reform in other departments, and ſuppreſſed ſeveral ſinecure places in them. I have by this means ſo regulated my eſtabliſhments, that MY EXPENCES SHALL NOT IN FUTURE EXCEED MY INCOME*."

No

* This ſpecies of parliamentary bubble is a royal practice and privilege of very antient date—

The KING ſhall paſs his HONEST WORD;
The Chancellor make a ſpeech;
The pawn'd revenue ſums afford;
And then come *kiſs my* ******. DRYDEN.

It is related of Francis I. King of France, that upon uſing to one of his courtiers—a man of honor—on ſome occaſion, his uſual aſſeveration "Foi de Roi!" he perceived marks of manifeſt incredulity on his countenance. On which he graciouſly repeated "Foi de gentilhomme!" and the courtier declared himſelf ſatisfied. The Huguenots negotiating with the famous

Catherine

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No attempt being made to repeal that clauſe in Mr. Burke's Reform Bill which regulated the expenditure of the Civil Liſt, it was urged to be very extraordinary, while that bill remained in full force, to come down in the face of an Act of Parliament, and call upon the Houſe to vote money for the debts of the Crown. It is almoſt ſuperfluous to ſay, that all the arguments offered on this head proved a mere waſte of words, and that the money was ultimately voted.

Motion by Sir W. Lewes for the repeal of the Shop Tax.

Many petitions were preſented during the ſeſſion for the repeal of the odious tax upon retail ſhops; and a motion was formally made by Sir Watkin Lewes, member for the City of London, for that purpoſe, without effect, though it was ſomewhat mitigated by a reduction of the rates. In this buſineſs Mr. Pitt ſhewed a degree of perſeverance bordering upon obſtinacy, which it had been ſurely better to have reſerved for a more important occaſion.

Mr. Fox acutely remarked on the ſubject of the propoſed alterations, "that the greater part of Mr. Pitt's arguments had been intended to prove that the tax was not perſonal; and that it muſt find its level, and fall upon the conſumer. If this were true, what was there to recommend his modifications? He had ſtated, that he would take off or diminiſh the portion of the tax paid by the poorer claſs of ſhopkeepers, which would conſiderably exonerate that deſcription of perſons. Of what would it exonerate them? of the burden borne by the conſumer? Glaring indeed was the inconſiſtency of his actions, when compared with his arguments."

Humane attempt for the relief of hawkers and pedlars.

An attempt was alſo made by Mr. Pulteney, ſupported by many reſpectable members of the Houſe, to explain and amend the act of the laſt ſeſſion, relative to hawkers and pedlars; and particularly to repeal a moſt

Catherine of Medicis inſiſted on *ſecurity* for their rights and immunities; and many methods being propoſed and rejected as inadequate, the Queen at length angrily ſaid, "Is not the word of a KING a ſufficient ſecurity?" One of the deputies with quickneſs replied, "No, by St. BARTHOLOMEW, Madam."

deteſtably

deteſtably oppreſſive clauſe, by which juſtices of the peace were empowered to impriſon any perſon of this profeſſion at their diſcretion. This was rejected, at the ſecond reading, by a majority of fifty voices.

Wine-Exciſe Bill.

About this period Mr. Pitt brought in a bill for transferring part of the duties on foreign wines from the Cuſtoms to the Exciſe. The revenue on this article, the conſumption of which had certainly not diminiſhed, Mr. Pitt ſtated to be inferior by the ſum of two hundred and eighty thouſand pounds to what it had been in the middle of the century. The terrible alarm excited by Sir Robert Walpole's memorable attempt to extend the laws of exciſe fifty years before, had now completely ſubſided, and the bill paſſed with general approbation.

In the Houſe of Peers Lord Loughborough, who was now again metamorphoſed into a Whig and a patriot, oppoſed the bill, as in the higheſt degree arbitrary and unconſtitutional. He was anſwered by Lord Camden, whoſe zeal for the Conſtitution had been ſubject to no ſuch remarkable variations. Lord Camden admitted "that the exciſe laws, taken collectively, might in a certain ſenſe be conſidered as a departure from the Conſtitution; but the preſent ſtate of the country rendered them neceſſary. The preſent bill, in particular, was calculated to counteract the notorious impoſitions practiſed by the wine-merchants to delude the public, to cheat the revenue, and injure the health of the conſumer. In theſe iniquities it was that a juſtification of this uſeful and ſalutary meaſure was to be found." The bill paſſed without a diviſion.

East India regulations.

Next to the eſtabliſhment of the new Sinking Fund the affairs of India occupied, during this ſeſſion, the chief attention of Parliament. A bill was brought in by Mr. Dundas, which with ſome oppoſition paſſed into a law, to explain and amend the Act of 1784. This bill, among other regulations of inferior importance, beſtowed upon the Governor-General of India the high prerogative of deciding in oppoſition to the ſenſe of the majority of the Council. The offices of Commander in Chief and Governor-General were in future united in the ſame perſon; and Earl Cornwallis,

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Cornwallis, who had borne ſo conſpicuous a part in the American war, and whoſe character ſtood deſervedly high in the public eſtimation, was nominated to fill this important commiſſion.

Soon after this Mr. Pitt, ſtating certain exigencies ariſing from the peculiar ſituation of the Eaſt India Company, moved that they be empowered to raiſe the ſum of two millions for the neceſſary increaſe of their capital. This was in itſelf a very problematic proof of the vaunted proſperity of the Company; but Mr. Pitt aſſerted the neceſſity to be temporary, and that it aroſe chiefly from the beneficial operation of the Commutation Act, in conſequence of which the Company's ſales of tea had increaſed from ſix to fourteen millions of pounds, excluſive of other articles; and in proportion to an increaſe of trade, an increaſe of capital became indiſpenſably requiſite. And on this ground the bill paſſed with little difficulty. Theſe meaſures were regarded with cold indifference; but the feelings of the Nation were wrought up to an high pitch of ſolicitude and curioſity by the ſubſequent proceedings of Parliament relative to India.

Mr. HASTINGS, late Governor of Bengal, arrived in England in the month of June 1785; and the ſeaſon being then far advanced, Mr. Burke gave notice of his intention to move early in the next ſeſſion for a parliamentary inveſtigation into his conduct. On the very firſt day of the meeting of Parliament after the receſs, Major Scott, who had upon all occaſions diſtinguiſhed himſelf as the friend and advocate of Mr. Haſtings, reminded Mr. Burke of the pledge he had made, and challenged him in preſſing and peremptory terms to come to an immediate deciſion. Mr. Burke calmly replied, "that he ſhould imitate the conduct of the Duke of Parma, who came from the Low Countries to relieve the City of Paris, then beſieged by King Henry IV. The King, impatient and full of ardor, urged the Duke to inſtant battle; but that experienced and celebrated commander replied, that he had not travelled ſo far to learn from his enemy the time when it was moſt proper to engage."

On the 17th of February 1786, however, Mr. Burke, in the ſpirit of ancient

Mr. Haſtings formally accuſed by Mr. Burke.

ancient chivalry, threw down the gauntlet; and, deſiring that the reſolutions of May 28, 1782, might be read (reſolutions moved by Mr. Dundas, as Chairman of the Select Committee, declaratory of the culpability of Mr. Haſtings, and the conſequent neceſſity of his recall), declared his "deep regret, that the ſolemn and important buſineſs of that day had not been brought forward in the plenitude of weight and efficiency, by the original mover of the reſolutions now recited. Moſt feelingly did he lament, as the unwelcome conſequence of a devolution cauſed partly by the natural demiſe of ſome, the political deceaſe of others, and in particular caſes a death to virtue and to principle, that he ſhould now remain alone engaged in the attempt to preſerve unſullied the honor and the conſiſtency of that Houſe, which had fixed upon Mr. Haſtings as an object of their particular and formal accuſation. Acting under their ſanction, he aſſerted a claim to their protection. There were various modes of proceeding which might be adopted in this buſineſs. The firſt of theſe was a direction to the Attorney-General to proſecute. But not to inſiſt upon the apparent diſinclination of the preſent Attorney-General (Mr. Arden) to exert his powers in this great and momentous cauſe, he did not conceive that a trial by jury was well calculated for the purpoſe of obtaining juſtice againſt ſo elevated an offender. In the Court of King's Bench the dignity of ſuch a trial would ill aſſort with cauſes of *meum* and *tuum*, actions of battery and aſſault, of treſpaſs and trover, together with the innumerable tribe of ſubordinate miſdemeanors. The ſecond mode of proſecution was that by bill of pains and penalties. To this he had inſuperable objections, as radically unjuſt, and as tarniſhing in no ſlight degree the character of that Houſe, the members of which would thus prepoſterouſly appear in the two-fold capacity of accuſers and judges. The only alternative which remained, was the ancient and conſtitutional mode of proceeding by IMPEACHMENT: as a neceſſary preparatory to which, he concluded with moving for the papers neceſſary to ſubſtantiate the charge which he had now in immediate contemplation to bring forward againſt the late Governor-General Haſtings."

Mr. Dundas with his uſual verſatility affirmed, "that though he had

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thought it expedient in the year 1782 to recall Mr. Haſtings from India, he now rejoiced that the reſolutions moved by him had not taken effect. Since that period Mr. Haſtings had rendered moſt eſſential ſervices to the Company, and he ſhould have extremely regretted to have been the means of depriving the Company of a ſervant ſo diſtinguiſhed by his zeal and capacity. He had certainly moved a vote of cenſure on Mr. Haſtings; but Mr. Haſtings had ſince received the thanks of the Court of Directors, in which, had he been a Director, he would moſt willingly have concurred, from a thorough conviction that the thanks were merited."

Some difficulties having been ſuggeſted by Mr. Pitt, reſpecting the production of the papers called for, Mr. Burke declared in loſty terms this demur to be "an invaſion of the prerogative of a public accuſer. He had an unqueſtionable claim to all ſuch documents, proofs and papers, as he ſaw or eſteemed to be neceſſary to ſupport the charge which he undertook to advance. The downfall of the greateſt empire in the world had originated in the mal-adminiſtration of its provinces. When Rome felt within herſelf the ſeeds of decline, and the inroads of corruption, a man of the firſt rank and higheſt connections in the ſtate was brought to puniſhment. VERRES, the Governor of Sicily, was united in affinity with all that was moſt ſplendid and moſt opulent in the ſeat of empire, with the Hortenſii and the Metelli. But when CICERO undertook his accuſation, the Government itſelf adopted his proſecution. No leſs than one hundred and fifty days were allowed for the collection of materials, and the juſtice of the Roman Senate opened to the accuſer all the cabinets whence the documents were to be obtained." In the reſult, the papers, with ſome few exceptions, were granted.

On the 4th of April, 1786, Mr. Burke ſolemnly roſe to charge Warren Haſtings, Eſq. late Governor-General of Bengal, with high crimes and miſdemeanors in the execution of his office, exhibiting at the ſame time nine diſtinct articles of accuſation, which in a few weeks were increaſed to the number of twenty-two.

On

On the 1ſt of May Mr. Haſtings, at his own expreſs deſire, and by the indulgence of the Houſe, was heard at the bar of the Houſe, in this early period of the buſineſs, in his own defence: and at the farther requeſt of the accuſed, the minutes of his defence were ordered to lie on the table. But the general opinion, faintly controverted even by the friends of Mr. Haſtings, was, that the DEFENCE, thus precipitately and prematurely delivered, was of no ſervice to his cauſe, and contributed in a very ſlight and inadequate degree to the vindication of his character. Though his aſſertions were bold, his arguments were weak, and the language of this defence was beyond all example boaſtful and arrogant. He had even the weakneſs and preſumption to call in queſtion the AUTHORITY of the Houſe to inſtitute a judicial inquiry into his conduct.

Mr. Haſtings's premature and arrogant defence.

The Houſe, unmoved by what they had heard, proceeded in the examination of evidence: and the firſt article of impeachment reſpecting the Rohilla war was brought formally before the Houſe on the 1ſt of June. After a very long debate, the queſtion was decided in favor of Mr. Haſtings, ayes for the impeachment being 67, noes 119.

Deciſion in favor of Mr. Haſtings reſpecting the Rohilla war.

Mr. Pitt on this occaſion gave a ſilent vote againſt the motion; but the ground on which he voted was tolerably well aſcertained by a declaration he had previouſly made, when the ſubject of the Rohilla war was in a more general way diſcuſſed, "that he conſidered that tranſaction in a horribly alarming point of view, and as being ſo repugnant to every ſentiment of human nature, that nothing could juſtify it but the ſtrongeſt motives of political expediency, and the invincible principles of retributive juſtice—*adding*, nevertheleſs, that it would be highly inconſiſtent and abſurd to conſider Mr. Haſtings now in the light of a culprit, for any meaſures taken by him previouſly to the period in which he had been nominated by Act of Parliament Governor-General of India, which was the higheſt certificate of legiſlative approbation." But ſurely, in the contemplation of common juſtice and common ſenſe, this re-appointment could not be regarded as equivalent to an acquittal, unleſs the Houſe

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were at that period in poſſeſſion of the evidence on which the merits or demerits of the tranſaction reſted, which it was notorious they were not.

Deciſion againſt Mr. Haſtings on the Benares charge.

On the 13th of June, the ſecond charge relative to the Rajah of Benares being brought forward, it was reſolved by the Houſe, on a diviſion of 119 to 79 voices, "that this CHARGE contained MATTER of IMPEACHMENT againſt the late GOVERNOR-GENERAL of BENGAL." On this occaſion Mr. Pitt ſpoke in ſupport of the motion; but admitting the legality of the diſcretionary power aſſumed by Mr. Haſtings, he confined the criminality of the charge to the enormity of the fine levied upon the Rajah, and its concomitant circumſtances of oppreſſion and cruelty.

On the 11th of July, 1786, an end was put to theſe proceedings for the preſent by a prorogation of the Parliament, which was diſmiſſed with aſſurances of "the particular ſatisfaction with which the King had obſerved their diligent attention to the public buſineſs, and the meaſures they had adopted for improving the reſources of the country."

Frantic attempt to aſſaſſinate the King.

Soon after the riſing of Parliament, a ſingular incident occurred which ingroſſed for a moment the attention of the public. As the King was alighting from his poſt-chariot at the garden entrance of St. James's Palace, Auguſt the 2d, a woman decently dreſſed preſented a paper to his Majeſty; and while he was in the act of receiving it, ſhe ſtruck with a concealed knife at his breaſt. The King happily avoided the blow by drawing back; and as ſhe was preparing to make a ſecond thruſt, one of the yeomen caught her arm, and the weapon was wrenched out of her hand.

On examination before the Privy Council, it immediately appeared that the woman was inſane. Being aſked where ſhe had lately reſided, ſhe anſwered frantically, "that ſhe had been all abroad ſince that matter of the Crown broke out." Being further queſtioned what matter? ſhe ſaid, "that the Crown was hers; and that if ſhe had not her right, England

would be deluged in blood for a thouſand generations." On being interrogated as to the nature of her right, ſhe refuſed to anſwer, ſaying, in the genuine ſtyle of royalty, "that her rights were a MYSTERY."

It appeared that this poor maniac, whoſe name was Margaret Nicholſon, had preſented a petition ten days before, full of wild and incoherent nonſenſe. Like moſt other petitions, it had probably never been read, or the perſon of the petitioner would have been ſecured. The idea of a judicial proceſs was of courſe abandoned, and ſhe was conſigned to a fit apartment provided for her in Bethlem Hoſpital. In a few days the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, Sheriffs, and Common Council of the City of London went in proceſſion to St. James's to preſent an addreſs to his Majeſty on his happy eſcape from *aſſaſſination*. This example was followed by nearly all the corporate bodies throughout the kingdom; and the popularity of the King was ſenſibly increaſed by this trivial and almoſt ludicrous incident. The number and quality of *knighthoods* conferred on occaſion of theſe addreſſes, were ſuch as completed the ridicule, ſo ſucceſsfully levelled ſince the days of Cervantes, againſt that once honorable and envied diſtinction *.

In the month of September 1786, the King was pleaſed to appoint a new Committee of Council, for the conſideration of all matters relating to trade and foreign plantations. Of this Board the famous Charles Jenkinſon, now for his long and faithful ſervices created Lord Hawkeſbury, and conſtituted Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaſter, was declared Preſident. Under the auſpices of this new Commiſſion a TREATY of COMMERCE was ſigned between the two Courts of England and France (September 26, 1786) on the liberal principles of equality and reciprocity. Its general principle was to admit the mutual importation and exportation of the commodities of each country at a very low *ad valorem* duty. The nego-

* According to an anecdote ſomewhere related of Charles II. the witty and profligate, that monarch obſerving a perſon on whom he was about to confer the *honor* of Knighthood to hang down his head and bluſh, as if conſcious of the deficiency of his pretenſions, exclaimed with his uſual good humour and pleaſantry, "Don't be aſhamed—'Tis I who have moſt reaſon."

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tiator of this treaty was Mr. Eden, who under the Coalition Adminiſtration had filled the lucrative office of Vice-Treaſurer of Ireland. This was the firſt memorable defection from that ill-ſtarred and heterogeneous alliance: and it was the more remarkable, as Mr. Eden had himſelf been generally conſidered as the original projector of the Coalition, or at leaſt as the man who might conteſt that honor with Mr. Burke. He was ſoon afterwards rewarded for this "perfidious deſertion" by a Peerage, under the title of Baron Auckland, and, gaining the entire confidence of the Miniſter, was appointed in the ſequel Ambaſſador to the Hague *.

About the ſame time a Convention was ſigned with Spain of ſome importance, as it finally terminated the long-ſubſiſting diſputes reſpecting the ſettlements of the Engliſh Nation on the Moſquito ſhore and the coaſt of Honduras. The Moſquito ſhore extends by ſea eaſtward from point Caſtile, the boundary dividing it from the Bay of Honduras, to Cape Gracios-a-Dios, 87 leagues; and ſouthward, from Cape Gracios-a-Dios to the river of St. Juan, 94 leagues. The interior part of the country is bounded by the lake of Nicaragua, and fenced by mountains ſtretching to the weſt. In magnitude it conſiderably exceeds the kingdom of Portugal; is excellently watered by navigable rivers and lagunes; abounds in fiſh, game, and proviſions of all ſorts; furniſhes every neceſſary for raiſing cattle and ſtock, and is clothed with woods producing the moſt valuable kinds of timber. The ſoil is ſaid to be ſuperior to that of any of our Weſt-India Iſlands; the air incomparably more ſalubrious, and the climate more healthy. In this beautiful country the native Indians have yet been able to maintain their independence in oppoſition to the power of Spain; and they have invariably indicated a diſpoſition to cultivate the alliance and friendſhip of Great Britain. By the preſent treaty the

* In Dryden's famous deſcription of the dreadful groupe of perſonages inhabiting the Temple of "Mars Armipotent," the climax of guilt is concluded and completed in the following couplet:

"The aſſaſſinating wife, the houſehold fiend,
And, far the blackeſt there—the TRAITOR FRIEND."

Moſquito

Moſquito ſettlements were formally and explicitly relinquiſhed, as they had already virtually been by the 6th article of the general Treaty of 1783. In return the boundaries of the Engliſh ſettlements on the Coaſt and Bay of Honduras were ſomewhat extended, but in ſuch manner, and on ſuch conditions, as to leave the King of Spain in full poſſeſſion of his territorial rights and excluſive dominion.

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In a political view this Convention anſwered a valuable purpoſe, as it removed a probable ſource of national diſagreement. But the claims of humanity and juſtice were not ſufficiently attended to. For the Moſquito ſettlers, who had from time immemorial occupied their lands and habitations under the protection of the Engliſh Government, and who amounted to many hundred families in number, were peremptorily commanded to evacuate the country of the Moſquitoes, without exception, in the ſpace of eighteen months, nothing farther being ſtipulated in their favor, than that his Catholic Majeſty "ſhall order his Governors to grant to the ſaid Engliſh ſo diſperſed, all poſſible facilities for their removal to the ſettlements agreed upon by the preſent Convention."

The greateſt confuſion, conſternation, and diſtreſs among this unhappy people, was the inevitable reſult of this barbarous edict of expulſion, which, with the cold-blooded politicians of Europe, at the diſtance of 3000 miles, paſſed only for a regulation of commerce. An affecting repreſentation of their diſtreſſes, and an humble petition for ſome ſort of indemnification from the Government which had thus careleſsly abandoned them to their fate, was ſubſequently preſented to the Board of Treaſury; but it does not appear to have excited any attention. By "the inſolence of office," the ſighs of the oppreſſed are regarded as a ſpecies of inſult.

1787 Seſſion of Parliament. Treaty of commerce with France.

On the re-aſſembling of Parliament, January 23, 1787, the firſt object of debate which preſented itſelf, was the Commercial Treaty with France. On the 12th of February the Houſe reſolved itſelf into a Committee on this ſubject, when Mr. Pitt entered into a moſt able and eloquent vindication of the meaſure, though, in the opinion of impartial perſons, the

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treaty ſufficiently ſpoke its own merits. Mr. Pitt declared in energetic terms his abhorrence of the maxim, that any nation was deſtined to be the natural and unalterable foe of another. It had no foundation in the experience of nations, or in the hiſtory of men. It was a libel on the conſtitution of political ſocieties, and ſuppoſed the exiſtence of infernal malignity in our original frame. "France (Mr. Pitt ſaid) in moſt of our wars had been the aggreſſor; but her aſſurances and frankneſs in the preſent negotiation were ſuch as to entitle her to a return of confidence. It was indeed ridiculous to imagine that the French would conſent to yield advantages without the idea of compenſation. The treaty would doubtleſs be a benefit to them; but he did not heſitate to ſay it would be a much greater benefit to us. She gained for her wines and other productions a great and opulent market. We did the ſame for our manufactures to a far greater degree. She procured a market of eight millions of people, we a market of twenty-four millions. Both nations were diſpoſed and prepared for ſuch a connection. France, by the peculiar diſpenſation of Providence, was gifted, perhaps more than any other country upon earth, with what made life deſirable, in point of ſoil, climate, and natural productions, in the moſt fertile vineyards, and the richeſt harveſts. Britain, on the other hand, poſſeſſing theſe advantages in an inferior degree, had, from the happy freedom of its conſtitution, and the equal ſecurity of its laws, riſen to a ſtate of commercial grandeur, and acquired the ability of ſupplying France with the requiſite conveniences of life, in exchange for her natural luxuries."

Very plauſible objections were nevertheleſs ſuggeſted by the leaders of Oppoſition againſt this treaty, and predictions hazarded of the injury which would be ſuſtained by Great Britain in conſequence of this meaſure, which were far from being eventually verified; and which it is therefore ſuperfluous to particularize. Such, nevertheleſs, was the impreſſion made upon the Houſe by the arguments advanced, that no leſs than 162 members divided againſt the Miniſter on a motion for an addreſs to his Majeſty, declaratory of the approbation of the Houſe; which was ultimately carried by a majority of 76 voices.

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The oppoſition in the Houſe was not however ſupported, as in the caſe of the Iriſh Propoſitions, by any commercial clamors beyond its walls. And Mr. Pitt accurately and ſatisfactorily accounted for this difference, by obſerving "that in the former inſtance the clamors of the manufacturers, though he thought them founded in error, had been general and violent, becauſe they perceived no great and poſitive advantage in the intercourſe to balance the apprehended evil of a rivalry and competition, England being already in poſſeſſion of the Iriſh market. But *now* that they ſaw ſo manifeſt and valuable a benefit to be reaped, they were willing to hazard the poſſibility of the injury."

The topic on which the Oppoſition inſiſted with the moſt advantage, and indeed the only real difficulty reſpecting the execution of this treaty, aroſe from its inconſiſtency on the *firſt bluſh* with the famous Methuen Treaty, concluded with Portugal early in the preſent century, in conformity to which the duties on Portugal wines were to bear in future the proportion of only two-thirds of thoſe imported from France and other countries. But this point being candidly conceded by France in the progreſs of the buſineſs, the meaſure received, as it well deſerved, the neceſſary concurrence and ſanction of Parliament, and the whole tranſaction terminated greatly to the honor of the Miniſter, and the advantage of the Nation; the ſole cauſe of regret, in fact, being the limitation of the treaty to the ſhort period of twelve years.

Conſolidation of the cuſtoms.

Another very uſeful commercial meaſure, though of very inferior importance, a meaſure founded on the reports of the Commiſſioners of Public Accounts, was early in the preſent ſeſſion brought forward by Mr. Pitt for the conſolidation of the Cuſtoms, by the total abolition of all the exiſting confuſed and complex duties, and ſubſtituting in their ſtead a ſingle duty on each article, amounting as nearly as poſſible to the aggregate of the various ſubſidies now paid; taking univerſally, inſtead of a fraction, the neareſt integral number above it. By this means the revenue would be conſiderably benefited, and the merchant relieved from a ſerious inconvenience. It is a curious circumſtance, that the ſeries of reſolutions preſented to the Houſe, but of which they choſe to

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wave the formality of reading, amounted to more than three thouſand in number.

Poſt-horſe tax farmed.

A regulation of finance, much leſs generally approved, was alſo propoſed by Mr. Pitt, relative to the tax on poſt-horſes, which he affirmed to have been moſt groſsly and ſcandalouſly evaded. By way of remedy, he recommended that it ſhould be farmed by auction to the higheſt bidder, on the uſual plan of the turnpike duty. This was repreſented as repugnant to the genius of the Engliſh Conſtitution. It might prove, as the farming of the revenue had notoriouſly done in France, the ſource of infinite abuſe and oppreſſion. It eſtabliſhed a dangerous and alarming precedent, and required to be reſolutely reſiſted in the onſet. Upon the queſtion for going into a Committee on this bill, the numbers were only 147 ayes to 100 noes. It muſt however be acknowledged, that this obnoxious regulation has not been found productive of any practical inconvenience.

Mr. Fox's motion for the repeal of the Shop Tax.

In the courſe of the ſeſſion Mr. Fox moved for the repeal of the odious Shop Tax, which, in conſequence of the pertinacious adherence of Mr. Pitt to a meaſure in itſelf very trivial and unintereſting, had become a matter of permanent and ſerious concern. It appeared from the ſtatement of Mr. Fox, that the City of London and its environs paid forty-three ſhares in fifty-nine of this duty, the whole produce being eſtimated at only fifty-nine thouſand pounds. This was affirmed with reaſon to be an unjuſt and monſtrous diſproportion. But in truth the Commutation Tax fell as heavily in proportion upon the country, as the Shop Tax upon the metropolis; however comparatively deſtitute of the means of enforcing their complaints, or procuring redreſs. On the diviſion the numbers were, ayes 147, noes 183; the Miniſterial majority in a full Houſe being, on this ſecond attempt at repeal, reduced to 36 voices only.

Mr. Beaufoy's motion for the repeal of the Teſt.

On the 28th of March 1787, a motion of great importance was made by Mr. Beaufoy, a Member of the Houſe diſtinguiſhed by his knowledge, talents, and general reſpectability of character, for amending, and in part

repealing,

repealing, the laws known by the appellation of the Corporation and Teſt Acts, ſo far as related to the Proteſtant Diſſenters, who weakly flattered themſelves, that their recent ſervices were not as yet wholly loſt to the recollection of the Court. In his introductory ſpeech, Mr. Beaufoy gave a clear and judicious hiſtorical narrative of the origin of theſe acts. "The Corporation Act declared that no perſon ſhould be elected into any municipal office, who ſhould not one year before his election have taken the ſacrament according to the uſage of the Church of England. The Teſt Act required of every perſon accepting a civil or military office under the Crown, to take the ſacrament in like manner within a limited time; in default of which he was liable to a fine of 500l. and incurred other penalties in the higheſt degree ſevere and rigorous. The firſt of theſe acts was paſſed in the year 1661; and the deſpotic and arbitrary ſpirit in which it was framed, ſufficiently appeared from a ſingle clauſe in the act, empowering the King for a limited time to remove at his pleaſure all municipal officers by Commiſſioners of his appointment. This act was levelled indiſcriminately againſt Proteſtant and Catholic Diſſenters: but in the year 1673, the æra of the Teſt Act, the ſtate of things was materially changed. The jealouſy of Parliament in regard to the Proteſtant Diſſenters had now ſubſided, and the alarm of all the different denominations of Proteſtants was equally excited by the dangers to which Proteſtantiſm itſelf was expoſed by the flagrant attempts of the Court to effect the reſtoration of the Popiſh religion. The King himſelf was believed, on good ground, to be nothing better than a concealed Papiſt. The Duke of York, his brother, and immediate ſucceſſor to the crown, was not only an avowed convert to that religion, but a flaming and furious zealot. Lord Clifford, the Firſt Miniſter, and other perſons in high authority, were alſo bigoted Papiſts; and a Declaration of Indulgence had been publiſhed by the King, in order to make way for the introduction of Popery. In theſe circumſtances, the Teſt Act was a meaſure of national policy and ſafety. It bore the title of 'An Act for preventing the Danger which may happen from Popiſh Recuſants'—and the Diſſenters, far from concurring in the oppoſition made by the Court to this bill, publicly declared, through the medium of Mr. Alderman Love, one of the Members for the City of Lon-

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don, and himſelf a Diſſenter, 'that in a time of public danger they would in no wiſe impede the progreſs of a meaſure deemed eſſential to the ſafety of the kingdom;—and *though they were accidentally included in the operation of it*, they would wave their claim to an exemption, truſting to the good faith, juſtice, and humanity of Parliament, that a future proviſion ſhould be made for their relief.' This ſeaſonable declaration extremely facilitated the paſſing of the bill, and was received with juſt and general applauſe. A bill for their relief was accordingly at a ſubſequent period of the ſeſſion paſſed by the Commons, but defeated by the ſudden prorogation of Parliament. A ſecond bill was in a ſucceeding Parliament brought in, and paſſed both Houſes; but while it lay ready for the royal aſſent, the King degraded his dignity ſo far, as ſecretly to order the Clerk of the Crown to withdraw the bill; and the Parliament being ſoon afterwards diſſolved, it never paſſed into a law.

"But the relief which the unprincipled profligacy of Charles refuſed to grant, the magnanimity of William was impatient to beſtow. In one of his earlieſt ſpeeches from the throne, he expreſſed his 'earneſt hope, that ſuch alteration would be made in the laws as would leave room for the admiſſion of all his Proteſtant ſubjects who were willing to ſerve him.' But at this period the High Church and Tory intereſt predominated in oppoſition to the wiſe and ſalutary policy of the Court. From the memorable proteſt of the Lords upon this ſubject in the year 1689, it appeared nevertheleſs that the ſentiments of ſeveral of the greateſt men in that extraordinary æra coincided with thoſe of their Sovereign. And upon another occaſion of a ſtill later date—a conference between the two Houſes upon the Bill of occaſional Conformity—the Peers (not a few individuals only of that Aſſembly, but the whole Houſe) expreſſed in language ſtill more emphatical their abhorrence of the injuſtice of the Teſt Act."

In diſcuſſing the general policy of this law Mr. Beaufoy obſerved, "that to the higher truſt of legiſlative authority the Diſſenters were admitted without reſerve. From the members of that Houſe, from the

members of the Houſe of Peers, no religious teſt was required. Hence he ſtrongly inferred the abſurdity of the impoſition in queſtion. He had heard indeed of an idle opinion, that there was ſomething of a republican tendency, of an anti-monarchical bias, in the very doctrines of the Preſbyterian Church. From ſo vague an aſſertion he appealed to experience. Were the Scots ſuſpected of an indifference to monarchy? He had heard them taxed with a predilection for thoſe maxims of policy which were the moſt favorable to power; but of levelling principles, of republican attachments, he had never heard them accuſed. The Engliſh Diſſenters, ſince the Revolution, which had firſt given this country a Conſtitution, had uniformly acted on principles the moſt beneficial, and had conſtantly proved themſelves the ardent ſupporters and the faithful adherents of that ſyſtem of monarchy which was eſtabliſhed by law. Would then the repeal of the Teſt Act prove injurious to the Eſtabliſhed Church? GOD FORBID! The ſuggeſted repeal was no attack upon the rights of others; it was merely the completion of that wiſe ſyſtem of toleration adopted at the æra of the Revolution. The Church of England flouriſhed long before the Teſt Act exiſted. In Scotland no ſuch law ever had a being. Had Scotland therefore no eſtabliſhed church? In Ireland, the relief now ſolicited had been granted ſeven years ago. But was the Church of Ireland therefore deſtroyed? In Holland, in Ruſſia, in Pruſſia, in HANOVER, no traces of ſuch a teſt were to be found. In the dominions of the Emperor, all diſqualifications of this nature had been recently aboliſhed. In France, a ſimilar relief was granted by the edict of Nantz, from the revocation of which France had ſo ſeverely ſuffered, and which was now, as it was ſuppoſed, about to be reſtored. In fact," Mr. Beaufoy juſtly added, "the repeal of the Teſt, ſo far from being pernicious to the Eſtabliſhed Church, would be ſalutary. The different claſſes of Diſſenters had no general intereſt, no bond of union, but that reproachful excluſion from public employments which was common to them all. If he were farther aſked, If juſtice be the principle on which you decide, ſhall not the Catholics enjoy the common privileges of citizenſhip? he would anſwer without heſitation, If the Catholics could give a ſufficient pledge of loyalty to their Sovereign, and

attachment

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attachment to the laws—queſtions not now before the Houſe—he ſhould think they ought to be admitted to the civil and military ſervice of the State." Such were the liberal and elevated ſentiments of this ſpeaker, who concluded this excellent addreſs with an enumeration of other conſiderations, more of a religious than political kind, in favor of the repeal, deduced from the groſs profanation to which the nature of the preſent Teſt ſubjected a ſacred and ſolemn Chriſtian rite. Mr. Beaufoy declared, "that he ſhould have thought it not unbecoming the ſanctity of the Biſhops to have ſolicited the removal of this ſcandal from the Church. But let the requiſition come from whatever quarter it might, ſure he was that a compliance with it would reflect honor on that Houſe: for, whatever tended to the debaſement of religion diminiſhed political authority, and weakened all the functions of civil and ſocial order."

Lord North, true to his original principles of Toryiſm and High Churchiſm, roſe with much zeal to oppoſe "this dangerous attempt at innovation. Declaring himſelf a friend to toleration in its full extent, he conjured the Houſe at the ſame time to conſider, that the preſent motion went not merely to toleration, but to the repeal of an act which was the great bulwark of the Conſtitution, and to which we owed the ineſtimable bleſſings of freedom. The excluſion of the Diſſenters from civil offices, Lord North ſaid, was no injury or diſgrace. The Teſt Act was merely a civil and political regulation; and the arguments againſt it were equally applicable to all thoſe reſtrictions which the wiſdom of Government in all countries had found it neceſſary to eſtabliſh. His Lordſhip mentioned the alarm of the Clergy at this attempt; and he added, that they all knew the pernicious nature of a cry, that THE CHURCH is in DANGER. There was no complaint of eccleſiaſtical tyranny;—univerſal toleration was eſtabliſhed. Let them therefore be upon their guard againſt INNOVATION in the CHURCH, nor confound the toleration of religious opinions with the mode of admiſſion to civil and military appointments."

Mr. Pitt enforced the arguments of Lord North, but with far more ability and addreſs. He declared, in very flattering and explicit terms, the

the eſteem and regard which he entertained for the collective body of Proteſtant Diſſenters, who had ever approved themſelves the genuine and zealous friends of Conſtitutional liberty; of which their conduct during the late political conflicts had exhibited a memorable proof, and he acknowledged with gratitude and pleaſure the honorable and unanimous ſupport which he had experienced from them at that momentous and intereſting criſis. He muſt nevertheleſs, however reluctantly, diſcharge what he conceived to be his indiſpenſable duty, in oppoſing the preſent application for a repeal of the Corporation and Teſt Acts. It had been ſaid, If you grant this, the ſame perſons will ſoon come to you again to aſk ſomething more. This had no weight with him. He would not object to concede what he ought to concede, becauſe he might be aſked to concede what he ought not to concede. But a diſtinction was, in his opinion, here neceſſary to be made between political and civil liberty. The latter he contended that the Diſſenters already enjoyed in its fulleſt extent. The former was in fact nothing elſe than a diſtribution of power, which muſt be regulated by the diſcretion of the State. The employments and offices of the State were not the property of individuals; they were public truſts to be confided to thoſe who were politically competent to occupy them. The Diſſenters deſired, as a matter of right and juſtice, a participation of offices. If this were granted, they might acquire a dangerous aſcendency in corporations; and an excluſive corporation intereſt in the hands of the Diſſenters was a very different thing from the liberty of ſitting in that Houſe on the free choice of the general maſs of electors. It was now indeed aſſerted that they had no ſuch object in contemplation. But it was neceſſary to take into the account the real ſprings by which human affairs were regulated, and not to depend upon the ſecurity of words in contradiſtinction to the tenor and tendency of actions. There were perſons amongſt the Diſſenters who would not admit any eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment to be neceſſary. Againſt ſuch perſons it became the Legiſlature to be upon their guard. He had indeed an high opinion of the merits of Diſſenters; but they already enjoyed every mental privilege, every freedom to ſerve GOD according to their conſciences in the moſt ample degree."

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The motion of Mr. Beaufoy was powerfully ſupported by Mr. Fox, who magnanimouſly declared, "that, whatever perſonal reaſon he might have to complain of the recent conduct of the Diſſenters, he would never loſe ſight of the great principles of civil and religious liberty, on which the preſent application to the Houſe was founded. He had conſidered himſelf as honored in acting with them on many former occaſions, and he acknowledged the general tenor of their political conduct to be in the higheſt degree meritorious. In his opinion, it was very unwiſe in any caſe to take religion as religion for a teſt in politics; and he averred, that the maxims advanced by Mr. Pitt were ſuch, that though he declined perſecution in words, he admitted the whole extent of it in principle." Upon a diviſion, after a long debate, the numbers appeared, for the motion 100, againſt it 178.

This was by no means, conſidering the oppoſition of the Miniſter to the motion, a diſcouraging diviſion on the firſt effort. But the Diſſenters were in the laſt degree aſtoniſhed and chagrined at the part taken by Mr. Pitt in this debate, it being almoſt univerſally underſtood by them, that the application would at leaſt not be diſcountenanced by him. And the expreſſions uſed by him in the previous conferences held with the leading Diſſenters, though far from amounting to a promiſe of ſupport, were conſidered as certain indications of a favorable diſpoſition. Doubtleſs Mr. Pitt found, in the progreſs of the buſineſs, obſtacles in the way of the repeal which he had not at firſt apprehended; and he flattered himſelf that his public profeſſions of regard and eſteem for the Diſſenters would ſo far ſooth and conciliate their minds as to reconcile them to the diſappointment they ſuſtained. But the moſt refined addreſs, and the greateſt ability in the *management of buſineſs*, may eaſily be over-rated. It was not poſſible for Mr. Pitt, on this grand queſtion, to ſtand well at once with the Court and with the Diſſenters. The Diſſenters clearly perceived the difference between the ſituation of Mr. Pitt and that of his predeceſſor Sir Robert Walpole, when the laſt application for a repeal of the Teſt was made on their part above fifty years

years before. That wiſe Miniſter, though his judgment was decidedly in favor of the repeal *abſtractedly conſidered*, was juſtly apprehenſive of clamors which would have been unqueſtionably raiſed at that turbulent period againſt a meaſure, as the conſequence of which the weak, the bigoted, and the factious would have joined in vociferating that the CHURCH was in DANGER. It was an experiment at that time not worth the riſque; and the Miniſter choſe the leaſt of the two evils, condeſcending himſelf to talk abſurdly, in order to prevent others from acting miſchievouſly. But that ſenſeleſs and terrific clamor had long ſince become a mere *brutum fulmen*. The application of the Diſſenters in the preſent inſtance was in uniſon with the general ſenſe of the public and of the Parliament, or at leaſt not inconſiſtent with it; and a ſlight degree of countenance only from the Court would have ſufficed to enſure the ſucceſs of the motion: nor, on the other hand, was the oppoſition of the Court ſo openly and decidedly hoſtile as to preclude the idea of future attempts.

Application for payment of the Prince of Wales's debts.

The attention of the Houſe and of the Nation was ſoon transferred to a ſubject of a very different nature. When the Prince of Wales attained the age of majority, A. D. 1783, the ſum of fifty thouſand pounds per annum only was allotted to him out of the Civil Liſt revenue to defray the entire expence of his eſtabliſhment. Conſidering the numerous ſalaries payable to the officers of his houſehold, this ſum was manifeſtly inadequate to the juſt ſupport of his rank and ſituation in life; and the then Miniſters, Mr. Fox and Lord North, ſtrongly inſiſted upon the neceſſity of fixing the revenue of the Prince at one hundred thouſand pounds per annum, which the late King had enjoyed as Prince of Wales at a period when the Civil Liſt produced two hundred thouſand pounds per annum leſs than at preſent. To this the Sovereign poſitively objected; and the Prince, in order to prevent diſagreeable conſequences, generouſly declared, that he choſe to depend upon the ſpontaneous bounty of the King. The obvious reſult of this miſerable œconomy was, that the Prince, in the four years which were now elapſed, had contracted debts to a large amount; his negligence as to pecuniary concerns being perhaps

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increaſed by the conſciouſneſs of the extreme difficulty and apparent impoſſibility of contracting his expences within the narrow limits of his income. The public, not ſufficiently adverting to theſe circumſtances, cenſured the Prince with a too rigid ſeverity for the heedleſſneſs and prodigality of his conduct. The general prejudice was much heightened by the habitual and confidential intercourſe maintained by the Prince with the great leaders of the late unpopular Adminiſtration. It was alſo too notorious to admit of diſguiſe or palliation, that the Prince was exempt from none of thoſe youthful indiſcretions and exceſſes by which men of high rank in early life are for the moſt part ſo unhappily characterized.

A report of a very ſerious nature had moreover for ſome time paſt gained very general credit; namely, that the Prince had contracted a ſecret marriage with a lady of the Roman Catholic religion;—a fatal ſtep, for which the acknowledged perſonal charms and mental accompliſhments of Mrs. Fitzherbert (ſuch was the name of the lady in queſtion) would make in the public opinion a very inadequate compenſation. It is true that the marriage, in whatever mode it were ſolemnized, could not by the Royal Marriage Act be regarded as legal; and by a clauſe in the Act of Settlement, if the legality of the marriage were affirmed, the Prince, by marrying a Papiſt, would *ipſo facto* forfeit his right of ſucceſſion to the crown. His ſituation therefore was in the higheſt degree ſingular and critical, eſpecially as the Marriage Act itſelf was by many perſons conſidered as founded in ſuch manifeſt abſurdity and injuſtice, as to be in its own nature null and void. To balance theſe unfavorable circumſtances, the Prince was ſaid to poſſeſs good temper and good ſenſe: his perſon was agreeable, his deportment affable and engaging, and, by mixing familiarly in the ſociety of men of enlightened minds, he had, as there was good reaſon to believe, acquired far juſter and more liberal ideas of the nature of government and the ſpirit of legiſlation than thoſe which conſtituted the policy of the preſent reign. Happily alſo, as it was contrary to law for the Heir Apparent to leave the kingdom, he had the advantage of an Engliſh education, and his manners and modes of thinking were entirely Engliſh; while the German education of the Biſhop of

Oſnaburgh, now Duke of York, and of the other younger branches of the royal houſe, and their familiarity with the German Courts, could have no other tendency than to inſpire them with ſentiments totally oppoſite to the genius of the Engliſh Conſtitution. There is nothing indeed more ſurpriſing in the hiſtory of the preſent reign, than the tame acquieſcence of the Legiſlature in ſo apparent an affront, as is implied in the ſuppoſition that an Engliſh Prince cannot receive an education in England proper for his ſtation. England has, it muſt be confeſſed, been indeed groſsly and culpably inattentive to the education of her princes; and in this reſpect, as well as many others, the preſent reign will furniſh to poſterity a ſtriking and inſtructive leſſon.

Finding his embarraſſments continually increaſing, and a large debt accumulated, the Prince of Wales, in the ſummer of 1786, applied to the King his father for aſſiſtance: but meeting with a harſh and peremptory refuſal, he adopted a reſolution which ſeemed to indicate a firmneſs and vigor of mind, capable under a right direction of great and noble things. Suppreſſing the eſtabliſhment of his houſehold, he formally veſted forty thouſand pounds per annum of his revenue in the hands of truſtees for the liquidation of his debts. His ſtud of running horſes, his hunters, and even his coach-horſes, were ſold by public auction. The elegant improvements and additions making to the palace of Carlton Houſe, where he reſided, were ſuddenly ſtopped, and the moſt ſplendid apartments ſhut up from uſe; in this manner chooſing to retire from the world, rather than forfeit the honor of a gentleman by practiſing on the credulity of his creditors.

Things had remained in this poſture for near a twelvemonth, when the Prince was perſuaded to give his aſſent to a propoſal for laying the ſtate of his affairs before Parliament; and on the 20th of April, Mr. Alderman Newnham, Member for the City of London, gave notice that he would bring forward a motion for an addreſs to the King, praying him to take the ſituation of the Prince into conſideration, and to grant him ſuch relief as he in his wiſdom ſhould think fit, and pledging the Houſe to make good

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the ſame. This gave riſe to an intereſting converſation; and Mr. Newnham was, by the Miniſter and many other members of the Houſe, earneſtly entreated to withdraw his motion, as fertile of inconvenience and miſchief.

Mr. Pitt ſaid, "that by the perſeverance of Mr. Newnham he ſhould be driven to the diſcloſure of circumſtances which he ſhould otherwiſe have thought it his duty to conceal." And Mr. Rolle, Member for Devonſhire, declared, "that the inveſtigation of this queſtion involved in it circumſtances which tended immediately to affect the Conſtitution in Church and State."

Mr. Fox, Mr. Sheridan, and other gentlemen in the confidence of the Prince, declared that "there was nothing which the Prince of Wales leſs feared, than a full and impartial inveſtigation of his conduct; and nothing that his Royal Highneſs would more deprecate, than a ſtudied ambiguity or affected tenderneſs, on the pretence of reſpect or indulgence." Mr. Rolle was particularly called upon, though in vain, to explain the extraordinary language he had uſed.

The ſubject being in a few days reſumed, Mr. Fox again called the attention of the Houſe to the declaration of Mr. Rolle. "To what that declaration alluded (Mr. Fox ſaid) it was impoſſible to aſcertain, till the perſon who made it thought proper to explain his meaning: but he ſuppoſed it muſt refer to that baſe and malicious calumny which had been propagated without doors by the enemies of the Prince, with a view to depreciate his character, and injure him in the eſteem of his country." Mr. Fox further declared "that the Prince had authoriſed him to aſſert, that, as a Peer of Parliament, he was ready in the other Houſe to ſubmit to any the moſt pointed queſtions that could be put to him upon the ſubject, or to afford the King or his Miniſters the fulleſt aſſurances of the utter falſehood of the fact in queſtion."

Mr. Rolle now thought proper to acknowledge, that the ſubject upon which

which Mr. Fox had ſpoken was the matter to which he had alluded as affecting both Church and State. He ſaid "that the reports relative to this tranſaction had made a deep impreſſion upon the minds of all men who loved and venerated the Conſtitution. He knew that this thing could not have been accompliſhed under the formal ſanction of law; but if it exiſted as a fact, it might be productive of the moſt alarming conſequences, and ought to be ſatisfactorily cleared up."

Mr. Fox replied, "that he did not deny the calumny in queſtion merely with regard to the effect of certain exiſting laws, but he denied it *in toto*, in fact as well as in law. The fact not only could never have happened legally, but never did happen in any way, and had from the beginning been a vile and malignant falſehood."

Mr. Rolle roſe again, and aſked, "whether in what he now aſſerted Mr. Fox ſpoke from direct authority?" Mr. Fox ſaid, he had ſpoken from direct authority.

In conſequence of theſe explicit and authoritative aſſeverations, Mr. Rolle was loudly called upon to expreſs his ſatisfaction. But this he obſtinately declined, ſaying only "that the Houſe would judge for themſelves of what had paſſed." On this Mr. Sheridan was provoked to declare, "that if Mr. Rolle perſiſted in his refuſal, or otherwiſe to put the matter into ſuch a ſtate of enquiry as *ſhould* ſatisfy him, the Houſe ought to come to a reſolution, 'that it was ſeditious and diſloyal to propagate reports injurious to the character of the Prince.'"

Mr. Pitt now properly interpoſed, and proteſted againſt ſo flagrant an attack on the freedom of ſpeech and deliberation in that Houſe. And it muſt be confeſſed that Mr. Rolle was ſo far juſtified as the voice of the public could juſtify him, in retaining his doubts; for a general and firm perſuaſion ſtill prevailed of a ſecret marriage between the Prince and Mrs. Fitzherbert: though no one preſumed to call in queſtion the honor of Mr. Fox in the declarations made by him in the Prince's name,

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for which he undoubtedly had, or thought he had, ſufficient authority, and which operated to the perfect apparent conviction of the Houſe of Commons; though, to complete the myſtery and perplexity of the buſineſs, it was ſubſequently reported and believed that a temporary coolneſs at leaſt had taken place between the Prince and Mr. Fox from the æra of this debate, and as the conſequence of that warmth of indignation which carried Mr. Fox inadvertently beyond the ſtrict limits of his commiſſion.

In this ſtage of the buſineſs an interview, at the deſire of the King, took place between the Prince of Wales and Mr. Pitt, at Carlton Houſe; and the Prince was informed, "that if the intended motion were withdrawn, every thing might be ſettled to his Royal Highneſs's ſatisfaction." This being acceded to, a meſſage was delivered by the Miniſter from the King to the Houſe, ſtating his Majeſty's great concern, "that from the accounts of the Prince of Wales it had appeared that he had incurred a debt to a large amount, which, painful as it was to him to propoſe any addition to the burdens of his people, he was induced by his paternal affection to the Prince, to deſire the aſſiſtance of Parliament to diſcharge —on the well-grounded expectation, nevertheleſs, of the Prince's avoiding to contract any ſimilar debt in future; with a view to which, the King had directed a ſum of ten thouſand pounds to be paid out of the Civil Liſt, in addition to his former allowance."

On the very next day after the accounts referred to in the Royal Meſſage were laid before the Houſe, and of which the dignified generoſity of the Houſe ſuffered not the inſpection, an Addreſs was voted to the King, to requeſt him to direct the ſum of one hundred and ſixty-one thouſand pounds to be paid out of the Civil Liſt for the full diſcharge of the debts of the Prince of Wales, and the farther ſum of twenty thouſand pounds to complete the repairs of Carlton Houſe. It may be remarked, in diſmiſſing this ſubject, that the ſum of fifty thouſand pounds had been already actually expended on Carlton Houſe; ſo that, if the Prince had enjoyed a revenue equal to that of the late King when Prince of Wales,

Wales, there would have accrued in the four years elapſed ſince his majority a very conſiderable ſaving, notwithſtanding that extraordinary expence; and thus the complaints of extravagance do not appear to reſt upon a very ſolid foundation.

The ſubject of Mr. Haſtings's impeachment had been reſumed early in the preſent ſeſſion, and had occupied a large proportion of it. The primary charge reſpecting the Rohilla war, brought forward by Mr. Burke towards the concluſion of the ſeſſion of 1786, had made a deep impreſſion upon the Houſe: and although Mr. Haſtings had been acquitted of the charge, it was upon grounds on which it was impoſſible to reſt his future defence. The conduct of Mr. Pitt had been hitherto indeciſive and myſterious; but the part taken by Mr. Jenkinſon, and the party of which he was conſidered as the head, left no room for doubt as to the ſecret inclination of the Court: and although Mr. Pitt, on the Benares charge, ſtated by Mr. Fox, had voted againſt Mr. Haſtings, he expreſsly declared that he did not, *upon that account*, conſider himſelf as committed to a final vote of impeachment. The grand queſtion therefore ſtill remained doubtful, when on the 7th of February 1787 Mr. Sheridan opened the third charge reſpecting the Begum Princeſſes of Oude, with an eloquence and energy which were perhaps never ſurpaſſed, and which, in their conſequences, proved entirely deciſive.

Charge againſt Mr. Haſtings reſpecting the Begums of Oude.

The ſubſtance of this, as of the other principal charges, has already been recorded in the regular narration of India tranſactions. A ſlight extract or two from Mr. Sheridan's ſpeech may ſerve to excite a faint idea of the tranſcendent ability with which this charge was enforced.—Mr. Sheridan ſaid, "that the conduct of Mr. Haſtings reſpecting the Nabob and Begums of Oude comprehended in it every ſpecies of human offence. He had been guilty of rapacity at once violent and inſatiable, of treachery cool and premeditated, of oppreſſion unprovoked, of barbarity wanton and unmanly. So long ſince as the year 1775 the Begum Princeſs, widow of Sujah ul Dowla, had written to Mr. Haſtings in

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in the following moving terms:—'If it is your pleaſure that the mother of the late Nabob, that myſelf, his other women, and his infant children ſhould be reduced to a ſtate of diſhonor and diſtreſs, we muſt ſubmit. But if, on the contrary, you call to mind the friendſhip of the late bleſſed Nabob, you will exert yourſelf effectually in favor of us who are helpleſs.' Inflamed by diſappointment at Benares, he haſtened to the fortreſs of Chunar, to put in execution the atrocious deſign of inſtigating the Nabob, ſon of this princeſs, to parricide and plunder. No ſooner had Mr. Haſtings determined to invade the ſubſtance of Juſtice, than he reſolved to avail himſelf of her judicial forms, and diſpatched a meſſenger for the Chief Juſtice of India to aſſiſt him in perpetrating the violence he had meditated. Without a moment's pauſe, or the ſhadow of proceſs inſtituted, ſentence was pronounced. And thus, at the ſame time that the ſword of Government was converted to an aſſaſſin's dagger, the pure ermine of Juſtice was ſtained and ſoiled with the baſeſt contamination. It was clear to demonſtration, that the Begums were not concerned in the inſurrection of Benares. No, their treaſures were their treaſon. If (ſaid this eloquent ſpeaker) the mind of Mr. Haſtings were ſuſceptible of ſuperſtition, he might image the proud ſpirit of Sujah ul Dowla looking down upon the ruin and devaſtation of his family; beholding the palace which he had adorned with the ſpoils of the devoted Rohillas, plundered by his baſe and perfidious ally; and viewing the man whom on his death-bed he had conſtituted the guardian of his wife, his mother, and his family, forcibly expoſing thoſe dear relations, the objects of his ſolemn truſt, to the rigor of the mercileſs ſeaſons, or the violence of the more mercileſs ſoldiery.—Such were the awful diſpenſations of retributive juſtice!—It was not given to that Houſe to witneſs the tremulous joys of the millions whom the vote of that night would ſave from the cruelty of corrupted power. But the bleſſings of the people thus delivered, would not be diſſipated in empty air. No; they would lift up their prayers to Heaven in gratitude to the power, which, by ſtretching its mighty arm acroſs the deep, had ſaved them from ruin and deſtruction."

On

On this occaſion Mr. Pitt acted a part which did him great honor. Though the eloquence of Mr. Sheridan had excited a ſpirit of enthuſiaſm in the Houſe, which perhaps no degree of miniſterial influence could have counteracted, it would be highly invidious and unjuſt to attribute the decided conduct of Mr. Pitt on this memorable night to the apprehenſion of being left in a minority by an attempt to negative the motion. On the contrary, he appeared penetrated with a perfect conviction of the atrocity of the facts, and of the ſtrength of the evidence by which they were ſupported. And the Miniſter, who in the comparatively inſignificant buſineſs of an election return could ſo far degrade himſelf as to countenance, and even publicly to vindicate, an act of deliberate injuſtice, now felt all the ſympathies of humanity, all the energies of virtue, awakened in his breaſt, and impelling him to teſtify, in terms the moſt explicit and expreſſive, his deteſtation of perfidy ſo vile, of cruelty ſo remorſeleſs. On a diviſion the numbers were, in favor of the motion 175, againſt it 68.

Ferruckabad charge.

On the ſecond of March Mr. Pelham opened the charge relative to the Nabob of Ferruckabad, which was affirmed by 112 againſt 50 voices.

Charge reſpecting contracts.

On the 15th of March the charge upon the ſubject of contracts was brought forward by Sir James Erſkine. "All of them," Sir James Erſkine obſerved, "were made in direct violation of the regulations of the Court of Directors, 'that the contracts ſhould be given from year to year, that they ſhould be publicly advertiſed, and be diſpoſed of to the beſt bidder.' The contract for rice was avowedly given to Mr. Auriol, as 'a reward for his long and faithful ſervices.' Of his expenditure no vouchers were required, but the accounts were to be given in upon honor. This mode of paſſing accounts was (the Honorable Mover obſerved) peculiar to India, as indeed honor there was of a peculiar nature. It dreaded the production of proofs, had an intuitive abhorrence of being confronted with truth, and ſhrunk like the ſenſitive plant from the touch of enquiry. The opium contract Mr. Sullivan, ſon to the Chairman of

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the India Company, had immediately SOLD for a clear profit of fifty-two thouſand pounds. Another contract had been given to Mr. Archibald Fraſer, the near relation of Sir Elijah Impey, who had thought it neceſſary to diſpatch affidavits to England, for the purpoſe of clearing himſelf from the ſuſpicion of participating in the profits accruing from it. Theſe affidavits (Sir James ſaid) were the paſtoral eſſays of the Learned Judge, his ſongs *in ripas et flumina*, the forerunners only of thoſe epic atteſtations, the *prælia et reges*, by which he had commemorated the wars of Benares and the rebellion of Oude." On this article the diviſion was, ayes 60, noes 26.

Charge relative to Fyzoola Khan.

Upon the 23d of March the charge relative to Fyzoola Khan was brought forward by Mr. Windham. This was carried on a diviſion of 96 againſt 37 voices.

Charge reſpecting preſents.

On the 2d of April Mr. Sheridan opened to the Houſe the charge upon the ſubject of preſents: upon which occaſion he obſerved, "that the late Governor General had, in every part of his conduct, exhibited proofs of a wild, eccentric, and irregular mind. He had been every thing by ſtarts, and nothing long—now high and lofty, now mean and inſidious—now artful and temporiſing, now rigid and inflexible—in pride, in paſſion, in all things changeable except in corruption. His revenge was a tempeſt, a *tornado* blackening the horizon, and involving all within the ſphere of its influence in one common deſtruction. But his corruption was regular and ſyſtematic, a *monſoon* blowing uniformly from one point of the compaſs, and waſting the wealth of India to the ſame port in one certain direction." Upon a diviſion, the numbers appeared, ayes 165, noes 54.

Charge relative to the revenues.

On the 19th of April the charge reſpecting the revenues was opened by Mr. Francis, who had formerly occupied with ſo much honor to himſelf, but ſo unavailingly as to the public, the office of Member of the Supreme Council in India, and who had recently taken his ſeat as a Member of the Houſe of Commons. This charge was of a very important and intereſting nature;

nature; and Mr. Francis entered into a moſt able and elaborate diſcuſſion of it. He ſhewed, from the very nature of their tenure, "that the Zemindars were not mere collectors of the revenue, as they had been artfully repreſented by Mr. Haſtings, but real land-holders poſſeſſing a permanent, diviſible, and hereditary property, deſcending even to women. He enumerated the different modes of managing the revenues of Bengal, adopted by Mr. Haſtings in the courſe of thirteen years. "The object of Mr. Haſtings," he ſaid, "was to avoid coming to a fixed ſettlement, for then there muſt be an end to peculation. At the time of his acceſſion to the Government the provinces had not perfectly recovered the effects of the dreadful famine which had taken place in Bengal at a very recent period; yet then did the Committee of Circuit, under the ſanction of Mr. Haſtings, raiſe the rents of the zemindaries to an unheard-of ſtandard; and by the enſuing project of 1781, the whole landed property of the country was put up to a pretended auction; the proprietors were univerſally deprived of their eſtates; and banyans, cheats, and adventurers of all ſorts, put into poſſeſſion of their lands. Under this ſettlement Cantoo Baboo, Mr. Haſtings's banyan, held farms to the amount of 135,000l. per annum. The Directors had ordered the perſons compoſing the Committee of Circuit to be proſecuted, but Mr. Haſtings had ordered the proſecution to be withdrawn. A Committee of Revenue was ſubſequently introduced under the influence of Gunga Govind Sing, a notorious and adroit villain, which completed the ruin of the country. When Mr. Haſtings came into poſſeſſion of the Bengal government, he found it a fertile, populous, and proſperous country; it contained a regular gradation of ranks like a pyramid, from a well-ordered yeomanry to ſovereign princes: but theſe diſtinctions have been broken down—the whole nation has been pounded as it were by the oppreſſion of the Government into one maſs—and the prince was no otherwiſe diſcoverable from the peaſant than by the ſuperiority of his ſufferings, and the more pungent bitterneſs of his humiliations. Mr. Francis concluded in theſe remarkable words:—"My particular labor is now at an end. An unremitting perſeverance of thirteen years has at laſt conducted me to that iſſue which has been the object of all

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my efforts. Mr. Haſtings muſt now be impeached—let him have a fair trial—I deſire no more. In arriving at that object I have ſecured every perſonal purpoſe that I ever had in view; the reputation of Sir John Clavering, Colonel Monſon, and myſelf, is ſecure; your votes are my authority: the Houſe of Commons are my compurgators. The only victory I ever aimed at was to clear my character from foul aſperſion, and to eſtabliſh, as I truſt I have done, the integrity of my conduct in the eſtimation of my country." This charge was confirmed, notwithſtanding the unexpected diſſent of the Miniſter, by 71 to 55 voices.

Mr. Haſtings impeached at the bar of the Houſe of Lords.

On the 9th of May the report made by Mr. Burke from the Committee, to whom it had been referred to prepare the articles of impeachment, was confirmed by the Houſe, ayes 175, noes 89. On the following day it was voted that Mr. Haſtings be IMPEACHED: and Mr. Burke accordingly, in the name of the Houſe of Commons, and of all the Commons of Great Britain, repaired to the Bar of the Houſe of Lords, and impeached Mr. Haſtings of high crimes and miſdemeanors—at the ſame time acquainting their Lordſhips, that the Commons would with all convenient ſpeed exhibit articles againſt him, and make good the ſame.

On the 14th another charge reſpecting miſdemeanors in Oude was added to the former by Mr. Burke, and voted without a diviſion. On the ſame day the articles actually prepared were ſent to the Lords; and on the 21ſt Mr. Haſtings, being conducted to the bar of that Houſe by the Serjeant at Arms, was taken into the cuſtody of the Black Rod, but on the motion of the Lord Chancellor was admitted to bail—himſelf in 20,000l. and two ſureties, Mr. Sullivan and Mr. Sumner, in 10,000l. each; and he was ordered to deliver in an anſwer to the articles of impeachment in one month from that time, or upon the ſecond day of the next ſeſſion of Parliament.

On the 30th of May (1787) the King put an end to the preſent ſeſſion by a ſpeech, applauding "the meaſures taken by Parliament reſpecting the

the reduction of the national debt, and the treaty of navigation and commerce with the Moſt Chriſtian King. He ſpoke of the general tranquillity of Europe, and lamented the DISSENSIONS which unhappily prevailed amongſt the STATES of the UNITED PROVINCES." This then is the proper period to pauſe, and take a retroſpective view of the politics of the Continent, and of the origin and progreſs of theſe diſſenſions.

BOOK

BOOK XVII.

State of Europe. Commotions in Holland. Pruſſian Army enters Holland. England arms in ſupport of Pruſſia. Unexpected Acquieſcence of France. Alliance between England, Pruſſia, and Holland. Unpopular Naval Promotion—Reſignation of Lord Howe. Reſignation of the Earl of Mansfield. India Declaratory Act. Honorable Teſtimony in behalf of Mr. Francis. Proceedings againſt Sir Elijah Impey. Bill for regulating the African Slave Trade. Alarming Illneſs of the King. Proceedings relative to the Regency. Perfect Recovery of the King. Wiſe Conduct of the Iriſh Parliament reſpecting the Regency. Shop Tax repealed. Hawkers and Pedlars Act explained and amended. Mr. Beaufoy's ſecond Motion for a Repeal of the Teſt. Lord Stanhope's Motion for repealing various Penal Statutes. Mr. Wilberforce's Motion reſpecting the Abolition of the Slave Trade. Trial of Mr. Haſtings reſumed—Indiſcretion of Mr. Burke. Mr. Addington choſen Speaker. Tobacco Exciſe Bill. State of Europe. Political Embarraſſments of France. States General convened at Verſailles. Aſſumes the Appellation of National Aſſembly. Publiſhes a Declaration of the Rights of Man. Congratulatory Addreſs of the Revolution Society. French Revolution reprobated by Mr. Burke and the King's Friends—Vindicated by Mr. Fox and the Friends of the People. Mr. Fox's Motion for a Repeal of the Teſt. Negatived by a prodigious Majority, with remarkable attendant Circumſtances. Mr. Flood's Motion for a Reform in the Britiſh Parliament. Trial of Mr. Haſtings—Its diſgraceful Procraſtination. Wiſe Adminiſtration of Lord Cornwallis in India.

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IF the embarraſſments of Great Britain at the return of peace, in conſequence of the alarming addition of debt contracted during the war, were very great, thoſe of France it muſt be confeſſed were of ſtill greater magnitude.

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magnitude. The finances of France during the war had been committed to the management of M. Necker, a Genevan proteſtant, a man of ſtrict probity, of genuine philanthropy, of extenſive knowledge in the detail of affairs, but who, nevertheleſs, appears to have been deſtitute of thoſe clear and comprehenſive views which diſtinguiſh the great and enlightened ſtateſman; and his vanity, oſtentation, and egotiſm formed a great deduction from the aggregate of his virtues. This celebrated financier conceived the romantic and impracticable plan of raiſing the loans neceſſary for the ſervice of the war upon the credit of funds to be created by œconomical ſavings in the public expenditure. The revenue of France was indeed immenſe, not perhaps falling ſhort in the groſs receipt of twenty-five millions ſterling; but the civil, military, and naval eſtabliſhments of that vaſt kingdom were alſo upon a proportionable ſcale: and if it had been poſſible, which it certainly was not, by any efforts within the compaſs of M. Necker's ability, effectually to have counteracted that ſpirit of extravagance and corruption which had ſo long pervaded all the departments of government in France, and to have ſubſtituted in their ſtead the order and frugality of his native Republic, ſtill an enormous deficiency muſt ultimately have reſulted from a ſcheme ſo viſionary and chimerical as that of carrying on a war without taxes. At the æra of the peace this was found to be actually the caſe; and M. Necker, who had enraged one party by his attempts, and diſappointed the other by his failures, was compelled to reſign to M. de Calonne, a man of great talents, but who, immerſed in diſſipation and intrigue, and neither able nor ſolicitous to reform the abuſes of the government, propoſed to ſupply the preſent grand deficiency in the revenue in the uſual way by new and heavy impoſts.

The exceſſive and notorious derangement of the French finances, and the conſequent indiſpoſition of the Court of Verſailles to involve itſelf in hoſtilities with any of the leading powers of Europe, probably emboldened the reſtleſs and ambitious ſpirit of the Emperor, who alſo doubtleſs relied on the influence of the Queen his ſiſter in the Cabinet of France, to venture upon meaſures which the moſt powerful of his predeceſſors would have regarded as raſh and preſumptuous. Taking advantage of the ani-

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moſity ſubſiſting between the maritime powers, he had during the late war formally cancelled the Barrier Treaty originally concluded under the guarantee of England, and had diſmiſſed the Dutch garriſons from the frontier towns of the Low Countries. In the vain expectation of permanent amity with France, he had even diſmantled the greater part of thoſe important fortreſſes, leaving by this means the country wholly expoſed, in caſe of a future rupture, to the inroads of that formidable power.

Elated with the facility with which he had accompliſhed this object, he, in the autumn of the year 1783, ſuddenly demanded of the States General the appointment of a Commiſſion to meet at Bruſſels, for the accurate aſcertainment of the boundaries of the Dutch and Auſtrian Netherlands. While this extraordinary demand was under diſcuſſion, a detachment of the Auſtrian troops entered the Dutch territory, and ſeized upon two ſmall forts in the neighbourhood of Sluys; and a new demand was made of a free navigation of the Scheldt beyond Fort Lillo, as far as the land of Saftingen. Conferences being at length agreed upon to be held at Bruſſels, in order to the final ſettlement of theſe claims, the Plenipotentiaries of the Emperor delivered in to thoſe of the States General, May 1784, the entire demands of his Imperial Majeſty, purporting the enlargement of his boundaries on the ſide of Breda and Bois-le-duc; the demolition of the forts Kruickſhank and Frederic-Henry; the inland navigation of the Scheldt as far as Saftingen; the requiſition of various ſums of money pretended to have been due to the Emperor ſince the beginning of the preſent century; and the CESSION of the CITY of MAESTRICHT, and the contiguous diſtrict of Outre Meuſe, diſjoined from the general maſs of the Dutch poſſeſſions.

The States, aſtoniſhed and alarmed at theſe novel claims, were urgent to obtain the mediation of the Court of Verſailles. The ſituation of Holland was indeed at this period ſuch as to make all oppoſition apparently fruitleſs. The weight which ſhe had been accuſtomed to derive from her intimate connection and alliance with England was no more; and in conſequence of a ſtrange fatality, ſhe was now reduced to the humiliating ne-

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ceſſity of reſorting for protection to that very power by whom her liberties had been ſo frequently menaced, and at one time ſo nearly ſubverted. Since the termination of the war with England ſhe had been diſtracted with internal commotions. A great majority of the Dutch nation accuſed with vehemence the Prince of Orange of groſs and flagrant partiality to England during the war. It was affirmed that he had *betrayed his country*, in leaving her intentionally deſtitute of the means of defence; and that he had conſtantly and ſyſtematically counteracted the exertions of thoſe who were earneſtly deſirous to have carried on the war with vigor and effect. The perſon by whoſe counſels the Prince of Orange was ſuppoſed to be chiefly influenced—Prince Louis of Brunſwick, guardian to the Stadtholder during his minority, and Generaliſſimo of the Dutch forces—was even ſaid to be a penſioner of England; and ſo high did the public clamor ariſe againſt him, that he found it neceſſary to reſign his offices civil and military, and retire from the country. This was far however from ſatisfying the diſaffected party, which ſeemed continually to increaſe as well in numbers as inveteracy. The authority of the Prince, as eſtabliſhed by the Conſtitution of 1747, was aſſailed in almoſt every province, and particularly the great and leading province of Holland, by all the poſſible modes of attack; and the very exiſtence of the Stadtholderate ſeemed to have become a queſtion of precarious and problematic import.

Commotions in Holland.

In theſe circumſtances it was not wonderful that the Emperor, whoſe rapacity was unreſtrained by even the ſhadow of principle, depending upon the acquieſcence of France, again roſe in his demands. In what he ſtyled his ultimatum, delivered in Auguſt 23, 1784, his Imperial Majeſty obſerving "that divers difficulties had occurred in the diſcuſſion of his claims, and that a ſpeedy termination of thoſe differences was ardently deſired by him, offered to depart from his juſt demand upon the city of Maeſtricht, and to moderate his other requiſitions, in conſideration of the free and unlimited navigation of the Scheldt in both branches to the ſea. His Imperial Majeſty, not doubting but the States would accept with eagerneſs ſo unqueſtionable a mark of his good will, had thought proper to

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regard the Scheldt as open, and to declare its navigation free from the date of this paper; and he concluded, that on the ſuppoſition of any inſult being offered to the Imperial flag in the execution of theſe ideas, he ſhould be obliged to conſider it as a formal declaration of war on the part of the Republic."

This memorial was as a ſtroke of thunder to the Dutch nation. The commercial grandeur of Holland had riſen upon the ruins of Antwerp; and though it is probable that, if the free navigation of the Scheldt had been now reſtored to that once famous mart, the courſe of trade could not have been eaſily or ſpeedily diverted from its accuſtomed channels, the fears of the Dutch were wrought up to the higheſt pitch of apprehenſion. The States in their anſwer proteſted againſt this new claim, as the flagrant invaſion of a right which they conſidered as the moſt valuable of their poſſeſſions. In order to eſtabliſh this demand, they obſerved, "that the Emperor muſt contravene the treaty by which they had been acknowledged as independent States, and alſo that by which the houſe of Auſtria had been put into poſſeſſion of the Auſtrian Netherlands. They conſidered their proſperity, their dignity, and their exiſtence, as linked to the perpetual conſervation of this ſovereignty, and declared it to be a pretenſion from which they would never depart."

Early in the month of October (1784) a ſmall veſſel ſailed from Antwerp, amid the ſhouts and acclamations of the inhabitants, with the intention of aſcertaining this important point. On the arrival of the Imperial brigantine before the fort of Lillo, an account of its deſtination was demanded; on the refuſal of the officer to anſwer, a ſingle ball was fired; and no regard being paid to this intimation, a whole broadſide was diſcharged, and the veſſel immediately ſtruck her colors. This reſolute proceeding on the part of the Dutch excited the utmoſt aſtoniſhment of the Emperor, who had treated the ſage remonſtrances of his Prime Miniſter, Prince Kaunitz, on this ſubject with contempt—repeatedly and peremptorily affirming, "*that the Dutch would never dare to fire.*" The Emperor being in Hungary when this intelligence arrived, the Prince wrote

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to his Imperial Majeſty the following laconic letter of information, "*But they have fired.*" Immediately the conferences at Bruſſels were broken up, the Imperial Ambaſſador at the Hague was recalled, and hoſtile preparations were made on both ſides.

It was at this critical moment that the Court of Verſailles interpoſed in a manner the moſt efficacious to preſerve the Dutch nation from the ruin which threatened them. Notwithſtanding the alliance which had now for thirty years ſubſiſted between the Courts of Vienna and Verſailles; notwithſtanding the ties of blood which connected the two Sovereigns; notwithſtanding the pacific diſpoſition of the French Monarch, and the financial embarraſſments of the Government; on this great occaſion, all the ancient jealouſy of the great rival houſes of Bourbon and Auſtria ſeemed to revive. A letter written with his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty's own hand to the Emperor, dated November 20, (1784) pointed out the eſſential diſtinction between the primary and ultimate demands of the Emperor. As to the former, the King of France declared himſelf neutral; but he proteſted in the ſtrongeſt terms againſt any violation of the rights of the States General reſpecting the navigation of the Scheldt—a right exerciſed by them for near one hundred and fifty years under the ſanction of a ſacred treaty. His Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty exhorted the Emperor therefore to liſten to the voice of moderation and humanity, and to aſſent to a renewal of the conferences under his meditation. To enforce this amicable overture a great army was aſſembled in the vicinity of Luxemburg; the Marquis de Verac, who poſſeſſed the entire confidence of M. de Vergennes the French Miniſter, was diſpatched as Ambaſſador extraordinary to the Hague; and the Mareſchal de Maillebois, an officer of high reputation in the French ſervice, was *permitted* to take the command in chief of the Dutch forces *.

* On the convening of a Cabinet Council about this period at Verſailles preparatory to the final reſolution, the Queen of France is reported to have ſaid to the Count de Vergennes, as the Miniſter was paſſing to the Council Chamber, "Remember, Sir, in your deliberations, that the Emperor is my brother." The Count, caſting his eyes on the Dauphin, whom the Queen then held in her arms, with great happineſs replied, "Yes, Madam, and I ſhall alſo recollect that the Dauphin of France is your ſon."

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The Emperor now thought proper to declare his acceptance of the proffered mediation, provided the freedom of the Scheldt, *or the ceſſion of Maeſtricht*, to which he once again condeſcended to advert, were made the preliminaries of the negotiation. But the Dutch, animated by the avowed protection, and incited no doubt alſo by the ſecret ſuggeſtions, of France, now peremptorily refuſed to accede to either of theſe very unequal alternatives. After an interval of decent delay, the Emperor with his characteriſtic inconſtancy relinquiſhed both theſe favorite objects, the latter of which at leaſt, had he never extended his views beyond it, he had once a fair proſpect of accompliſhing. But, as if eager to recover by his pride the reputation he had loſt by his folly, he inſiſted that the Dutch States ſhould make a public ſubmiſſion, and apologiſe by a formal embaſſy for the inſult offered to his flag at Lillo.

The Barons Waſſanaer and Leyden being deputed to the Court of Vienna for this purpoſe, conferences were again opened, and in a ſhort time a treaty of pacification was ſigned (November 8, 1784), importing that the States ſhould pay the ſum of ten millions of florins as an indemnification for the claim of the Emperor upon Maeſtricht and its territory, and as a compenſation for the damage done by the late inundations; the inland navigation of the Scheldt was extended to the town of Saftingen, and the forts of Liefkinſhoek and Lillo ceded to the Emperor.

The inflated and almoſt ludicrous ſtyle of the complimentary addreſs of the Dutch Ambaſſadors at their audience of leave, ſufficiently ſhews the idea entertained by them of the character of the Emperor. "May the glorious reign of your Imperial Majeſty (ſay their Excellencies), deſtined to complete the felicity of your ſubjects, daily adminiſter to fame the beſt means to extend and perpetuate your great and awful name! May the æra of Joſeph II. like that of TITUS, TRAJANUS, and MARCUS AURELIUS, your predeceſſors in the ROMAN EMPIRE, be ever recorded as that of humanity, peace, and the happineſs of mankind!"

It is remarkable that England during theſe tranſactions looked on with

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the moſt perfect indifference, or even with apparent pleaſure—never dreaming that her intereſts were eſſentially affected by the queſtion relative to the navigation of the Scheldt; and much leſs was either Court or Country at this period infected with the *mania* of ſuppoſing it neceſſary or expedient to enter into a WAR, in order to prevent the people of Flanders from freely enjoying what GOD and Nature had freely beſtowed. Nor indeed would the utmoſt efforts of England probably have availed in oppoſition to the projects of the Emperor, in caſe of the acquieſcence of France.

When a great nation interferes in the concerns of her neighbours, true policy and dignity require not only that the object which ſhe aims to effect be juſt and important in itſelf, that it be clearly and diſtinctly marked, but alſo, without any exceſſive or diſproportionate exertion, attainable. This was a caſe in which, from local and other unalterable circumſtances, France could interpoſe, not only with far more propriety, as a guarantee of the treaty of Weſtphalia, but with infinitely greater effect, than England. And GEORGE III., prompted merely *perhaps* by motives of unappeaſed reſentment, acted preciſely the part which the penetration and diſcretion of an ELIZABETH would have ſuggeſted.

The treaty of peace between Holland and the Emperor was immediately followed by a treaty of alliance and friendſhip between Holland and France. This was no doubt an event neither pleaſant nor honorable to England; but it was the natural and unavoidable reſult of the abſurd and miſchievous politics long ago adopted by the Engliſh Court, and of the novel ſituation in which Holland had been conſequently placed. But as to any ſerious inconvenience to be apprehended from this or any other defection of the ſame nature, England under a wiſe ſyſtem of government, ſuch as had in the main been acted upon ſince the diſmiſſion of the old execrable Adminiſtration, might ſtand alone, the envy and admiration of the world.

The buſineſs of the Scheldt might be ſuppoſed to have engroſſed the attention

attention of the Emperor. On the contrary, while the iſſue of it was yet unknown, a negotiation of ſtill greater importance, and of a nature ſtrangely incompatible with the former, was carried on with the Elector of Bavaria, for the exchange of that extenſive and commodious territory for the whole of the Auſtrian Netherlands, which were for this purpoſe to be converted into a kingdom under the ancient and long-ſince obſolete appellation of Auſtraſia. This deſign could not eſcape the ſagacity of the King of Pruſſia, nor the eſſential advantage which the houſe of Auſtria would derive from the ceſſion of a large and fertile country contiguous to the general maſs of its poſſeſſions, in lieu of a detached territory expenſive and difficult to defend. In order to counteract this new attempt of the Court of Vienna, ſo hoſtile to the liberty and independency of the Germanic body, a treaty was ſigned at Berlin by his Pruſſian Majeſty, the King of Great Britain as Elector of Hanover, and the Elector of Saxony, to which the Duke of Deux-ponts, the Margrave of Anſpach, and other princes afterwards acceded. This formidable confederation was expreſsly affirmed to be intended for maintaining the indiviſibility of the Empire, the rights of the Germanic body in general, and of the reſpective States in particular.

In a declaration ſubſequently iſſued by the King of Pruſſia, that Monarch inſiſts on the danger to be apprehended from the riſing power of Auſtria, and aſſerts, "that the addition of ſo extenſive and flouriſhing a country as Bavaria to the dominions of that ambitious houſe, muſt effectually deſtroy the balance of Germany, if not of Europe—and muſt end in the annihilation of all the ſubordinate States which enter into the compoſition of the Germanic body." The Duke of Deux-ponts alſo, heir to the Elector, proteſted againſt the alienation of his patrimony; and the Court of St. Peterſburg ſhewed itſelf as formerly decidedly hoſtile to the annexation of Bavaria to the Auſtrian dominions. So impracticable did it appear in the face of theſe impediments to proceed in the execution of their project, that the Courts of Vienna and Munich were compelled, in the ſpring of 1785, publicly to contradict the report, and to aſſert that the

convention

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convention between them had no farther object than the adjuſtment of the limits of their reſpective countries.

Notwithſtanding the dangerous conteſt in which Holland found herſelf involved with the Court of Vienna, the domeſtic contentions of the Republic ſuffered no abatement. The party anciently in oppoſition to the houſe of Orange, known by the appellation of the Louveſtein party, and who conſiſted chiefly of the provincial ariſtocracies, or rather oligarchies, of the Union, had been recently reinforced by a heterogeneous coalition with the zealous partiſans of democracy, who equally wiſhed for the total annihilation of the Stadtholderian influence and authority. On the repreſentation of the Deputies of Haerlem, reſpecting the riotous diſpoſition of the populace of the Hague, diſtinguiſhed by their attachment to the Stadtholder, the care of the military patrole of that place, veſted in the Prince of Orange, was transferred to thoſe deputies by a formal reſolution of the States of Holland. The Prince, after warmly remonſtrating againſt this inſult, and vainly inſiſting upon his claim to the undivided command of the garriſon of the Hague, withdrew himſelf from the ſeat of Government (Sept. 14, 1785), and retired to his palace of Loo.

The States of Holland, far from feeling diſpoſed to recede from their reſolution, ſolemnly voted the States and Senates of the different Provinces to be the undoubted Sovereigns, and the Stadtholder to be their ſervant: hence inferring, that the powers ſo exerciſed were only delegated, and that the State might reſume them whenever it ſaw ſufficient reaſon;—concluding, that the entire command of the garriſon ſhould hereafter veſt in the Council Committee of the States of Holland.

At this period a memorial was preſented to the States General by the Ambaſſador of Pruſſia, in the name of the King his maſter, ſtrongly urging the interpoſition of their High Mightineſſes, in order that the Prince Stadtholder might peaceably enjoy the rights and inconteſtable prerogatives appertaining to his dignity of hereditary Stadtholder.

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This application produced not the leaſt effect. The States of Holland, who, as became their ſuperior importance, aſſumed the lead in the oppoſition to the Stadtholder, ordered, as if in contempt of this interference, the arms of the houſe of Orange to be taken out of the colors of the troops belonging to that province, and that the Swiſs guards attendant on the perſon of the Prince ſhould be diſbanded.

The towns of Hattem and Elbourg in the province of Guelderland having manifeſted a peculiarly refractory and rebellious diſpoſition, the States of Gueldres, in which Aſſembly the Orange intereſt yet predominated, commiſſioned the Stadtholder to employ military force for the reduction of the Burghers. But the States of Holland, Zealand, Overyſſel and Groningen joined in prohibiting the troops of their reſpective provinces from acting in this ſervice. The towns in queſtion were however attacked and captured by the Prince; and Utrecht, which had deeply imbibed the ſame ſentiments, was, in conſequence of their reſiſtance to the States of that Province now aſſembled at Amersfort, expected to be immediately inveſted. On this intelligence, the States of Holland diſpatched a letter to the Prince, demanding of him in twenty-four hours an explicit declaration of his intentions. The troops of the province were at the ſame time ordered to march to the frontier for the protection of Utrecht, and a *cordon* was formed from Naerden to Schoonhoven. And notwithſtanding an explanation and apology from the Prince, within the time preſcribed, the States of Holland proceeded (Sept. 16, 1786) to the violent reſolution of ſuſpending him from his office of Captain General of the province, by a majority of ſixteen out of nineteen voices of which that Aſſembly is compoſed.

The Prince of Orange on this occaſion addreſſed a long and elaborate letter to the States of Holland. He had expreſsly ſaid in his former remonſtrance, relative to the garriſon of the Hague, "We have not the moſt diſtant intention to queſtion the ſuperiority of your Noble and Great Mightineſſes over the military, as well of the whole province as the garriſon of the Hague. Never, ſays he, could we ſuppoſe ourſelves inveſted

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with a power equal, much leſs ſuperior, to that of the States over the military, and that we might act according to our own pleaſure, and independently of the SOVEREIGN." But he now ventured to aſſume an higher tone; and declaring "his office of Hereditary Captain General of Holland and Weſt Frieſland to have been ſecured to him by the unanimous vote of all the members of the State, he affirmed, that as the reſolution by which the office had been conferred, paſſed *nemine contradicente*, it could not, *ſuppoſing it to be revocable*, be cancelled or even ſuſpended without the like unanimity."

This ſudden haughtineſs of language may, without heſitation, be attributed to an event of great moment, which had recently taken place in the death of Frederic III. King of Pruſſia (Auguſt 17, 1786), who was ſucceeded by his nephew Frederic William, to whom the Prince of Orange was nearly allied by marriage to his ſiſter, the Princeſs Wilhelmina of Pruſſia.

The new Monarch, feeling for the ſituation of his relatives, and eager to make a diſplay of his power, entered with far more zeal into the intereſts of the Prince than his illuſtrious predeceſſor, who during a reign of forty-ſix years had excited the admiration of Europe by the greatneſs of his talents and the ſplendor of his ſucceſſes. He had raiſed Pruſſia from obſcurity and inſignificance to the rank of a firſt-rate power in Europe; and had left his ſucceſſor in poſſeſſion of a flouriſhing kingdom, an immenſe treaſure, and an army of 200,000 men in the higheſt reputation for courage and diſcipline *.

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* The annexation of the rich and extenſive province of Sileſia wreſted from the houſe of Auſtria to the dominion of Brandenburg, of whoſe recent grandeur it may be regarded as the baſis, was an event ever preſent to the mind of Frederic. It is ſaid that this Monarch being one day writing in his cabinet, and the Prince Royal, ſon of the reigning King, interrupting him by playing *battledore and ſhuttlecock*, the King, after a ſlight reproof, in order to prevent the inconvenience took the ſhuttlecock and put it in his pocket. The boy at firſt endeavored to recover poſſeſſion of it by ſoft and ſoothing language; but finding his blandiſhments of no avail, he raiſed his voice, and ſtamping upon the ground exclaimed with paſſionate emphaſis,

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In a memorial preſented by the Count de Goertz, his Pruſſian Majeſty's Ambaſſador Extraordinary to the States General (Sept. 18, 1786), he expreſſes without reſerve "the warm part which he takes in the unhappy diſſenſions ſubſiſting between ſome of the provinces and the Stadtholder, and the very extraordinary oppreſſions which that Prince is innocently obliged to ſuffer—and urging that a durable termination may be put to theſe differences, in order that his Serene Highneſs the Prince Stadtholder may return with honor and propriety to the Hague, and reſume his high employments—inſiſting alſo upon the great intereſt he had, as the neareſt neighbour of the United Provinces, that the government of the Republic conformably to the antient conſtitution ſhould not be changed in any eſſential point."

A ſhort time previous to the delivery of this paper, a memorial had been preſented to the States on the part of the King of England, containing, in language ſomewhat more guarded, the ſame ſentiments; proteſting indeed againſt the interference of any foreign power in the internal affairs of the Republic, the management and direction of which it is declared to be the wiſh of his Britannic Majeſty to preſerve uncontrolled in the hands of thoſe to whom it has been committed by the CONSTITUTION.

Notwithſtanding this powerful interference in behalf of the Prince of Orange, the States of Holland ſhewed themſelves in the higheſt degree averſe from every idea of accommodation. And the States General having at length come to a reſolution, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of that great and leading province, to invite the mediation of Great Britain and Pruſſia—the States of Holland, inflamed with ſo unauthoriſed a proceeding, declared themſelves determined rather to ſtrike out their names from

emphaſis, "SIRE, donnez-moi une réponſe categorique—Voulez-vous me rendre ou non mon volant?" The King, embracing him with aſtoniſhment and rapture, replied, "Ah, vrai rejetton du Grand Electeur, on ne t'arrachera jamais LA SILESIE!"

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the Union of Utrecht, than to ſuffer ſuch a meaſure to receive the ſanction of the Republic.

The Prince of Orange having now removed his Court to Nimeguen, an ineffectual negotiation was nevertheleſs carried on during the winter of 1786-7, through the medium of the Count de Goertz and M. de Rayneval the French Envoy. Every thing on the breaking up of theſe conferences wore the face of war. The Prince encamped near the city of Utrecht oppoſite to the *cordon* formed by the troops of Holland. The States General, whoſe conſtitutional powers were unhappily too limited and feeble to interpoſe with efficacy, could do nothing more to avert the calamities which menaced the nation, than enforce by a reſolution that article of the Union which forbad the troops of the Republic from marching into any province without the leave of the States of that province firſt obtained.

From the commencement of the conteſt, the incapacity and intractability of the Prince of Orange had been very apparent. Head of the houſe of Naſſau, he diſplayed neither the talents nor virtues which had for ages been ſuppoſed attached to that illuſtrious name. The Princeſs, his conſort, was ſaid to poſſeſs a much larger ſhare of ſpirit as well as underſtanding. In the month of June (1787), for reaſons which have never perfectly tranſpired, her Royal Highneſs, then reſident at Nimeguen, adopted the bold and hazardous reſolution of proceeding in perſon to the Hague, where the States General were at that time aſſembled, accompanied only by the Baroneſs de Waſſanaer and a few domeſtics. As might previouſly be expected, ſhe was arreſted in her progreſs at about a league beyond Schoonhoven, and forced back to Nimeguen. This incident brought matters to a criſis. On the 10th of July a memorial was addreſſed by the Pruſſian Monarch to the States of Holland, in which he affected to conſider the indignity offered to his ſiſter as a perſonal inſult to himſelf. To avenge this pretended affront, the Duke of Brunſwick, who commanded the Pruſſian forces in the contiguous Duchy of Cleves, entered Holland at the

Pruſſian army enters Holland.

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the head of an army conſiſting of about twenty thouſand men on the 13th of September (1787). Notwithſtanding the previous probability of this invaſion, the conſternation of the Dutch nation was extreme, and the country ſeemed every-where unprepared for reſiſtance. Utrecht, beyond all other cities of the Union diſtinguiſhed for the violence of her democratic zeal, ſurrendered almoſt as ſoon as ſummoned. The march of the Pruſſian General bore the appearance of a triumphal proceſſion. While a futile reſolve to ſuſpend the office of Stadtholder paſſed the Senate of Amſterdam; Gorcum, Dordt, Schoonhoven and other towns in his route ſubmitted tamely to the conqueror. On the ſeventh day from the commencement of the invaſion, the Prince of Orange made his public entry into the Hague. Amſterdam only made a ſhew of reſiſtance: but on the 10th of October that proud capital, now cloſely inveſted, opened its gates to the victor. To the aſtoniſhment of the world, that Republic which maintained a conteſt of eighty years againſt the power of Spain, which contended for the empire of the ocean with Great Britain, and which repelled the attacks of Louis XIV. in the zenith of his glory, was over-run by the arms of Pruſſia in a ſingle month. Such and ſo dire are the effects which flow from civil diſcord and diſunion! In the whole of this tranſaction, Pruſſia acted in intimate and avowed concert with England; and while France was ſlowly aſſembling troops in the vicinity of Liege, and the Emperor was preſenting feeble remonſtrances at Berlin, the revolution projected by the Stadtholderian faction was carried into complete execution, and the Stadtholder triumphantly reinſtated in all his real and pretended prerogatives.

It is not to be imagined that the Court of Verſailles ſaw the termination of this great conteſt with frigid indifference; but the diſtracted ſtate of her own affairs, and the increaſing diſcontents and diſorders of the kingdom, in a manner compelled her reluctant acquieſcence. The projects of the new Miniſter of Finance, M. de Calonne, proved unſucceſsful and abortive. In the latter end of the year 1785, a loan of 3,330,000l. being the acknowledged *deficit* of the current year, was negotiated; which the Parliament of Paris, after repeated remonſtrances, at laſt regiſtered only

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in purſuance of the King's poſitive commands; at the ſame time accompanying it with a reſolution importing "that public œconomy was the only genuine ſource of revenue, and the only means of providing for the neceſſities of the State, and of reſtoring that credit which borrowing had reduced to the brink of ruin." The King, incenſed at their preſumption, ordered this reſolution to be eraſed from their records—declaring "that he would never conſent that the Parliament ſhould ſo far abuſe his confidence and clemency as to make themſelves the cenſors of his adminiſtration. He declared himſelf ſatisfied with his Comptroller-General, and determined on no account to ſuffer groundleſs apprehenſions to interfere with the execution of plans calculated for the good of the State and the welfare of the Nation."

The hoſtile diſpoſition of the Parliament, and the evident impoſſibility of obtaining their cordial concurrence to the meaſures in contemplation, determined the Miniſter to adopt a plan more ſuited to the boldneſs and extent of his views.

In the month of Auguſt 1786, M. de Calonne preſented a memorial to the King, repreſenting "the melioration of the finances to be eſſentially connected with public order; and averring that what the national benefit required could not be effected by partial operations, and that the reparation of the whole was neceſſary to prevent the ruin of the whole. Of conſequence, the project he had formed embraced all the parts of the monarchy, and was intended to bring them to a cloſer union. It would be an inexhauſtible ſource of happineſs for the people of France; it would ſet the Monarch for ever at reſt reſpecting the ſituation of his finances; *it would raiſe his* POWER *higher than that of the moſt proſperous of his anceſtors*, and enrol his name with thoſe of the moſt virtuous and enlightened legiſlators. In fine, what induced him to conjure his Majeſty to adopt it was, that out of the circle of this reformation he could foreſee nothing but calamity and ruin."

This magnificent and wonder-working plan was no other than to convene

vene by royal authority and appointment, after the example of antient times, an assembly of the most considerable and enlightened persons in the kingdom, under the denomination of NOTABLES, by whose influence and under whose sanction "a reformation might," to use the words of M. de Calonne, "be effected of whatever was vicious in the Constitution of the State." The Minister accompanied this proposal with a specification of various details, indicating a vigorous and comprehensive mind penetrated with a clear conviction of the necessity of a radical reform in the State, so far at least as related to that detestable aggregate mass of extortion and oppression which assumed the lofty appellation of the National System of Finance. Amongst the new regulations recommended by M. de Calonne, were the equalization of the *vingtièmes* or territorial revenue—the abolition of the *corvée*—the establishment of an uniform *tariff* throughout all the provinces of the kingdom—the alleviation of the odious *gabelle*—the extinction of the feudal rights as vested in the Crown—the suppression or melioration of the forest laws—and the application of the royal demesne lands to the service of the public.

This memorial was received by the King with approbation; and before the termination of the year summonses were issued accordingly for the meeting of the Assembly of NOTABLES at Versailles, on the 22d of February 1787. It consisted of one hundred and forty-four persons, amongst whom were seven Princes of the Blood, nine Dukes and Peers of France, eight Field Marescals, eight Counsellors of State, and eleven Bishops and Archbishops. The remaining Members were chiefly selected from the different Parliaments and Magistracies of the kingdom.

The Convention of NOTABLES was opened in great state by the King in person, with a speech from the throne, in which he declared "that they had been chosen by him from the different orders of the State, to impart to them his designs, and to receive from them the observations of which they might think them susceptible. This, said the Monarch, has been the custom of many of my predecessors, and particularly of the CHIEF of my FAMILY, whose name remains still dear to every Frenchman, and whose

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whoſe example I ſhall always be proud to make the rule of my conduct. His Majeſty then in general terms ſtated the views by which he was actuated—*the* IMPROVEMENT *of the* REVENUE—the equalization of taxes—the liberation of commerce—and expreſſed the fulleſt confidence in the zeal with which they were animated for his ſervice." This was followed by a long and elaborate harangue from M. de Calonne, in which he accuſed his predeceſſor M. Necker of leaving at his diſmiſſion from office an arrear of ſix hundred and eighty-four millions of livres totally unprovided for. The difference ſubſiſting between the annual revenue and the annual expenditure he eſtimated at eighty millions. "It is impoſſible," ſaid this Miniſter, "to ſuffer the State to remain in the conſtant and imminent danger to which a deficiency ſuch as the preſent expoſes it—impoſſible to go on year after year applying palliatives and expedients, which, though they may retard the criſis for a time, are ſure to render it more fatal at laſt." The Miniſter proceeds to develop his plan for reſtoring energy and ſtability to the State, by a grand reform of its abuſes, of which he exhibits an intereſting and curious detail. In ſumming up the aggregate of this account, and in ſolving the grand queſtion, why theſe intolerable abuſes and oppreſſions have been tranſmitted from reign to reign, and from age to age, he thus with flowing eloquence expreſſes himſelf: "It was not in the boſom of ignorance and confuſion, whoſe veil over-ſhadowed the times of our firſt Kings—it was not when Kings, inſecure upon their thrones, were entirely occupied in repelling the continual uſurpations of over-grown ſubjects—it was not in the midſt of the diſorder and anarchy of the feudal ſyſtem, when a band of petty tyrants, iſſuing from their caſtles, committed the moſt atrocious depredations—it was not when the rage for cruſades, inflamed by the double enthuſiaſm of religion and glory, carried into the other hemiſphere the ſtrength, the gallantry, and the misfortunes of France—it was not when a prince ſurnamed AUGUSTE recovered the principal diſmemberments of the kingdom, and augmented its power and ſplendor; nor when the gloomy politics of one of his ſucceſſors, by giving extenſion to a municipal government, prepared the means of uniting in the hand of the Sovereign all the power of the public ſtrength; nor when the Monarch the moſt eager

after

after glory and the braveſt of knights contended with a rival Sovereign for the renown they both acquired at the expence of their people—It was not in thoſe turbulent and inauſpicious times, when fanaticiſm, rending the boſom of the State, filled it with horror and calamity; nor when that good King ſo dear to Frenchmen conquered his kingdom at the point of his ſword, and was taken up in adjuſting the long diſorders and the diſaſtrous effects of the civil wars—It was not when all the energy of an able and formidable Miniſter was concentrated in the double deſign of reſtraining the ambition of a power become formidable to Europe, and of ſecuring the tranquillity of France by eſtabliſhing the monarchical authority; neither was it under that brilliant reign, when the beneficent intentions of a great Monarch were too often thwarted by ruinous wars, when the State was impoveriſhed by victories, while the kingdom was depopulated by perſecution; where ſo much care was beſtowed upon giving every thing an air of grandeur, that the ſolid proſperity of the State was always neglected—In ſhort, it was not before the monarchy had extended its limits to the points nature had ordained to bound them, before ſhe had arrived at her maturity, and the calm both within and without was ſecurely eſtabliſhed by the wiſdom and moderation of her Sovereign, that it was poſſible to indulge a thought of reforming the defects of the Conſtitution, and of endeavoring to render the general adminiſtration more uniform."

That the patriotic profeſſions of the King and of the Miniſter, in regard to the general reform of abuſes, were at this period not wholly inſincere, may be reaſonably inferred from their anxious deſire to be relieved from thoſe pecuniary embarraſſments, which were by no milder or eaſier means to be ſurmounted.

The intereſts of the Crown and of the People, at this criſis, alike required that limits ſhould be placed to the oppreſſion of the PRIVILEGED ORDERS, who conſtituted in France as it were a nation within a nation. But every idea of fixing legal bounds to the prerogative of the Monarch was rejected with indignation. It was not to derive information from their wiſdom, and much leſs to be controlled by their authority, that this Aſ-

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ſembly had been convened. The obvious and ſole intent of the Court was to carry its own pre-concerted plans into effect, under the ſanction of this phantom of a National Repreſentation.

In order to preclude even the ſhadow of oppoſition, M. de Calonne had with ſuch admirable adroitneſs of artifice organized this Aſſembly, that forty-four ſuffrages ſhould to all efficient purpoſes conſtitute the majority of one hundred and forty-four. The Aſſembly was with this view divided into ſeven ſections or chambers, over each of which a Prince of the Blood preſided. Voting by ſections, the majority of four would of courſe be accounted as the majority of the whole, although, had the votes been individually taken, the majority might very poſſibly be converted into an inſignificant minority. Notwithſtanding theſe precautions, ſo difficult of reſtraint are the ſpirit of ambition and the love of power, that the NOTABLES ſoon diſplayed a very refractory diſpoſition. Numerous objections were ſtarted to the plan laid before them. To the new territorial impoſt they poſitively refuſed their concurrence, unleſs the accounts and eſtimates of the Government were ſubmitted to their inſpection. This was refuſed with diſdain; and the King cauſed it to be ſignified to them, "that he was determined to introduce the *impôt territorial*, and that it therefore became them to debate, not the principle of the meaſure, but the moſt equitable form it could aſſume." This only rendered the diſcontent of the Aſſembly violent and general. It was ſaid, that the Miniſter had convoked them merely to ſerve as a battery, from which to play off his artillery againſt the Parliaments, and oblige them to regiſter the plans he adopted. The enemies of M. de Calonne ſeized with eagerneſs this favorable opportunity to effect his ruin. The Count de Vergennes, who had powerfully ſupported in the Cabinet the authority and credit of M. Necker, had expired a few days only before the meeting of the NOTABLES. The Mareſchal de Caſtries, Miniſter of the Marine, the Baron de Breteuil, Maſter of the Houſehold, and M. de Miromeſnil, Keeper of the Seals, all of the Queen's party, were active in the deſign, in which they were zealouſly aſſiſted by the numerous friends of M. Necker. In the midſt of their inveſtigations, and while M. de Calonne was apparently unſuſpicious

ſuſpicious of danger, the Aſſembly was adjourned from the 5th to the 12th of April for the Eaſter receſs: and on the 8th that Miniſter was diſmiſſed from his employments. Nevertheleſs, that the triumph of his enemies might not be complete, M. de Miromeſnil was at the ſame time, conformably to the weak and wavering policy of the Monarch, commanded to reſign the Seals. The public clamor and odium riſing high againſt M. de Calonne, whom it was now the faſhion to repreſent as the moſt extravagant and profligate of Miniſters, he was exiled by the King to his eſtate in Lorraine; and he ſoon afterwards thought it expedient to take refuge in foreign parts from the inveterate rage of his enemies.

M. de Calonne was ſucceeded, after a ſhort interval, by M. Lomenie de Brienne, Archbiſhop of Toulouſe—a leading Member of the Aſſembly of Notables, and of great popularity in the kingdom at large, as an undaunted advocate and aſſertor of the principles of univerſal liberty. The ſacrifice of M. de Calonne produced no conceſſions in favor of the Court. The Aſſembly of Notables, in their ſubſequent ſitting, declared themſelves utterly incompetent either to ſuggeſt different taxes, or to adopt and ſanction thoſe which had been propoſed. The views of the Court being thus finally fruſtrated, the Aſſembly was diſſolved (May 25, 1787), with a cold acknowledgment from the Sovereign of the ſervices which they had rendered to the public; and the Archbiſhop of Toulouſe entered upon his office with the proſpect of encountering difficulties ſtill more inſuperable than thoſe which had proved too mighty to be overcome by the far ſuperior ability of his celebrated predeceſſor.

It is not wonderful that, things being thus circumſtanced, no vigorous meaſures were adopted by France to counteract the united interference of England and Pruſſia in the affairs of Holland. In the month of July (1787), the States of Holland preſented to the States General a propoſition for ſoliciting the mediation of the Court of Verſailles; ſoon after which, the French Ambaſſador preſented alſo a memorial to the States General, declaring the King his maſter to be highly ſenſible of this mark of the confidence of the Republic, and ready to co-operate by

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every means in his power for the reſtoration of harmony and peace. So late as the month of September, France tardily profeſſed her intention of aſſiſting the Dutch, in caſe they were attacked by any foreign power. This only animated the Court of London to act with the greater ſpirit and deciſion, and vigorous naval preparations were made to ſupport the King of Pruſſia, in oppoſition to the menacing declarations of France. But the object of the Pruſſian expedition being accompliſhed in a much ſhorter ſpace of time than could have been previouſly imagined, the Court of Verſailles found itſelf, probably not without a ſecret ſatisfaction, diſengaged from all obligations. The Duke of Dorſet, Ambaſſador at Paris, in conſequence of the events which had taken place, preſented (October 27th) a memorial to the King of France, ſignifying, that "no ſubject of diſcuſſion, much leſs of conteſt, now remaining between the two Courts, he was authoriſed to aſk, whether it was the intention of his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty to carry into effect the notification made by his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty's Plenipotentiary, which, by announcing that ſuccors would be given to Holland, had occaſioned the naval armaments on the part of his Britannic Majeſty, which armaments have been reciprocal. If the Court of Verſailles is diſpoſed to explain herſelf ſatisfactorily on this ſubject, the Ambaſſador propoſes, that all warlike preparations ſhould be diſcontinued, and that the navies of the two nations ſhould be again placed on the footing of the peace eſtabliſhment, as it ſtood on the 1ſt of January of the preſent year." To this memorial the Count de Montmorin, the new Miniſter for Foreign Affairs in France, replied on the very ſame day, in a ſtyle of exemplary forbearance and moderation, "that the intention of his Majeſty not being, *and never having been*, to interfere by force in the affairs of Holland, the communication made to the Court of London, on the 16th of laſt month, having had no other object than to announce to that Court an intention, the motives of which no longer exiſt, eſpecially ſince the King of Pruſſia has imparted his reſolution; his Majeſty makes no ſcruple to declare, that he will not give any effect to the declaration above mentioned; and agrees with pleaſure to the propoſal of mutually diſarming, made on the part of his Britannic Majeſty."

England arms in ſupport of Pruſſia.

Unexpected acquieſcence of France.

Thus

Thus happily and honorably for England did this important buſineſs terminate. Foreign powers were aſtoniſhed to ſee that country, which had a few years ſince been apparently reduced to the verge of ruin under an Adminiſtration pre-eminently odious and contemptible, reaſſuming her rank among the nations of Europe, and attaining to a viſible ſuperiority over that haughty and ambitious rival, whoſe recent ſucceſs was now ſeen to be dearly purchaſed by her conſequent alarming and inextricable embarraſſments.

The Parliament of Great Britain aſſembled on the 27th of November 1787. The King remarked, "that at the cloſe of the laſt ſeſſion he had informed them of the concern with which he obſerved the diſputes unhappily ſubſiſting in the Republic of the United Provinces. Their ſituation ſoon afterwards became more critical and alarming. The King of Pruſſia having demanded ſatisfaction for the inſult offered to the Princeſs of Orange his ſiſter, the party which had USURPED the Government applied to the Moſt Chriſtian King for aſſiſtance; and that Prince having notified to his Majeſty his intention of granting their requeſt, the King did not heſitate to declare that he could not remain a quiet ſpectator, and gave immediate orders for augmenting his forces both by ſea and land; and in the courſe of this tranſaction he had concluded a ſubſidiary treaty with the Landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel. In the mean time the rapid ſucceſs of the Duke of Brunſwick enabled the Provinces to deliver themſelves from the OPPRESSION under which they labored; and all ſubjects of conteſt being thus removed, an amicable explanation had taken place between the Courts of London and Verſailles."

This was the language rather of a zealous partiſan of the houſe of Orange, than of a great Monarch, who, by a dignified and ſeaſonable interpoſition, had reſcued a country from ruin. It is inconceivable how the exiſting Government of Holland could with any color of juſtice be ſtigmatized as an *uſurpation*; for by the conſtitution of that country the Prince

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Prince of Orange as Stadtholder was not a ſovereign, but a ſubject poſſeſſing no ſhare of the legiſlative power; and though by the *formula* of 1747 the office was declared hereditary, it was not therefore irrevocable any more than the hereditary offices of Earl Marſhal or Great Chamberlain under the Engliſh Conſtitution. And the oppreſſions alluded to in the ſpeech were plainly nothing elſe than the uſual ſeverities inflicted upon thoſe who preſumed to reſiſt the mandates of the ſupreme government. But in the recent meaſures adopted by the Engliſh Court there were, notwithſtanding this flagrant impropriety of language, ſo much energy, and at the ſame time ſo much practical wiſdom, that leſſer objections were abſorbed and loſt in the general merit of the tranſaction. To the grand propoſition—"that it is contrary to the rights of nations, and a violation of the fundamental principles of political juſtice, for one nation to interfere in the internal concerns of another"—it muſt ſuffice to reply, that, however incontrovertible this maxim may be deemed as a general truth, an interference attended with conſequences thus eminently beneficial muſt be allowed, like other neceſſary exceptions from general rules, to deſerve not pardon merely, but praiſe.

The addreſſes in anſwer to the ſpeech were voted with great unanimity in both Houſes; and the Miniſter received from the leaders of Oppoſition, no leſs than his own partiſans, the moſt liberal commendations for his ſpirited and judicious conduct. The ſubſidy to Heſſe, by which twelve thouſand men were at a vaſt expence retained for a term of years in the ſervice of Britain, paſſed without a diſſentient vote; and in a ſhort time treaties of amity and alliance were concluded between the Courts of London, Berlin, and the Hague, by which the two former guarantied the Stadtholderate in perpetuity to the Serene Houſe of Orange, as an eſſential part of the Conſtitution of the United Provinces. By the treaty between the Kings of Great Britain and Pruſſia, each of the high contracting powers engages, in caſe of attack, to furniſh the other with a ſuccor of ſixteen thouſand infantry and four thouſand cavalry, or an

Alliance between England, Pruſſia, and Holland.

equivalent

equivalent in money, within the term of two months from the date of the requiſition. Thus was Britain once again fatally entangled in the intricate and inextricable toils of continental engagements.

1788. The army eſtabliſhment, which had been reduced from ſeventy to ſixty-four regiments at the termination of the war, was now at the motion of the Miniſter raiſed to the cuſtomary complement, notwithſtanding the vigorous oppoſition of Mr. Fox, under whoſe adminiſtration the reduction had taken place, and who juſtly boaſted that he was the firſt Miniſter ſince the Revolution who had been accuſed of eſtabliſhing too ſmall a ſtanding army in time of peace.

Unpopular naval promotion.

A very great naval promotion had alſo taken place, in the contemplation of a war with France; in which it was remarkable that ſixteen captains had been ſelected for flags, while a much greater number of officers, ſeveral of whom were men of the moſt diſtinguiſhed gallantry and merit, had been unaccountably paſſed over in ſilence and neglect. In conſequence of this injurious partiality a motion was made in the Houſe of Commons, "that the Houſe ſhould reſolve itſelf into a Committee to enquire into the conduct of the Admiralty in the buſineſs of the late promotion." This motion was deſtined to encounter the vehement oppoſition of Mr. Pitt, who declared, "that if this reſolution paſſed, the next thing he preſumed would be to reſolve that the Members of that Houſe were better judges of naval concerns than profeſſional men at the head of the marine department." To this Mr. Fox juſtly replied, that this argument, if admitted in its full extent, would effect the total annihilation of the conſtitutional powers of parliamentary control. If a complaint were lodged againſt the conduct of a judge, it might be ſaid, "What do you know of the law? Leave it to the Courts below—and thus of every other department in Army, Church, and State." Upon a diviſion the motion was negatived in a Houſe of near three hundred Members by a majority of ſeventeen voices only. And the Firſt Lord of the Admiralty, Lord Howe, became upon this occaſion the ſubject of very ſevere and general cenſure and reproach.

His

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1788. Resignation of Lord Howe, and of the Earl of Mansfield.

His Lordship soon afterwards resigned his office, and was succeeded by the Earl of Chatham. Nearly at the same time the Earl of Mansfield resigned the Chief Justiceship of England, which he had held with high and undiminished reputation for the long period of thirty-two years, to the Attorney General, Sir Lloyd Kenyon, created Lord Kenyon.

India Declaratory Act.

Perpetual disputes having arisen, as had been foreseen and foretold, between the two Boards of Direction and Control, established by Mr. Pitt's India Regulation Bill, the Minister thought proper in the course of the session to bring in his famous DECLARATORY ACT, by which various new and important powers were conferred on the Board of Control, under pretext of explaining and determining the sense of the former bill. This measure met with a most animated and formidable opposition. Colonel Barré protested that he had from the first discerned the traces of a system of Indian patronage, of which he believed the bill under discussion to be a great advance to the final completion; and if it should be suffered to pass, a fatal stab would be given to the Constitution.

Mr. Sheridan called upon the House to compare the power of Mr. Fox's Commissioners with those which were now asserted to belong to the Board of Control. Lord Fitzwilliam could not send out a dispatch; he could neither declare war, nor make peace, in India; he could neither collect the revenues of the Company, nor apply them to the purposes he should think proper, without having first the pleasure of the King signified to him through the medium of the Secretary of State. The Board of Control could do all this. The Minister had now violated that compact with the Company on which he originally and professedly stood—how then could he escape the ignominy of deliberately breaking his most solemn engagements?

Mr. Burke desired to be informed by Administration, "whether, when they brought in the Act of 1784, and complained that Mr. Fox's Bill took too much, they had honestly stated that all they meant to take

was

was the military power, the political direction, the management of the revenue, and as much as they could get of the commerce? The queſtion then to have put to the Houſe would have been, in whoſe hands they were willing this power ſhould be entruſted? In the hands of ſeven of the moſt reſpectable men in the kingdom, of parliamentary appointment, or with the ſhreds and remnants of office? The public had been at that time infatuated, hurried on to madneſs. The mob of 1784 had deſtroyed the Houſe of Commons, and in ſo doing they had deſtroyed the palladium of their privileges; but he now indulged the hope of ſeeing the Houſe riſe like a phœnix regenerated from its aſhes." The queſtion of commitment was carried by a majority of fifty-ſeven voices only, and on being carried into the Houſe of Lords, it experienced a ſecond oppoſition ſcarcely leſs violent than the firſt. It paſſed at length, accompanied with a proteſt ſigned by ſixteen Peers, in which the Declaratory Bill was reprobated as friendly to corrupt intrigue and cabal—hoſtile to all good government—and abhorrent to the principles of our Conſtitution. The patronage of the Company was ſaid to be enjoyed by the Commiſſioners in the worſt of all poſſible forms, and without that reſponſibility which was the natural ſecurity againſt malverſation and abuſe. In ſome degree to palliate this odious meaſure, by which the Company were for ever deprived of all efficient authority in India, they were empowered by a ſubſequent bill to borrow for the relief of their financial embarraſſments the ſum of 1,200,000l. for which, notwithſtanding the *flouriſhing condition* of their affairs, they ſtood in immediate and urgent neceſſity.

In the early part of the ſeſſion the great India delinquent Mr. Haſtings had delivered in his anſwer to the impeachment of the Commons, who immediately proceeded to the appointment of a Committee of Managers to make good the ſame. When Mr. Francis had been in the laſt ſeſſion propoſed as one of the Committee to prepare the articles, he had been objected to on the ground of the perſonal animoſity known to ſubſiſt between him and Mr. Haſtings, and which had been unfortunately productive of an encounter, wherein the life of Mr. Francis had been imminently endangered.

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Mr. Fox on the preſent occaſion again moved the Houſe, that the name of Mr. Francis be added to the liſt of Managers. He urged, "that the Houſe were not ſitting as judges of Mr. Haſtings—not even in the capacity of grand jurors; the bill had been found, and they were now become his accuſers and proſecutors. Did it diſqualify a man from acting as an accuſer, that he was animated with an honeſt indignation againſt the crimes and the criminal whom he attempted to bring to juſtice? The enmity which Mr. Francis cheriſhed againſt Mr. Haſtings was not a private but a public enmity, founded on a juſt ſenſe of the abuſes he had committed, and the truſt he had perverted. Mr. Francis had with infinite application and ability developed, by means of his local and perſonal knowledge, the whole myſtery of Indian corruption; he had enforced it on the reluctant conviction of that Houſe. Would the Houſe, now they had adopted the accuſation and made it their own, prevent its author from ſupporting it at the bar of the Houſe of Lords, where only he could ſupport it with effect?"

Mr. Francis himſelf with great dignity and animation entered into a general vindication of his character and conduct. "Upon his return from India he had been called upon," he ſaid, "to give evidence before a Committee of the Houſe of Commons. Could he without treachery to the public refuſe every information in his power? To act in the capacity of a whiſpering adviſer, or an obſcure and covert witneſs, he diſdained. In his own opinion, and in that of men of the higheſt reputation whom he had conſulted, he acted far more honorably in declaring himſelf the reſponſible accuſer of Mr. Haſtings—in avowing his principles and abiding by their conſequences. He was happy to find that the objection againſt him implied no imputation upon his character, no ſuſpicion upon his actions. He truſted that no one would think it poſſible that he meant to ſolicit the Houſe to alter their reſolution. He owed, indeed, every aſſiſtance in his power to carry into effect the taſk now undertaken. Excluſively of that conſideration, what could he deſire better than to be excuſed from any farther concern in this toilſome, invidious, and moſt unthankful office?"

Mr. Pitt

Mr. Pitt contented himſelf with ſaying, "that the queſtion was in his opinion a queſtion of feeling, and not of argument; and he could not reconcile to his ideas of propriety or delicacy the appointment of a Member as the Repreſentative of the Houſe in this buſineſs, who was diſtinguiſhed from all others by the perſonal conteſt in which he had been engaged with the accuſed." This drew down the indignation of Mr. Burke. "Was it fit or becoming," he aſked, "for a legiſlator, in a great and important queſtion, to ſay that his feelings compelled him to abandon his arguments?—that his delicacy was offended by rational inveſtigation? What was delicacy but at beſt a ſuperadded flower to virtue—an ornament, the preſence or abſence of which was alike indifferent to the ſubſtance? Delicacy and feeling might be proper terms to expreſs the ſenſations excited by the exertions of an opera ſinger, but they were an inſult to the ſolemnity and magnitude of parliamentary deliberation." At length the Houſe divided on the motion of Mr. Fox, ayes 62, noes 122.

Honorable teſtimony in behalf of Mr. Francis.

This deciſion gave extreme offence to the Committee of Managers, who expreſſed, in a letter to Mr. Francis, the high ſenſe they entertained of his merits and ſervices. "They had peruſed," they ſaid, "with great attention, the records of the Company, and they had found there, on the part of Mr. Francis, wiſe and ſteady principles of government, an exact obedience to the authority placed over him, an inflexible integrity in himſelf, and a firm reſiſtance to all corrupt practices in others; crowned by that uniform benevolent attention to the rights, properties, and welfare of the natives, which had been the leading object in his appointment. Such a conduct, ſo tried, acknowledged, and recorded, demanded their fulleſt confidence; and ſuch were the qualities that had excited their wiſh for his aſſiſtance." Thus nobly and unequivocally was the character of this diſtinguiſhed politician, patriot, and friend to mankind, vindicated in the view of preſent and of future times.

Proceedings againſt Sir Elijah Impey.

Next in dignity, and next in the general eſtimation in delinquency, to Mr. Haſtings, was Sir Elijah Impey, Chief Juſtice of the Supreme Court eſtabliſhed by the Regulating Act of 1773; againſt whom it was now

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determined to inſtitute a ſimilar proceſs. Six articles of impeachment were accordingly in the early part of the ſeſſion exhibited to the Houſe by Sir Gilbert Elliot; of which the conduct of the Chief Juſtice in the memorable buſineſs of Nundcomar conſtituted the firſt. His deciſions in the Patna and Coſſijura cauſes, his acceptance of an employment, contrary to his OATH, in the native court ſtyled the Sudder Dewannee Adaulet, to be held during the pleaſure of the Governor and Council, and his proceedings in concert with the Governor reſpecting the affairs of Benares and Oude, furniſhed ample materials for the remaining charges. On the 4th of February Sir Elijah was permitted to make his defence at the bar of the Houſe; which he performed at great length, and with great ability—confining himſelf however entirely to the charge relating to Nundcomar. For he remarked, with the artfulneſs of practiſed and technical ſubtilty, "that his mind had been ſo much deranged by the magnitude of that charge, that he found it impoſſible to exert himſelf in reply to the other accuſations till the queſtion of Nundcomar was decided. He could not bear to live under the imputation of MURDER; but if he were acquitted of *that*, he ſhould conſider all the other charges as frivolous and unimportant." Being requeſted to leave the minutes of his defence, as Mr. Haſtings had before done, upon the table, the Chief Juſtice declared it to be impoſſible—having *unfortunately* ſpoken extempore.

On the 28th of April Sir Gilbert Elliot entered upon his ſummary of the charge. He enlarged upon the "abſurdity of enforcing a law founded upon the local cuſtoms of one country againſt the natives of another. To extend by a conſtructive interpretation the Engliſh law againſt forgery, unknown on the other ſide the Tweed, to India, was no leſs prepoſterous than to try the Great Mogul and the Viziers of his Court upon the Engliſh ſtatute of Bigamy. He ſtated in the ſtrongeſt terms the expediency and equity of at leaſt granting a reſpite of the ſentence, ſince conviction had been obtained by evidence the moſt ſuſpicious, at a time when Nundcomar was in the act of bringing forward an accuſation againſt the Governor General, and when it was evident that the execution

cution of the ſentence could not take place without exciting horror and diſmay throughout Hindoſtan. He affirmed, that the blood of the MURDERED RAJAH was upon their heads, and ſtill crying for vengeance on the man who had thus ſtained and crimſoned the ſpotleſs ermine of juſtice." The defence of Sir Elijah Impey had, however, engaged and pre-occupied the minds of the Houſe. And it muſt be confeſſed, that the Chief Juſtice had ſo ſkilfully entrenched himſelf behind the impregnable ramparts of the law—the letter of which, admitting the extenſion of the ſyſtem of Engliſh juriſprudence to India, he in the whole of this tranſaction carefully avoided overſtepping—that it was difficult to pronounce him in a legal ſenſe guilty, however flagitious his conduct might appear when brought to the teſt of free and rational inveſtigation. The lawyers in the Houſe ſeemed to conſider it as a common cauſe, and exerted themſelves with peculiar ardor in his behalf; and Mr. Pitt declaring himſelf convinced of the innocence of the accuſed, the motion of Sir Gilbert Elliot was on the diviſion negatived by a majority of 73 to 65 voices. Such was the effect of this diſcouraging circumſtance, that the farther conſideration of the impeachment was adjourned over the ſeſſion, and it has never yet been reſumed. It ſeems extraordinary, that the acceptance of an appointment contrary to his oath of office, under the Governor and Council, by the Chief Juſtice, which was the immediate ground of his recall, was not made the leading article of the impeachment, as upon this head, all the ingenuity of the profeſſion, excellent and admirable as it is, could have afforded no colorable defence.

The trial of Mr. Haſtings commenced on the 15th of February; Weſtminſter Hall being fitted up for the purpoſe with great magnificence. Mr. Burke was no leſs than four ſucceſſive days in making his preliminary ſpeech, which was filled with vehement invective, with much rhetorical exaggeration, and with matter wholly extraneous to the ſubject of the impeachment. Men of plain ſenſe, whoſe object was TRUTH, and who deſired only a clear and ſimple ſummary of facts, ſighed over theſe eccentricities and follies; and augured ill of the final ſucceſs of the

impeachment

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impeachment from ſo injudicious an outſet. If approbation, however, was wanting, the place was amply ſupplied by admiration; and the ſpeech was extolled by the paraſitical flatterers of Mr. Burke, as a more than Ciceronian effort of eloquence.

On the 22d of February the Benares charge was opened by Mr. Fox; and it was concluded on the 25th by Mr. Grey, Member for the county of Northumberland, whoſe talents had attracted at a very early period of life, in an eminent degree, the attention of the Houſe, of which he was ſoon perceived deſtined to be one of the chief and moſt diſtinguiſhed ornaments.

On the 15th of April, the charge relative to the Begums of Oude was brought forward in a very able manner by Mr. Adam; and the evidence on this charge was ſummed up by Mr. Sheridan, in a ſpeech which laſted five days, and of which the more vigorous compreſſion only was wanting to the perfection of eloquence.

Bill for regulating the African ſlave trade.

The laſt buſineſs of importance which engaged the attention of Parliament, was a bill brought into the Houſe by Sir William Dolben, Member for the Univerſity of Oxford, a man of the higheſt integrity and reſpectability, to regulate the tranſportation of ſlaves from the coaſt of Africa to the Weſt Indies. At the beginning of the year, a multitude of petitions had been preſented from the different towns, cities, and counties of the kingdom, imploring in earneſt and affecting terms the abolition of that ſuperlatively nefarious and deteſtable traffic. A motion on the ſubject of theſe petitions was expected to be made by Mr. Wilberforce, Member for Yorkſhire; but in conſequence of the long-protracted and unfortunate indiſpoſition of that gentleman, Mr. Pitt on the 9th of May moved a reſolution, importing that the Houſe would early in the next ſeſſion proceed to take into conſideration the ſtate of the ſlave trade. The bill of Sir William Dolben, which was intended merely to eſtabliſh a certain reaſonable proportion between the number of ſlaves and the tonnage of the ſhips, was violently and obſtinately oppoſed by

petitions from the merchants of London and Liverpool concerned in the African trade. Counſel being therefore engaged, and witneſſes examined, it appeared in evidence at the bar of the Houſe, that five feet ſix inches in length, and ſixteen inches in breadth, was the average ſpace allotted to each ſlave. The lower deck of the veſſel was entirely covered with bodies. The ſpace between the floor of that deck and the roof above, in height about five feet eight inches, was divided by a platform, alſo covered with human bodies. The ſlaves were chained two and two by their hands and feet, and by means of ring-bolts faſtened to the deck. In that ſultry climate, their allowance was a pint of water each, *per diem;* and they were uſually fed twice a day with yams and horſe-beans. After meals they were compelled by the whip to jump in their irons, which by the ſlave-dealers was called dancing. They had not, as was emphatically ſtated, when ſtowed together, ſo much room as a man in his *coffin*, either in length or breadth. They drew their breath with laborious and anxious efforts, and many died of mere ſuffocation. The cuſtomary mortality of the voyage exceeded ſeventeen times the uſual eſtimate of human life. A ſlave ſhip, when full fraught with this cargo of wretchedneſs and abomination, exhibited at once the extremes of human depravity and human miſery.

Mr. Pitt, who on various occaſions has dropped the ſtateſman to aſſume the nobler character of the philanthropiſt, declared with indignant eloquence, "that if, as had been aſſerted by the Members for Liverpool, the trade could not be carried on in any other manner, he would retract what he had ſaid on a former day, and, waving every farther diſcuſſion, give his inſtant vote for the annihilation of a traffic thus ſhocking to humanity. He truſted that the Houſe, being now in poſſeſſion of ſuch evidence as was never before exhibited, would endeavor to extricate themſelves from the guilt and remorſe which every man ought to feel for having ſo long over-looked ſuch cruelty and oppreſſion." The bill was carried up June 18th to the Houſe of Lords, where it was fated to encounter the determined oppoſition of Lord Thurlow. His Lordſhip ſaid, that the bill was full of inconſiſtency and nonſenſe. The French had

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had lately offered premiums to encourage the African trade, and the natural preſumption was, that we ought to do the ſame. This meaſure appeared to him very like a breach of parliamentary faith. As to himſelf, he ſcrupled not to ſay, "that if the fit of philanthropy which had ſlept ſo many years had been ſuffered to ſleep one ſummer longer, it would have appeared to him more wiſe than to take up the ſubject in this diſjointed manner." The Duke of Chandos ventured to predict a general inſurrection of the Negroes in the Weſt Indies in conſequence of the agitation of the preſent queſtion. And Lord Sydney, who had once ranked amongſt the friends of liberty, expreſſed in warm terms his admiration of the ſyſtem of the ſlave laws eſtabliſhed in Jamaica, and ſaw no room for any improvement. The bill was defended by the Duke of Richmond and Marquis Townſhend in a manner which did honor to their underſtanding and feelings: and it finally paſſed by a conſiderable majority.

The King put an end to the ſeſſion July 11, by a ſpeech from the throne, in which he complimented the two Houſes on their attention and liberality. "His faithful ſubjects had every reaſon, as he affirmed, to expect the continuance of the bleſſings of peace; and the engagements which he had recently formed with the King of Pruſſia and the States General of the United Provinces, would, he truſted, promote the ſecurity and welfare of his own dominions, and contribute to the general tranquillity of Europe."

Soon after the receſs of Parliament, the King, who had been for ſome time rather indiſpoſed, was adviſed by his phyſicians to try the mineral waters of Cheltenham, which he was believed to drink in too profuſe a quantity. His health appeared neverthelefs, during his reſidence there, greatly eſtabliſhed; and he amuſed himſelf and gratified his people by various excurſions in the vicinity of that place, diſplaying on theſe occaſions much condeſcenſion and affability, and being every where received with loud acclamations. On his return to Windſor, late in the ſummer, his illneſs returned with new and alarming ſymptoms. By the end of October, it could

Alarming illneſs of the King.

could no longer be concealed that the malady of the King was of a nature peculiarly afflictive and dreadful. A mental derangement had taken place, which rendered him totally incapable of public buſineſs.

The Parliament had been prorogued to the 20th of November; a few days previous to which, a circular letter was iſſued by the Miniſters, in which the impracticability of a farther prorogation was ſignified, and the attendance of the Members earneſtly requeſted. Parliament being accordingly aſſembled, the ſtate of the King's health was formally notified to the Houſe of Peers by the Lord Chancellor, and to the Commons by Mr. Pitt: and as the Seſſion of Parliament could not be opened in the regular mode, an adjournment of fourteen days was recommended; at the end of which term, if the King's illneſs ſhould unhappily continue, it would be incumbent upon them to enter into the immediate conſideration of the ſtate of public affairs. Upon the re-aſſembling of Parliament, on the 4th of December, a Report of the Board of Privy Council was preſented to the two Houſes, containing an examination of the Royal Phyſicians; and it was properly ſuggeſted, that, conſidering the extreme delicacy of the ſubject, and the dignity of the perſon concerned, Parliament would do well to reſt ſatisfied without any more direct and expreſs information, eſpecially as the examinations of Council had been taken upon oath, which the Houſe of Commons had no power to adminiſter.

Proceedings relative to the Regency.

The ſituation of affairs was at this period ſingularly critical. The Prince of Wales, into whoſe hands the government of the country was ſoon likely to fall, retained a deep reſentment againſt the preſent Miniſters for their recent conduct reſpecting him, and took no pains to conceal his decided predilection for the perſon and politics of Mr. Fox. This diſtinguiſhed leader, on the earlieſt intelligence of the King's indiſpoſition, had returned from a ſummer excurſion to the Continent with incredible expedition; and in contemplation of an approaching change, a new arrangement of Adminiſtration was already believed to be formed, conſiſting of the principal Members of the former Coalition Miniſtry, Lord North only excepted, and of which the Duke of Portland was to be once more

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the oſtenſible head. The policy of Oppoſition ſeemed evidently repugnant to every idea of unneceſſary delay. Yet doubts were unaccountably ſtarted by Mr. Fox, Mr. Burke, and others of the ſame party, whether Parliament could in this momentous caſe diſpenſe with that ſort of evidence on which they had been accuſtomed to proceed. The validity of the objection was very faintly conteſted, and a Committee of twenty-one perſons in each Houſe, after no long debate, appointed to examine and report the ſentiments of the Royal Phyſicians. The report of the Committee was laid upon the table of the Houſe of Commons on the 10th of December; when a motion was made by Mr. Pitt, for the appointment of another Committee to inſpect the Journals for precedents of ſuch proceedings as had been adopted in former inſtances, when the ſovereign authority was ſuſpended by ſickneſs, infirmity, or any other cauſe.

Mr. Fox, ſenſible perhaps of his former error, now oppoſed with energy the preſent motion, as calculated only for delay. With reſpect to precedents, there were, he ſaid, notoriouſly none which applied to the preſent inſtance; and he affirmed, that all which was requiſite to their ultimate deciſion, had been obtained by the report now lying upon their table. By that report they had aſcertained the incapacity of the Sovereign. And he advanced as a propoſition deducible from the principles of the Conſtitution, and the analogy of the law of hereditary ſucceſſion, that whenever the Sovereign was incapable of exerciſing the functions of his high office, the Heir Apparent, if of full age and capacity, had as indiſputable a claim to the exerciſe of the executive authority, in the name and on the behalf of the Sovereign, during his incapacity, as in the caſe of his natural demiſe."

Mr. Pitt, eager to ſeize any occaſion of poſtponing, by the intervention of extraneous queſtions, the ultimate deciſion, immediately roſe with much apparent warmth, and declared, "that the aſſertion which had been made by Mr. Fox was little ſhort of TREASON againſt the CONSTITUTION. And he pledged himſelf to prove, that the Heir Apparent, in the inſtances in queſtion,

queſtion, had no more right to the exerciſe of the executive power than ANY OTHER PERSON; and that it belonged entirely to the two remaining branches of the Legiſlature, to make ſuch a proviſion for ſupplying the temporary deficiency as they might think proper." Thus was this famous queſtion at iſſue between theſe two political rivals: in which it was remarkable, that Mr. Fox, the great advocate of the rights of the people, became the defender of prerogative; and Mr. Pitt, who had been loudly accuſed of deſerting the principles of liberty, appeared in the advantageous light of their intrepid and zealous aſſertor. All thoſe popular arguments and primary axioms of Government, on which the friends of freedom ſo juſtly delight to dwell, were upon this occaſion urged by Mr. Pitt with the greateſt ſucceſs. "When the regular exerciſe of the powers of government was from any cauſe ſuſpended, to whom could the right of providing a remedy for the exiſting defect devolve, but to the people, from whom all the powers of government originated? To aſſert an inherent right in the Prince of Wales to aſſume the government, was virtually to revive thoſe exploded ideas of the divine and indefeaſible authority of Princes, which had ſo juſtly ſunk into contempt and almoſt into oblivion. Kings and Princes derive their power from the people, and to the people alone, through the organ of their repreſentatives, did it appertain to decide in caſes for which the Conſtitution had made no ſpecific or poſitive proviſion." In vain was every effort attempted to ſtem the tide of popular opinion, which ran with no leſs violence at this criſis in favor of Mr. Pitt, than at the commencement of his miniſterial career. In vain was it urged, that the primary principles of government were not the ſubjects of the preſent controverſy. The queſtion was ſimply, to determine what the analogy of the Conſtitution required in a caſe wherein no recourſe could be had to authoritative precedents or to legal deciſions. The conſtitutional authority of Parliament to provide for the ſafety of the nation, in an exigency like the preſent, muſt be univerſally acknowledged. But the doubt was, whether, in the appointment of a Regent, they were to exerciſe a judicial or an elective authority. If the former, the buſineſs was at an end; for they muſt neceſſarily *adjudge* the Regency to the Prince. But if they were to exerciſe an arbitrary elective power, Mr. Pitt

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might make himſelf competitor of the Prince of Wales. Upon the Regent of their ELECTION they would undoubtedly, as was the practice in all elective governments, impoſe ſuch limitations as they thought proper. Thus the balance of the Conſtitution would be deſtroyed, the Executive Power would become wholly dependent upon the Legiſlative, and the genius of the Government would be radically and eſſentially changed. The ſovereign authority is not a property, but an office. To execute that office, certain powers are neceſſary; and whoever exerciſes it, and under whatever name he acts, ought to be poſſeſſed of thoſe neceſſary powers; and no man under any title or denomination ought to be inveſted with more than are neceſſary. If hereditary monarchy be eſtabliſhed as a ſalutary proviſion to fruſtrate the machinations of faction, the ſame rule applies to a Regent, who ought to be inveſted with all the authority requiſite to preſerve the tranquillity and promote the welfare of the State." Mr. Fox not chooſing to take the ſenſe of the Houſe, Mr. Pitt's motion for precedents was carried without a diviſion.

A ſimilar motion was the next day made by Lord Camden in the Houſe of Peers, and the doctrine of Mr. Fox reprobated by his Lordſhip with great ſeverity. It was on the other hand defended with eloquence and ability by Lord Loughborough, and Lord Stormont, who concluded his ſpeech with recommending an immediate addreſs to the Prince of Wales, entreating him to aſſume the exerciſe of the Royal authority. The diſcuſſion of the abſtract queſtion of right being perceived to afford a great and unexpected advantage to the Miniſtry, the Duke of York, ſoon after this debate, in the name of the Prince, expreſſed his wiſhes, "that the queſtion might be waved. No claim of right, his Highneſs ſaid, had been advanced by the Prince of Wales; and he was confident that his brother too well underſtood the ſacred principles which ſeated the Houſe of Brunſwick upon the throne, ever to aſſume or exerciſe any power, be his claim what it might, that was not derived from the will of the people expreſſed by their repreſentatives."

Lord Thurlow, who had at firſt conſented to take a part in the new

Adminiſtration, in the arrangement of which the poſt of Lord Preſident had been aſſigned to him, now varying the courſe of his policy, ſpoke with great energy of his "ſentiments of affection towards the King. Nothing could be more diſgraceful than to deſert the Sovereign in his diſtreſſed and helpleſs ſituation. His own debt of gratitude was ample, and when he forgot his King might GOD forget him." Theſe expreſſions were rumored to be the reſult of certain intimations, which his Lordſhip had recently received of the happy and not very diſtant proſpect of the King's recovery. This was however as yet a matter of anxious and precarious *ſpeculation.*

In the Committee on the State of the Nation, December 16, Mr. Pitt moved two Declaratory Reſolutions, importing, 1. The interruption of the Royal Authority; and 2. That it was the duty of the two Houſes of Parliament to *provide the means* of ſupplying that defect. A vehement debate enſued; in the courſe of which Mr. Fox declared "the principles of the Miniſter to be, that the Monarchy was indeed hereditary, but that the Executive Power ought to be elective. The legal metaphyſics that thus diſtinguiſhed between the crown and its functions were to him unintelligible. The inveſtigators ſhould be ſchoolmen, and not ſtateſmen, if a queſtion that ſo deeply involved the exiſtence of the Conſtitution were to be thus diſcuſſed. Where, ſaid he, is that famous DICTUM to be found, by which the crown is guarded with ſuch inviolable ſanctity, while its *powers* are left to the mercy of every aſſailant?" The Reſolution was at length carried, on a diviſion, by 268 againſt 204 voices. This great point being gained, the Miniſtry proceeded without heſitation or delay to convert it to their own pre-concerted purpoſes.

On the 23d of December, a third Reſolution paſſed, empowering the Chancellor of Great Britain to affix the Great Seal to ſuch Bill of Limitations as might be neceſſary to reſtrict the power of the future Regent. This mode of procedure was oppoſed with great animation by Lord North. "A perſon," ſaid his Lordſhip, "is to be ſet up without power or diſcretion; and this pageant, this fictitious being, is to give the force

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of a law to the deciſions of the two Houſes. Was it ever before heard of, that there could be a power of giving aſſent without the power of refuſing that aſſent? Would any man ſeriouſly maintain that the Third Eſtate thus conjured up is really diſtinct from the other two?" It was ſtyled, in the heat and paſſion of debate, "an inſulting fraud," a "mockery of legiſlation," a "legal forgery." And an amendment was finally moved by Mr. Dempſter, "That the Prince of Wales be requeſted to take upon himſelf the adminiſtration of the Government during the Royal incapacity." On the diviſion the amendment was negatived by 251 to 178 voices.

The Reſolutions which had paſſed the Commons being communicated for the concurrence of the Lords, a ſimilar amendment to that of Mr. Dempſter was moved by Lord Rawdon; when, after a violent debate, the Reſolutions were confirmed, on a diviſion of 66 to 99 Peers.

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On the 2d of January 1789, to complete the ſingularity and perplexity of the buſineſs, died Mr. Cornwall, Speaker of the Houſe of Commons; and on the 5th, the vacant Chair was filled by Mr. Grenville, brother to Lord Temple,—the irregularity of his entering upon the duties of his office without the ſanction of the Royal approbation being ſcarcely noticed, amid the preſſure of affairs ſo much more important. The Bill of Limitations, when ready to be introduced into the Houſe, was obſtructed by an unſeaſonable motion of Mr. Loveden, that the Phyſicians be reexamined on the ſubject of the King's illneſs, and the probability of recovery. This motion was the reſult of various reports reſpecting the diſagreement of opinion amongſt the Phyſicians themſelves,—reports ſufficiently corroborated by the ſubſequent examination, which left the Houſe as much in the dark as ever as to the event; anſwering no other purpoſe than to create an additional delay, of which the Miniſter well knew the value and the advantage. A letter was at length written to the Prince of Wales by Mr. Pitt, informing his Royal Highneſs of the plan meant to be purſued:—that the care of the King's perſon, and the diſpoſition of the Royal houſehold, ſhould be committed to the Queen, who would by this

this means be veſted with the patronage of four hundred places, amongſt which were the great offices of Lord Steward, Lord Chamberlain, and Maſter of the Horſe. That the power of the Prince ſhould not extend to the granting any office, reverſion, or penſion, for any other term than during the King's pleaſure, nor to the conferring any peerage. The anſwer of the Prince was firm, dignified, and temperate. He ſaid, "it was with deep regret that he perceived in the propoſitions of Adminiſtration a project for introducing weakneſs, diſorder, and inſecurity into every branch of political buſineſs;—for ſeparating the Court from the State, and depriving Government of its natural and accuſtomed ſupport; a ſcheme for diſconnecting the authority to command ſervice from the power of animating it by reward; and for allotting to him all the invidious duties of the kingly ſtation, without the means of ſoftening them to the public by any one act of grace, favor, or benignity. He obſerved, that the plea of public utility muſt be ſtrong, manifeſt, and urgent, that could thus require the extinction or ſuſpenſion of any one of thoſe eſſential rights in the Supreme Power or its Repreſentative, or which could juſtify the Prince in conſenting, that in his perſon an experiment ſhould be made to aſcertain with how ſmall a portion of kingly power the executive government of his country could be conducted. In fine, the Prince declared, that his conviction of the evils which might otherwiſe ariſe, outweighed in his mind every other conſideration, and would determine him to undertake the painful truſt impoſed upon him by that melancholy neceſſity, which of all the King's ſubjects he deplored the moſt."

The bill intended to carry into effect this wild and dangerous project, the offspring of party intereſt and perſonal ambition, calculated only, as was juſtly and forcibly remarked, "to eſtabliſh a weak Government and a ſtrong Oppoſition," was brought into the Houſe on the 16th of January, 1789. Long and violent debates enſued, in which the bill was attacked in its principle and all its parts with the united powers of argument and eloquence. In animadverting upon that extraordinary clauſe which conferred the diſpoſal and patronage of the Royal houſehold upon the Queen,

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on pretence of maintaining the reſpect due to the perſonal dignity of the King, Mr. Burke declared, "that this was no other than a ſolemn mockery of Royalty, when it was known to the whole world that Providence, in its inſcrutable wiſdom, had *hurled* the Monarch from his throne, and had reduced him to a ſtate in which he was the object of compaſſion to the meaneſt of his ſubjects." The bill at length paſſed the Commons by a large majority. But the conteſt in the Houſe of Lords was equally obſtinate; and a proteſt was in the courſe of it entered upon the Journals of the Houſe, ſigned by the Duke of York, at the head of the Princes of the blood, and fifty-five other Peers, expreſſive of their higheſt indignation at the reſtrictions on the Executive Authority thus arbitrarily impoſed. Theſe extraordinary proceedings were at length, happily for the public, arreſted in their progreſs, by an intimation from the Lord Chancellor, that the King was declared by his phyſicians to be in a ſtate of convaleſcence.

Perfect recovery of the King.

This was followed by a declaration on the 10th of March, that his Majeſty, being perfectly recovered from his indiſpoſition, had ordered a Commiſſion to be iſſued for holding the Parliament in the uſual manner. The tidings of the King's recovery diffuſed the moſt general and heartfelt ſatisfaction. A national thankſgiving was appointed, and the King himſelf went in ſolemn proceſſion to the cathedral of St. Paul's, to offer up his grateful devotions on this event; which was celebrated throughout the kingdom by ſplendid illuminations, and all the other accuſtomed demonſtrations of joy.

Wiſe conduct of the Iriſh Parliament reſpecting the Regency.

The conduct of the Iriſh Parliament in this buſineſs formed a ſtriking contraſt to that of the Engliſh; and was dictated by a policy the moſt ſimple, obvious, and rational. On the aſcertainment of the fact reſpecting the incapacity of the Sovereign, Mr. Conolly moved, February 11, 1789, "That an addreſs be preſented to the Prince of Wales, requeſting him immediately to take upon himſelf the government of that kingdom as Regent, during the continuance of the King's incapacity." This was carried WITHOUT A DIVISION. To this reſolution the Houſe of Lords acceded. But the Lord Lieutenant, the Marquis of Buckingham (late Earl Temple), refuſing, by a raſh and hazardous exerciſe of diſcretion, to

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transmit this address to England, commissioners were appointed by both Houses to present the address in person to his Royal Highness. The rapid and unexpected recovery of the King, happily superseded the object of their commission. But the Prince in his reply declared, "that nothing could obliterate from his memory the sentiments of gratitude which he felt for their generous kindness."

Among the innumerable evils attending the mode of procedure adopted by the British Parliament, one of the most formidable was the possible, and even probable, dissimilarity of the decisions of the two Legislatures. Had the Prince of Wales refused, under the degrading circumstances with which the offer of the Regency was accompanied in England, to accept the government of the kingdom, there is good reason to believe that it would have been conferred upon the Queen, while the Prince would have been constituted Regent of Ireland, with the usual powers of royalty. This would doubtless have given rise to a question of the most important, and at the same time of the most difficult, nature, viz. Whether Ireland, agreeably to the political compact subsisting between the two countries, could constitutionally emancipate herself from the Executive Government established in England, under whatever name, or by whatever persons, it might be exercised? Of this perplexing and dangerous question, the prudence of the Prince in accepting of the Regency under all the concomitant humiliating restrictions of Parliament, fortunately precluded not only the investigation, but even the mention.

In the speech delivered by the Chancellor in the name of the King to the two Houses, his Majesty conveyed to them his warmest acknowledgments for the additional proofs they had given of their attachment to his person, and their concern for the honor and interest of his Crown. It soon appeared that the late proceedings of the Ministry were in the highest degree acceptable to the Sovereign: and those persons holding posts under the Government, who had concurred in the measures of the Opposition, were unceremoniously dismissed from their offices;

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amongſt whom were the Marquis of Lothian, the Duke of Queenſberry, Lord Carteret, and Lord Malmeſbury,

Shop tax repealed.

Before the firſt auſpicious moments of gratulation had ſubſided, Mr. Fox renewed his popular motion for the repeal of the Shop Tax, to which Mr. Pitt did not, in the preſent circumſtances, chooſe any longer to refuſe his aſſent; though he declared he had heard nothing in the way of argument, which induced him to change his original opinion. He accordingly moved an omiſſion of that part of the preamble to the bill of repeal, by which the tax was pronounced a partial and oppreſſive impoſition, militating againſt the juſt principles of taxation.

Hawkers and Pedlars Act explained and amended.

Mr. Dempſter at the ſame time moved for a repeal of the Hawkers and Pedlars Tax, which was originally impoſed on the extraordinary ground of its operating as an indemnity to the ſhopkeeper; thus ſacrificing one claſs of men to the convenience and accommodation of another. A total repeal of this law nevertheleſs could not be obtained; but a bill paſſed to explain and amend the act, by which the more onerous clauſes were mitigated, and theſe friendleſs and injured people reſtored in ſome meaſure to their civil and commercial rights.

Mr. Beaufoy's ſecond motion for a repeal of the Teſt.

A motion of much greater importance was introduced ſoon after this (May 8), by Mr. Beaufoy, being a renewal of the application two years ago ſubmitted to the Houſe, for the repeal of the Corporation and Teſt Acts; "prompted," as he ſaid, "thereto by the unalterable confidence which the Diſſenters repoſed in the diſpoſition of the Houſe to do juſtice to the injured, and afford relief to the oppreſſed. And they could not forget how frequently the Legiſlature had granted the requeſts, which cauſeleſs alarms had at firſt induced them to refuſe." This motion was ſupported by Mr. Fox with a force of argument which could not but make ſome degree of impreſſion on the moſt callous and prejudiced mind. This great ſtateſman laid it down as a primary axiom of policy, "that no human

human government had juriſdiction over opinions as ſuch, and more particularly over religious opinions. It had no right to preſume that it knew them, and much leſs to act upon that preſumption. When opinions were productive of acts injurious to ſociety, the law knew how and where to apply the remedy. If the reverſe of this doctrine were adopted, if the actions of men were to be prejudged from their opinions, it would ſow the ſeeds of everlaſting jealouſy and diſtruſt; it would give the moſt unlimited ſcope to the malignant paſſions; it would incite each man to divine the opinions of his neighbor, to deduce miſchievous conſequences from them, and then to prove that he ought to incur diſabilities, to be fettered with reſtrictions, to be haraſſed with penalties. From this intolerant principle had flowed every ſpecies of party zeal, every ſyſtem of political perſecution, every extravagance of religious hate. It was an irreverent and impious opinion to maintain that the Church muſt depend for ſupport as an engine or ally of the State, and not on the evidence of its doctrines, and the excellency of their moral effects. Moderation and indulgence to other ſects were equally conducive to the happineſs of mankind and the ſafety of the Church. Since the æra of the Revolution the Church had flouriſhed, becauſe her imaginary fears had been diſſipated. She had improved in knowledge and candor, becauſe, inſtead of being enabled to impoſe ſilence on the Diſſenters by the ſtrong hand of power, ſhe had been obliged to hear their arguments; and the community at large had found the happy effects, which a colliſion of opinions in open and liberal diſcuſſion, among men living under the ſame Government, never fails to produce. There were many men not of the Eſtabliſhment, to whoſe ſervices their country had a claim. Surely a citizen of this deſcription might be permitted without danger or abſurdity to ſay, 'Though I diſſent from the Church, I am a friend to the Conſtitution; and on religious ſubjects I am entitled to think and act as I pleaſe.' Ought the Country to be deprived of the benefit ſhe might derive from the talents of ſuch men, and his Majeſty be prevented from diſpenſing the favors of the Crown except to one deſcription of his ſubjects? Mr. Fox declared himſelf a friend to an Eſtabliſhment of Religion in every country, framed agreeably to the ſentiments

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of the majority of its inhabitants. But to inveſt that Eſtabliſhment with a monopoly of civil and religious privileges, was palpably unjuſt, and remote from the purpoſe of an Eſtabliſhment, which was no otherwiſe connected with the State, than as it tended to promote morality and good order among the people. The Teſt and Corporation Acts had ſubſiſted, it was contended, for more than a century. True; but how had they ſubſiſted? By repeated ſuſpenſions. For the Indemnity Bills were, literally ſpeaking, annual Acts. Where then would be the impropriety of ſuſpending them for ever by an Act of perpetual operation?—Let not Great Britain be the laſt to avail herſelf of the general improvement of the human underſtanding. Indulgence to other ſects, a candid reſpect for their opinions, a deſire to promote charity and good-will, were the beſt proofs that any religion could give of its divine origin. To the Church of England in particular he would ſay,

"Tuque prior, tu parce genus qui ducis Olympo."

Such are the noble and exalted ſentiments which have long elevated Mr. Fox to the rank of the firſt ſtateſman of his age and nation.

The motion of Mr. Beauſoy was zealouſly oppoſed by Lord North, in a ſpeech conſiſting, as it was juſtly deſcribed by a Member of the Houſe in debate, of "a ſeries of pompous nothings." Mr. Pitt alſo again appeared as its opponent, in an artificial harangue decorated with a great external ſhew of candor and ſpeciouſneſs of language.

On a diviſion the numbers were, Ayes 104, Noes 124; ſo that this important queſtion—important indeed even beyond what the Miniſter himſelf probably had at this period any conception of—was loſt by 20 voices only. This therefore might be regarded as a decided victory on the part of the Diſſenters, had they known how to improve their advantage. But their reſentment againſt the Court and the Miniſter was not at all abated by the ſoft and ſoothing expreſſions by which Mr. Pitt attempted to diſguiſe and palliate his refuſal: and the ground they had gained in deſpite

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of the courtly machinations againſt them, excited a degree of elation which led to groſs and fatal indiſcretions.

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About this period, a bill of a nature very meritorious was introduced into the Houſe of Peers by Lord Stanhope, for the repeal of a number of obſolete and vexatious laws, inflicting penalties upon perſons abſenting themſelves from the ſervice of the Church, ſpeaking in derogation of the Book of Common Prayer, &c. On the ſecond reading, Dr. Moore, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, a prelate of a diſpoſition naturally mild and generous, rouſed by this alarming attack upon the CHURCH, roſe to give his decided oppoſition to the meaſure*. "The bill under their Lordſhips' diſcuſſion, if permitted to paſs, would ſerve as a cover, his Grace affirmed, to every ſpecies of irreligion. If unreſtrained ſpeaking, writing, and publiſhing on the ſubject of Religion were tolerated, there was ſcarcely any miſchief to the Church or to Civil Society that imagination could frame, which might not be effected. The very foundation of Religion, *as by Law eſtabliſhed*, might be undermined and overthrown."

Lord Stanhope's motion for repealing various penal ſtatutes.

Dr. Warren, Biſhop of Bangor, obſerved, "that it remained for theſe days of licentiouſneſs to call in queſtion the propriety and wiſdom of thoſe regulations which their Lordſhips were now ſolicited to repeal. To compel men by penalties not to abſent themſelves from the public places of worſhip, did not militate againſt any ſort of religious liberty, ſince the Diſſenters were allowed to reſort to their own congregations: and he who could not communicate with either, might well be ſuppoſed to hold doctrines injurious to the State, and which ought not to be tolerated."

Dr. Halifax, of St. Aſaph, enforced this aſſertion, and reminded the Houſe of the inſtitution among the Locrians, which obliged every man

* Dr. Frederic Cornwallis, late Primate of England, who filled the archiepiſcopal ſee of Canterbury nearly fifteen years, died A. D. 1783. He was a Churchman, moderate in principle, and amiable in manners. If he could not boaſt the profound learning of a Potter, or the exalted beneficence of a Herring; much leſs could he be charged with the deep malignity of a Wake, or the narrow bigotry of a Secker.

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that propoſed a repeal of an exiſting law, to come into the Aſſembly with a rope about his neck."

Dr. Horſley, of St. David's, expreſſed himſelf in terms ſtill more indignant, and with ſtill greater ardor of holy zeal. He ſaid "the bill in queſtion was calculated to tear away the foundations of the Church of England, and through her means to deſtroy the very being of the Engliſh Conſtitution. The Act of Elizabeth impoſing a fine upon the non-attendance on divine worſhip, was a ſalutary law. It was a miſtake to ſuppoſe the right of private judgment in religion unlimited. The Magiſtrate had a right to puniſh Atheiſm, as a crime againſt the welfare of Society; and by the ſame rule, to puniſh a contempt for the Revelation of God in the Chriſtian Religion. There was moreover always danger in diſturbing ancient laws, for the exiſtence of which, at a diſtant period, no good reaſon could be given. Their wiſdom, though not obvious at the period of the repeal, was generally proved by the miſchief that enſued upon their annihilation."

Lord Stormont, enlightened and enraptured with theſe arguments, paid high compliments to the Bench of Biſhops, declaring that they had that day done themſelves infinite credit, and rendered their characters ſacred in the public eſtimation. It is needleſs to ſay that the bill was rejected.

On the approach of the ſummer receſs, Mr. Dundas, agreeably to the tenor of the India Regulation Bill, made his annual ſtatement of the finances of the Company, which he repreſented as in a moſt proſperous and flouriſhing condition; concluding however, as uſual, with a motion to empower the Company to raiſe the ſum of one million, by way of increaſe of capital, to be ſubſcribed by the preſent proprietors of Eaſt India Stock; and the bill founded on this motion paſſed both Houſes with trivial oppoſition.

Mr. Wilberforce's motion reſpecting the abolition of the Slave Trade.

The ſeſſion was far advanced, when Mr. Wilberforce brought forward his long expected motion, relating to the abolition of the African Slave

Trade, which was now become the theme of public execration. Mr. Wilberforce divided his ſubject into three parts—the nature of the Trade as it affected Africa itſelf; the appearance it aſſumed in the tranſportation of the ſlaves; and the conſiderations ſuggeſted by their actual ſtate in the Weſt Indies. What muſt be the natural conſequence of a Slave Trade with Africa, with a country vaſt in its extent, not utterly barbarous, but civilized in a very ſmall degree? Was it not plain that ſhe muſt ſuffer from it? that her ſavage manners muſt be rendered ſtill more ferocious, and that a Slave Trade carried on round her coaſts, muſt extend violence and deſolation to her very centre? Such were preciſely the circumſtances proved by the evidence before the Privy Council. As to the mode in which the ſlaves were tranſported from Africa to the Weſt Indies, he affirmed that ſo much miſery condenſed into ſo ſmall a compaſs was more than human imagination had ever before conceived. It was the conſtant practice to ſet ſail in the night, that the ſlaves, wrung with diſtreſs at quitting for ever their native country, might not be ſenſible of the moment of departure. This dreadful event was marked with ſongs and tears of lamentation. It appeared in evidence, that a Captain more ſuſceptible than the reſt had threatened a woman with the terrors of the laſh, becauſe her ſong was too painful for his feelings. The mortality on board the ſhips was prodigious; and including the ſubſequent *ſeaſoning*, it did not amount to leſs than 50 per cent.

On their arrival in the Weſt Indies, aſtringents and waſhes were employed to hide their wounds, and *make them up for ſale*—artifices at once fraudulent and fatal. This infamous traffic was alſo known to be the grave of ſailors employed in it. Of 3170 ſeamen who had ſailed from Liverpool in 1787, only 1428 had returned.

Mr. Wilberforce ſaid he felt the wickedneſs of the Slave Trade to be ſo enormous, ſo dreadful, and irremediable, that he could ſtop at no alternative ſhort of its abolition. He acknowledged that his mind had indeed been haraſſed with the objections of the Weſt India Planters, who had aſſerted that the ruin of their property muſt be the conſequence of this regulation.

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gulation. He could not, however, help diſtruſting their arguments. He could not believe that the Almighty Being, who forbade the practice of rapine and blood, had made rapine and bloodſhed neceſſary to any part of his creation. Light ſoon broke in upon his mind. His ſuſpicions were confirmed by daily information, and the evidence he had now to offer upon this point was deciſive and complete. The principle upon which he founded the neceſſity of the act, was not indeed policy but juſtice; but though juſtice were the principle of the meaſure, he would pledge himſelf to prove it reconcileable with our trueſt political intereſt. From an induction of authentic facts, he ſhewed that the number of ſlaves had rapidly increaſed by natural means on thoſe plantations—and many ſuch he enumerated—where they had been treated on a plan of lenity and humanity; and that the enormous annual importation from Africa was rendered neceſſary merely by the prevalence of that ſyſtem of cruelty and oppreſſion which the abolition of the Slave Trade muſt eventually ſubvert. But it was urged, that the intereſt of the maſters would induce them in the uſual courſe of things to treat their ſlaves with kindneſs and humanity. Mr. Wilberforce appealed to univerſal experience for the fallacy of this argument. It was certainly the true and ultimate intereſt of the planters, to adopt the ſyſtem of lenity. But they conſulted their apparent and immediate intereſt in impoſing rigorous taſks, and in circumſcribing within the narroweſt limits their miſerable allotments of food, of clothing, and of repoſe. To aſſert that men will of courſe act as their intereſt under the guidance of reaſon would dictate, is in effect to pronounce all men upright and virtuous; for virtue is the path to genuine happineſs. But are not mankind inveloped in the miſts of ignorance, of folly, and of paſſion? Was it not the grand and perpetual object of religion, of morality, and of all juſt and beneficent legiſlation, to enlighten the human mind, and to aſſiſt men in diſcerning their true intereſt; to warn them of the danger of departing from it, of being deceived by falſe and flattering ſuggeſtions;—in a word to incite them, though too oft in vain, to the practice of what is right, and to deter them from the commiſſion of that which is wrong, by motives the moſt powerful, by ſanctions the moſt ſacred? Mr. Wilberforce concluded a long and excellent ſpeech, equally addreſſed

to

to the underſtanding and feelings of the Houſe, and which produced a moſt ſenſible and powerful effect, by moving, not, as was generally expected, a general vote of cenſure and reprobation, which would have impoſed an obligation on the Houſe to have proceeded to ſtrong and deciſive meaſures; but an elaborate and tedious ſeries of complex and ſomewhat dubious propoſitions, twelve in number, ſpecifying the number of ſlaves imported from Africa into the Britiſh Weſt Indies; the different deſcriptions of perſons included in this aggregate number; the injury ſuſtained by the ſeamen employed in the African Trade; the cauſes of the mortality of the Negroes; and the different *items* of calculation reſpecting the increaſe of population in Jamaica and Barbadoes; and they concluded with declaring coldly, that no conſiderable or permanent inconvenience would reſult from diſcontinuing the farther importation.

Upon theſe propoſitions, Mr. Wilberforce ſaid he did not mean to urge the Houſe to come to any immediate vote. This afforded ample ſcope on the part of the anti-abolitioniſts, Lord Penryn, Lord Maitland, &c. &c. and they eagerly embraced the opportunity to create new difficulty and delay. Mr. Wilberforce declaring that he relied on the evidence contained in the Report of the Privy Council, they inſiſted that the Merchants and Planters intereſted in this buſineſs were entitled to be heard by Counſel.

Mr. Pitt obſerved with ſome degree of indignation, and as a very extraordinary circumſtance, that the Report had lain many weeks on the table, and no argument againſt its ſufficiency had been heard of, till the moment was arrived that the Houſe was expected to come to an ultimate vote on the ſubject. At length, however, he conceded, with the too eaſy conſent of Mr. Wilberforce, to the examination of witneſſes on the part of the Slave Merchants and Planters—vainly and credulouſly "truſting that unneceſſary delays would not be introduced, as he could by no means ſubmit to the ultimate procraſtination of ſo important a buſineſs." Lord Penryn in the courſe of the debate aſſerting, that, to his knowledge, the Planters were willing to aſſent to any *regulation* of the trade, ſhort of

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its abolition, Mr. Fox, with glowing eloquence, declared, "that he knew of no ſuch thing as a regulation of robbery and reſtriction of murder. There was no medium; the Legiſlature muſt either aboliſh the trade, or plead guilty to all the iniquity with which it was attended. This was a traffic which no Government could authorize, without participation in the infamy." Evidence being heard at the bar of the Houſe for ſeveral ſucceſſive weeks, it was at length, on the 23d of June, moved by Mr. Alderman Newnham, "that the farther conſideration of the ſubject be deferred to the next ſeſſion."

One of the moſt able and zealous aſſociates of Mr. Wilberforce in this buſineſs, from the commencement of it, was Mr. William Smith, Member for Sudbury, whoſe character in reſpect of honor, probity, and underſtanding, had perhaps no ſuperior within or without the walls of that Houſe. Upon this occaſion Mr. Smith expreſſed his anxiety, "that the queſtion ſhould be brought to a ſpeedy iſſue. He had not heard any good reaſon why the examination of witneſſes might not be carried on for ſome weeks longer. It was known that the hearing of evidence was at all times thinly attended. If therefore the few Members that did attend were willing to give up their time a little longer, why ſhould other Members complain of an inconvenience, in the ſuffering of which they took no ſhare?" The queſtion, however, was carried without a diviſion, and the temporary Regulation Act of Sir William Dolben was renewed for another year.

It is worthy of tranſient remark, that Mr. Wilberforce, Mr. Smith, and Sir William Dolben, all of whom had conſpicuouſly diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the progreſs of this buſineſs, were of religious perſuaſions very diſſimilar—Mr. Wilberforce being a favorer of the doctrines of Methodiſm, Mr. Smith an avowed Diſſenter, and Sir William Dolben an High Churchman. But on this great queſtion, which involved in it the general intereſts of mankind, all ſubordinate differences vaniſhed, and it ſufficed to every valuable purpoſe, that they were all of the exalted and univerſal religion of HUMANITY *.

The

* In the beautiful Poetic Epiſtle, addreſſed to Mr. Wilberforce by the celebrated Mrs. Barbauld,

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1789. Trial of Mr. Haſtings reſumed—Indiſcretion of Mr. Burke.

The trial of Mr. Haſtings was reſumed early in the ſeſſion, and the third article, reſpecting preſents illegally and corruptly received by Mr. Haſtings, brought forward by Mr. Burke. In his opening ſpeech in ſupport of this charge, in which the fatal buſineſs of Nund-comar ſtood moſt conſpicuous, Mr. Burke made uſe of the following indiſcreet expreſſion: "that man Mr. Haſtings MURDERED by the hands of Sir Elijah Impey." This afforded a ground of petition from Mr. Haſtings, that this allegation ſhould be proſecuted in ſpecific articles, or that the Houſe ſhould grant him ſuch redreſs as to them ſhould ſeem meet." After a long debate, the Houſe of Commons reſolved, "that no authority had been given by the Houſe for the purpoſe of making any criminal charge reſpecting the death of Nund-comar, and that the words complained of ought not to have been ſpoken." With this ſort of reparation, though not abſolutely amounting to an affirmation of innocence, Mr. Haſtings was compelled to reſt ſatisfied.

Barbauld, on the ſubject of the Slave Trade, are to be found the following picturesque and animated lines, deſcriptive of the miſeries entailed on the natives of Africa by this horrid traffic:

Nor in their palmy walks and ſpicy groves
The form benign of rural Pleaſure roves;
No milk-maid's ſong, or hum of village talk,
Sooths the lone Poet in his evening walk;
No willing arm the flail unwearied plies,
Where the mix'd ſounds of cheerful labor riſe;
No blooming maids and frolic ſwains are ſeen
To pay gay homage to their harveſt queen.
No heart-expanding ſcenes their eyes muſt prove,
Of thriving induſtry and faithful love:
But ſhrieks and yells diſturb the balmy air,
Dumb ſullen looks of woe announce deſpair,
And angry eyes thro' duſky features glare.
Friends of the friendleſs—Hail, ye generous band!
Whoſe efforts yet arreſt Heaven's lifted hand;
Around whoſe ſteady brows, in union bright,
The Civic wreath and Chriſtian's palm unite;
Your merit ſtands—no greater and no leſs
Without or with the varniſh of ſucceſs.

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Mr. Addington chosen Speaker.

Mr. Grenville, Speaker of the House of Commons, being advanced, upon the resignation of Lord Sydney, to the office of Secretary of State, and in the sequel to a peerage, was succeeded, after sitting in the chair of the House scarcely six months, by Henry Addington, Esq. The new Speaker soon acquired great reputation for dignity, integrity and impartiality in the discharge of his office; and he is, by the united voice of contending factions, allowed to rank amongst the ablest of those who have occupied that high and difficult station.

In providing the supplies of the year, Mr. Pitt was obliged to acknowledge the necessity of borrowing the sum of one million, contrary to his own prediction, that no loan would be wanted. This necessity, however, did not arise from the unproductiveness of the taxes, which rose even higher than the previous estimate of the Minister; but from extraordinary and unforeseen causes, the principal of which were the sums voted for the liquidation of the arrear of the Civil List, and of the debt of the Prince of Wales, and the expence of the late Armament: so that the general prospect of future and permanent prosperity remained wholly unimpaired; and the Minister acquired, from the present state of commerce and of the public funds and revenues, great and just increase of reputation.

Tobacco Excise Bill.

An important operation of finance took place in the course of the session, in the exchange of the heavy duties on tobacco from the customs to the excise. This was effected with general approbation, and great advantage to the public. It is a circumstance well worthy of observation, as characteristic of the caprice and inconstancy of the public opinion, that this measure, which had nearly cost Sir Robert Walpole his place, and even endangered his life—and against which 200 Members of the House of Commons divided on the original motion of the Minister, and which he was finally compelled to relinquish—was now opposed on the third reading of the bill by 20 voices only, in a thin and deserted House of 90 Members.

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The ſeſſion was terminated Auguſt 11, 1789, by a ſpeech from the Lord Chancellor in the name of the Sovereign; in which it was obſerved, "that although the good offices of the King and his Allies had not been effectual for the reſtoration of the general tranquillity, the ſituation of affairs promiſed to this country the uninterrupted enjoyment of the bleſſings of peace." This was an aſſurance highly and peculiarly grateful, in conſequence of the recent events which had taken place in the different kingdoms of Europe. A war had been kindled, which gradually diffuſed itſelf from the Euxine to the Baltic—from the ſnow-clad mountains of Norway to the arid waſtes of Tartary: and the foundations of a great and ſtupendous revolution had been laid, which, almoſt inſtantly expanding itſelf into gigantic growth, became the ſubject of terror, no leſs than of aſtoniſhment, to the ſurrounding nations.

State of Europe.

Never was Europe more deceived than in the idea ſhe had originally formed of the character of the Emperor Joſeph II, upon whom, on his firſt entrance into the grand ſcenes of public life, all eyes were fixed, and under whoſe ſpecious exterior the credulous enthuſiaſm of hope had diſcovered all the qualities of a legiſlator and a hero. And he was confidently announced as the Monarch deſtined to throw the ſplendid reputation of Frederic the Great into ſhade. Time however ſoon diſpelled theſe falſe and flattering prepoſſeſſions; and he was perceived to be equally deſtitute of the talents and the virtues neceſſary to the formation of a great and illuſtrious character. Burning with an inſatiable thirſt for GLORY, that Moloch of Princes, at whoſe bloody ſhrine millions of human victims have been offered, his mind ſeemed eternally haraſſed and haunted with the enquiry, "What ſhall I do to be for ever known?" While that juſtly celebrated Stateſman the Prince de Kaunitz retained his influence over the Councils of the Court of Vienna, a veil was caſt over the vices and defects of the Sovereign. But as he advanced in life, and began to act upon his own ideas, and in reliance upon his own judgment, his vanity, his verſatility, his rapacity, his raſhneſs, and his folly became apparent to all. Diſappointed in his recent and favorite ſchemes of ambition, his evil

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genius now ſuggeſted another project ſtill more abſurd and impracticable than the former.

Since the famous Treaty of Weſtphalia, by which the independency of Holland had been recognized by Spain, that haughty Power, ſenſible of the erroneous policy which had loſt ſo valuable a poſſeſſion, adopted, with relation to the provinces which yet remained, a mild and lenient ſyſtem of government. On the transfer of the Low Countries to the houſe of Auſtria by the Treaty of Utrecht, the ſame equitable treatment was obſerved; and that no leſs under the weak and oppreſſive reign of Charles VI, than the auſpicious and benign government of his daughter the celebrated Maria Thereſa. During all the viciſſitudes of politics and of power, the Auſtrian Netherlands continued to flouriſh under the protection of their own juſt laws, and the limitations of their free and happy Conſtitution. Of the provinces ſubject to Auſtria, by far the moſt conſiderable and extenſive is Brabant; and although the forms of government eſtabliſhed in the different States bear a cloſe analogy to each other, the Conſtitution of Brabant is regarded as the beſt defined and moſt perfect. Like the Conſtitution of England, it is compounded of three Eſtates, and the executive authority is veſted in the Sovereign, who bears the title of Duke of Brabant. The legiſlative power, including the important prerogative of levying taxes, reſides in the States of Brabant, which is in part an elective and repreſentative aſſembly, though not conſtructed on a very popular plan. The juriſdiction of civil and criminal cauſes is in the cities conſigned to the Magiſtrates, under various equitable reſtrictions. In the villages it nominally appertains to the Lords of the Manors or Baronies; but it is in fact exerciſed by reſpectable perſons, choſen for the moſt part by the inhabitants themſelves, from whoſe deciſion an appeal lies to the Baronial Courts. The Supreme Tribunal of Juſtice is eſtabliſhed at Bruſſels, and it is diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of the Council of Brabant. Its functions are not however merely judicial. It is alſo a Council of State, and participates largely in the executive power—for no act of the Sovereign is valid till confirmed by the Council under the Great

Seal

Seal of Brabant. Theſe and many other privileges were after long and fierce contentions guarantied for ever to the people of Brabant, by a charter granted by one of the antient Dukes, and which, from the triumphal proceſſion of the Prince into his capital, on the original execution of it, is denominated the JOYEUSE ENTRÉE.

The acuteneſs of philoſophical and political theoriſts would no doubt detect with eaſe the groſs defects of this rude and artleſs ſketch of a free Conſtitution. But its general and eſſential excellence is ſufficiently demonſtrated by the proſperous ſtate of the country, and the paſſionate attachment of the people to their eſtabliſhed form of government. This free form of government Joſeph the Second had from deliberate malice, or, more candidly ſpeaking, from exceſs of preſumption and folly, determined to ſubvert and deſtroy. On the 1ſt of January 1787, two Imperial edicts were iſſued, formally ſuppreſſing the antient inſtitutions, and even the Great Council of Brabant; eſtabliſhing in their ſtead a new Council of General Government, aſſiſted by tribunals erected on the ſevere and arbitrary model of thoſe actually exiſting under the proper Auſtrian government. As if this were not enough to rouſe the ſpirit of reſiſtance in the nation, the Emperor, careful to heighten the enthuſiaſm of civil liberty with the rage of religious bigotry, annihilated at the ſame time the charter of the Univerſity of Louvain, and eſtabliſhed a new general ſeminary for the ſtudy of Theology—the Profeſſors to be nominated by the ſole authority of the Emperor. A violent and univerſal commotion inſtantly took place; and the States of Brabant, Flanders, and Hainault, aſſembling, forbade the people in expreſs terms to pay any regard to the late edicts. All ranks of men enrolled themſelves in military aſſociations for their common defence. Deputies were diſpatched to Vienna to repreſent their grievances, and to remonſtrate with the Emperor in perſon againſt theſe atrocious and unprecedented violations of their rights. Agreeably to the irreſolute and inconſiſtent policy of the Emperor, the Deputies, notwithſtanding his previous menaces of vengeance, were moſt graciouſly received at the Imperial Court. The Sovereign profeſſed himſelf well-diſpoſed to reſtore their ancient privileges as contained in

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the *Joyeuſe Entrée*, and intimated an intention of viſiting the Netherlands, to take meaſures with the States for the welfare of the people. In a ſhort time Count Murray, the Auſtrian Governor, publiſhed a proclamation, completely revoking the late proceedings, and re-eſtabliſhing the antient government. Happily for the people of Flanders, the capricious politics of the Emperor had by this time directed their views to a diſtant and oppoſite quarter. The advantages acquired by Ruſſia in conſequence of the Treaty of 1784, excited the chagrin and envy of that Monarch; and the Turkiſh Empire at this period preſenting an eaſy and inviting proſpect of conqueſt, a negotiation was ſet on foot with this view between the two Imperial Courts; and in the ſpring of 1787, a conference took place between the Czarina and the Emperor at the new capital of Cherſon, whither the Empreſs of the Ruſſias had with great pomp and ſplendor repaired, in order to her inauguration as Sovereign of the Taurica. Scarcely did ſhe deign to affect concealment of her hoſtile intentions; and over one of the gates of the city ſhe cauſed to be inſcribed, "This is the gate which leads to BYZANTIUM."

The Ottoman Porte, fully appriſed of the machinations of the Imperial Courts, took a haſty reſolution, notwithſtanding her own extreme unpreparedneſs for commencing offenſive operations, to publiſh an immediate declaration of war againſt Ruſſia—in the hope probably of being able to conciliate the Emperor before his plan of hoſtility was fully matured. This however was a vain expectation; the Emperor ordering, after a very ſhort interval, a memorial to be delivered by his Ambaſſador at Conſtantinople, ſtating, "that he was compelled by treaty to aſſiſt his ally the Czarina with 80,000 men; and if this ſhould be conſidered by the Porte as an act of hoſtility, he was prepared for every event. Not waiting the anſwer, he made, on the 2d of December 1787, a moſt perfidious attempt to ſurpriſe the fortreſs of Belgrade. Being diſappointed in this enterpriſe, he thought proper to offer an apology for his conduct, which only ſerved by its futility to demonſtrate the weakneſs of the Government which condeſcended to accept it.

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The Imperial Manifeſto, containing a formal declaration of war, at length appeared, February 1788. Contrary to the antient barbarous practice, the Ambaſſadors of both the Imperial Courts were ſuffered to depart from Conſtantinople without moleſtation. The anſwer to the Auſtrian declaration, in a calm and dignified manner, reproaches the Emperor with "wantonly violating a peace of fifty years continuance, without being able to allege injury or pretext. Numerous inſtances are adduced, in which, for the preſervation of peace, the Sublime Porte had complied with unreaſonable requiſitions: and they juſtly obſerve, that they had never upon any occaſion taken advantage of the embarraſſments of the houſe of Auſtria, but had always acted with a liberality and good faith ill requited in the preſent inſtance."

The operations of the Germans were in the commencement of the war far from ſucceſsful. Little impreſſion could be made upon the Turkiſh frontier; and no ſooner had the Grand Vizier taken the command of the army, than the Turks became the aſſailants; and the Emperor, who commanded in perſon, after ſuffering repeated loſſes, was compelled to a precipitate and diſgraceful retreat, leaving the Bannat and the Lower Hungary to the mercy of the enemy. On the weſtern ſide, however, where the famous Mareſchal Laudohn commanded, the towns of Dubitza and Novi were reduced after a vigorous defence. On the eaſtern quarter, the city of Choczim ſurrendered, September 29th, to the united arms of Ruſſia and Auſtria. And before the end of the year, the important fortreſs of Oczakow, after ſuſtaining a ſiege of ſeveral months, was carried by ſtorm; the Ruſſians marching to the aſſault over the frozen ſnow, with which the trenches were filled. A deciſive ſuperiority in the Black Sea was alſo obtained by the repeated victories gained on the part of the Ruſſians by the Prince of Naſſau over the famous Turkiſh Admiral Haſſan Pacha.

In the mean time the King of Sweden, actuated by that ſpirit of unprincipled ambition, ſo uſually the characteriſtic of Princes as to be deemed ſcarcely the object of cenſure, and prompted likewiſe by the

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King of Pruſſia, and the Powers in alliance with the Court of Berlin and inimical to Ruſſia, entered ſuddenly, at the head of a conſiderable army, the territory of Ruſſian Finland, whence the idea of paſſing by a direct and rapid march to Peterſburgh ſeemed not wholly chimerical. But a ſubject of bitter chagrin awaited him in the abſolute and pertinacious refuſal of his officers to engage in offenſive war, on the patriotic ground, or perhaps the traitorous pretext, that the King had not, agreeably to the proviſions of the Conſtitution of 1772, obtained the previous conſent of the States.

The Court of St. Peterſburgh, on the firſt intimation of the attack from Sweden, had called for the aid and aſſiſtance of Denmark, conformably to the terms of the Treaty of Alliance ſubſiſting between the two Courts. Denmark had been for ſome years paſt under the adminiſtration of the Prince Royal, whoſe knowledge and prudence, far exceeding the immaturity of his age, were the happy reſult of a good natural underſtanding, improved to the utmoſt by an excellent and admirable education. The Prince Regent, on his acceſſion to power, had reſtored the former Miniſters of the Daniſh Court, diſplaced by Struenſee, to their offices, amongſt whom was the Count de Bernſtorf, whoſe wiſdom and firmneſs have in the courſe of events been rendered very conſpicuous. On the preſent occaſion, the Court of Copenhagen entered entirely into the views of the Czarina; and in the month of September 1788, a large body of Daniſh troops, commanded by Prince Charles of Heſſe Caſſel, accompanied by the Prince of Denmark in perſon, paſſing over to Norway, unexpectedly entered the Swediſh province of Wermlandia, and advanced to the city of Gottenburgh with trivial oppoſition. Alarmed at this formidable invaſion, the King of Sweden repaired in perſon, with expedition almoſt incredible, to the defence of this important place; which being attacked thus unprepared, ſeemed very unable to reſiſt the force of the Danes. But at this critical moment the Courts of London and Berlin interpoſed their powerful mediation in favor of Sweden. Early in October, Mr. Hugh Elliott, Envoy at Copenhagen, addreſſed himſelf firſt by letter and afterwards perſonally to the Prince Regent, requiring him,

in

in the name of the Allied Courts, to conſent to an immediate ceſſation of hoſtilities. "War," ſaid the Ambaſſador, "is perhaps at this very moment declared with Denmark by Pruſſia and England. But if your Highneſs will conſent to what I propoſe, I will immediately diſpatch couriers to ſtop, if poſſible, the invaſion of a Pruſſian army in Holſtein, and the ſailing of the Britiſh fleet." Under theſe circumſtances the reſolution of the Prince was ſoon taken, and a ſuſpenſion of arms ſigned on the part of Denmark, October 9, 1788, which, after an interval of delay, was converted into a Treaty of Neutrality.

The beginning of the following year was ſignalized by the death of the Grand Signor Achmet IV. a prince apparently of beneficent and upright intentions, but whoſe talents were utterly inadequate to the mighty taſk of reſtoring the declining empire of the Ottomans to its priſtine proſperity and greatneſs. He was ſucceeded by his nephew, Selim III. ſon of the late Emperor Muſtapha, whoſe firſt act of authority conſiſted in the depoſition of the Grand Vizier, Juſſuf Pacha, who had conducted the operations of the laſt campaign with ſingular ability and perſonal ſucceſs.

The Emperor, ſinking under the preſſure of diſeaſe and diſappointment, had retired to Vienna; and the renowned Mareſchal Laudohn being appointed to the chief command, the operations of the war were renewed with conſummate ſkill and wonderful increaſe of vigor. After the reduction of Gradiſca, this veteran hero proceeded to form the ſiege of Belgrade; and on the 8th of October 1789, that important city, the bulwark of the Ottoman Empire, ſurrendered on terms of honorable capitulation. The remainder of the campaign preſented a ſeries of the moſt rapid ſucceſſes. Cladova, Semendria, Czernitz, &c. followed the example of Belgrade. Orſova only attempted a ſerious reſiſtance, and it was not reduced till after a long inveſtment and blockade. On the eaſtern ſide, the Prince of Cobourg, General of the Auſtrian army in Walachia, after gaining a conſiderable advantage in an action fought near Foczan, attacked, in conjunction with the Ruſſian General Suwarrow,

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with a very inferior force, September 22, 1789, the army of the new Grand Vizier, Haſſan Pacha, a raſh and ignorant commander, at Martineſti, and gained a complete victory. This was attended with the immediate capture of Buchareſt, the capital of Walachia, and the almoſt entire reduction of the country north of the Danube. In the mean time, Bielgorod on the Black Sea, and the city of Bender on the Tartarian frontier, ſurrendered to the arms of Ruſſia, now conducted by Prince Potemkin.

During this campaign the war in the North was carried on little to the advantage of Sweden: for although the King of Sweden had entirely reeſtabliſhed his authority, and taken a ſevere vengeance on the individuals who by their audacious and inflexible contumacy had arreſted the progreſs of his arms, he could not ſo eaſily regain the advantages he had loſt by that unexpected and unſeaſonable oppoſition. The immenſe power of Ruſſia was now fully exerted. Sweden was reduced to act upon the defenſive in Finland; and various naval encounters took place, in which the bravery and ſuperior ſkill of the Swedes did by no means compenſate for the Ruſſian ſuperiority of force.

In the enſuing campaign of 1790, the triumphs of the Ruſſian arms over the Ottomans continued without any conſiderable interruption. The progreſs of theſe barbarous conquerors had been throughout marked with blood and deſolation; but the capture, under General Suwarrow, of the city of Iſmail, taken by ſtorm December the 22d, 1790, exceeded in horror every action of the preſent war, and may vie with that of any preceding one. The garriſon, conſiſting of the flower of the Turkiſh army, was maſſacred in cold blood, and the inhabitants indiſcriminately given up to the worſe than brutal licentiouſneſs of an enraged ſoldiery. The military ſucceſſes of the Auſtrians under the heroic Laudohn, ſerved only to incite the faithleſs and perfidious Joſeph to renew his attempts againſt his ſubjects of Flanders and Brabant. Count Murray, diſtinguiſhed by his lenity of temper, was ſucceeded in the government by Count Trautmanſdorff; and the military placed under the command of General Dalton,

Dalton, an officer of approved ſkill, but of unrelenting and ſavage ferocity. The new ſyſtem commenced with the revival of the former attempt againſt the Univerſity of Louvain. This being reſolutely reſiſted, the Rector and Profeſſors were expelled by the point of the bayonet, Auguſt 1788, and many lives loſt by the indiſcriminate firing of the ſoldiery. Similar outrages and exceſſes taking place at Antwerp, Mechlin, &c. in conſequence of the orders iſſued by the Government; and military law, enforced by military execution, being in a manner proclaimed through the provinces, a prodigious emigration of the principal inhabitants immediately ſucceeded. The emigrants being favored and protected by the Dutch Government, now under the influence of England and Pruſſia, aſſembled in numerous bodies on the frontier: at length, in the autumn of 1789, they entered Auſtrian Flanders in great force, and in a very ſhort ſpace of time overran the whole country, a few fortreſſes excepted, the Auſtrians flying before them with the moſt diſgraceful precipitation. The Emperor now once more offered, in the moſt flattering and conciliatory language, to reſtore to them their antient Conſtitution, and even to endow them with additional privileges. But his overtures were rejected with ſcorn. The States of Brabant aſſembling at Bruſſels December the 22d, 1789, in concert with the Deputies of the other provinces, formally diſclaimed allegiance to the Emperor, and proceeded to the appointment of an Adminiſtration. General Vandermerſch, diſtinguiſhed for his patriotiſm and bravery, was nominated to the command of the troops. M. Vandernoodt was declared Prime Miniſter, and M. Van-Eupen Secretary of State. In the month of January 1790, the plan of a federal Conſtitution was formed by the BELGIC States—ſuch was the appellation they now aſſumed, nearly ſimilar to that of the United Provinces. Unfortunately, however, it ſoon appeared that the leaders of the revolt, either little underſtanding or little regarding the eſſential rights of the people, had merely changed the Imperial deſpotiſm to an Ariſtocratical tyranny. The Catholic religion was eſtabliſhed in its moſt intolerant form, the power of arbitrary impriſonment was aſſumed, the liberty of the preſs diſallowed, and the immunities of the privileged orders confirmed and even extended.

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1789. In the midſt of theſe tranſactions, and while the Inſurgents were at the height of their ſucceſſes, died, February 1790, the Emperor Joſeph. He was ſucceeded in his hereditary dominions by his brother Leopold, Grand Duke of Tuſcany, and who now took upon him the ſtyle and title of King of Hungary. This prince, as the Sovereign of a ſmall State, had acquired the reputation of moderation, and even ſagacity. But in proportion to the elevation of his ſituation his faults became more conſpicuous, while his excellences either wholly diſappeared, or were henceforth very dimly ſeen.

Political embarraſſments of France. Intereſting as the tranſactions now related appeared in the view of Europe, they nevertheleſs yielded both in importance and ſingularity to the events which were at the ſame time taking place in the kingdom of France. The appointment of the Archbiſhop of Toulouſe as ſucceſſor to M. de Calonne, proved the ſource of equal diſappointment to the Court and to the Nation. On his elevation to the poſt of Miniſter, his patriotiſm ſeemed to vaniſh; and, by loſing the confidence of the People, he deprived himſelf of the power of being ſerviceable to the Monarch. The project of the Court to obtain the ſanction of the Aſſembly of Notables to the meaſures in contemplation had proved wholly abortive; recourſe muſt now again therefore be had to the Parliament of Paris; and on the 12th of June 1787, an edict was ſent to that body for enregiſtry, impoſing a heavy duty on ſtamps. Inſtead of a loyal and dutiful compliance, the Parliament demanded the communication of ſuch documents as ſhould enable them to judge of the neceſſity of introducing new taxes. That this was a juſt claim, they ſaid, the very expreſſion of *verifying* the royal edicts implied. The refuſal of this demand produced a refuſal on their part to enregiſter the edict; and after violent debates, and repeated efforts of the patriotic party in Parliament, it was at length voted that a National Aſſembly would be neceſſary previous to the impoſition of a new tax, and a reſolution at the ſame time paſſed to ſupplicate the Sovereign to aſſemble the STATES GENERAL of the kingdom. In the Remonſtrance preſented on this occaſion by Parliament to the Throne, the ſtamp-duty is pronounced more dangerous than even the exploded *gabelle;* and they

remark "that after five years of peace, after an augmentation of the revenue during the preſent reign of five millions ſterling, it was ſcarcely to have been expected that the name of TAX ſhould have been pronounced by a beneficent Sovereign, but for the purpoſe of alleviating the burdens of the people." The anſwer of the King was peremptory and haughty. Far from conceding to the wiſhes and prayers of the Parliament, he roſe ſtill higher in his demands. Reſerving to a future day the declaration of his intentions reſpecting the ſtamp-tax, he tranſmitted to them a new edict of far greater importance, for commuting the exiſting *vingtièmes* into a regular and equal land-tax, "which from the zeal and loyalty of his Parliament, his Majeſty was pleaſed to ſay, he expected them immediately to regiſter." The Parliament, aſſuming more intrepidity as the danger became more imminent, ſummoned the Peers of France on the following day, as was uſual in great emergencies, to aſſiſt in their deliberations; and it was voted in full aſſembly, that the Parliament perſiſted in their reſolution, and renewed their ſupplication to the Sovereign to aſſemble the States General of the kingdom.

Before the ſecond Addreſs could be preſented, a Royal Meſſage was delivered, announcing the intention of the King to hold a Bed of Juſtice. The Parliament, immediately re-aſſembling, came to ſeveral reſolutions expreſſive of their determined reſiſtance. The Bed of Juſtice was nevertheleſs held: and in defiance of the reſolutions read by the Firſt Preſident, M. D'Aligre, the edicts were forcibly enregiſtered. Theſe proceedings, contemptuouſly deſcribed as "the empty form of collecting by the Keeper of the Seals the opinions of the Aſſembly, where no one could give a vote," were at the ſubſequent meeting of Parliament declared null and void, and expunged from their records. This reſolute oppoſition of the Parliament produced a wonderful effect on the already highly agitated ſtate of the public mind. Such were the apprehenſions entertained by the Government of the general ſpirit which pervaded the maſs of the people, that great numbers of the military were aſſembled at Paris, and the Members of the Courts of Juſtice were obliged to paſs to their ſittings through armed ranks of ſoldiers with bayonets fixed.

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The government of France plainly appeared at this moment to be a government reſting merely on the precarious baſis of military force, without poſſeſſing, as a collateral ſecurity, a ſingle particle of the eſteem, confidence, or affection, of the nation. On the 15th of Auguſt, 1787, *lettres de cachet* were iſſued againſt the Parliament of Paris, transferring their ſittings to Troyes, in Champagne, one hundred miles from the capital. Previous to their exile they paſſed an animated reſolve, "That the French Monarchy would be reduced to a ſtate of deſpotiſm, if Miniſters, abuſing the authority of the King, might diſpoſe of men's perſons by *lettres de cachet*, of their property by beds of juſtice, of cauſes civil and criminal by annullings and evocations, and ſuſpend the courſe of juſtice by particular exiles or arbitrary tranſlations." All France ſeemed to intereſt itſelf in the diſgrace of the Parliament. The flame of oppoſition and diſaffection increaſed every moment. Almoſt all the public bodies in the kingdom joined in petitioning the Throne, not in an humble and ſubmiſſive, but in a bold and peremptory tone, for the recall of that Aſſembly, and the convocation of the States General. The Parliament of Grenoble declared "the rights of property to be equally ſacred, and ſecured by the ſame laws, as the right of the King to the throne;" and the Parliament of Beſançon, in reprobating the emiſſion of the *lettres de cachet*, ſcrupled not to affirm "that the Pariſian Magiſtrates ought to have yielded no ſort of obedience to them."

In this ſituation the new Miniſter, wavering, heſitating, and trembling for his ſafety, adviſed the Monarch, in his anſwer to the addreſs of the Court of Aids, September 2, to ſignify his intention for the preſent to ſuſpend the execution of the obnoxious edicts; and on the 19th of that month letters of revocation were iſſued, and the Parliament was permitted to reſume its functions. The firſt meaſure of the Executive Government ſubſequent to this event, a meaſure highly conſonant to the predominant ſpirit of liberty in the nation, was the promulgation of an edict for the toleration of the Non-Catholics, nearly ſimilar to the famous edict of Nantz, repealed in the laſt century. This popular law was regiſtered by the Parliament without difficulty; but with reſpect to the financial projects

jects of the Government they continued as refractory as ever. The plan now propoſed by the Miniſter was that of a ſeries of loans, amounting in the aggregate to about eighteen millions ſterling, for five ſucceſſive years, at the end of which term he engaged the honor of the Sovereign that the States General ſhould be convoked. This offer was treated with contempt. To promiſe a convocation of the States General when the deficiency of the finances ſhould be filled up, was ſaid to amount to a promiſe to call them together when they would no longer be wanted. The embarraſſments of the Miniſter hourly accumulated. The expedient of a Bed of Juſtice had been tried with very ill ſucceſs. It was now, therefore, reſolved to hold a *Séance Royale*, in which the meaſure ſhould be debated in the King's preſence, previous to the enregiſtry, as a milder and more equitable mode of proceeding. Upon this occaſion M. Lamoignon, Keeper of the Seals, by the command of his Majeſty, ſtated to the Parliament, in an eloquent and *inſtructive* oration, the eſtabliſhed and unalterable principles of the French Monarchy. "To the King alone belonged the ſovereign power, and to GOD only was he accountable for its exerciſe. To the King belonged the power of convoking the States; he alone could judge of their utility and neceſſity, and he was the ſole arbiter of the grievances and complaints of his ſubjects. He ventured to aſſert, that the wiſh now generally entertained of calling together the States General had ORIGINATED with the King, whoſe zeal for the public good perpetually outran the deſires of his people. He therefore rebuked the Parliament for the diſreſpectful importunity with which they had ſolicited this meaſure; and he declared the eſtabliſhment of provincial aſſemblies, on the plan deviſed by the late Miniſter, to be fraught with more ſolid advantages to the community at large." The ſitting continued ſeven hours. The debates of the Parliament, notwithſtanding the preſence of the Sovereign, were conducted not only with freedom, but with violence and aſperity. It was affirmed by one Member, l'Abbé Sabatier, "that the only difference between a Bed of Juſtice and a *Séance Royale* was, that one had all the frankneſs of deſpotiſm, and the other all its hypocriſy." And M. Freteau, ſpeaking of the recent accommodation between England and France on the ſubject of Holland, ſaid, "it was a proceeding at which

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Louis XIV. would have bluſhed." At length the King roſe and declared, "that having heard the ſentiments of the Aſſembly, he perſiſted in his opinion; he therefore directed the edict of the ſucceſſive loans to be immediately regiſtered." On this the Duke of Orleans, Firſt Prince of the Blood, who aſpired to the diſtinction of Head of the popular party, declared to the King, "that he regarded this meaſure as illegal." The King having retired in anger, the Duke formally recorded his diſſent, and the Parliament paſſed a reſolution abjuring every ſort of concern in the enregiſtry that had then taken place. On the following day the Duke of Orleans and Meſſrs. Sabatier and Freteau were ſent into exile—the former to his chateau in the country, the two latter to impriſonment in diſtant parts of the kingdom; and by expreſs command of the King, the reſolution of Parliament was eraſed from their records.

The famous remonſtrance of the Parliament on theſe violent proceedings, preſented to the King March 1788, after ſeveral previous ineffectual ones, was fraught with the moſt glowing and energetic ſentiments of liberty. They declare, "That the laws of Nature and of the Conſtitution ſhall never reproach them for preſerving, in ſuch a criſis, a ſhameful inactivity, or a guilty ſilence—Liberty is declared by them to be an impreſcriptible right, and Juſtice an univerſal duty, anterior to the laws, and equally obligatory on the Monarch and the Subject. The practice of *lettres de cachet* overturns this ſyſtem—Juſtice thereby becomes a mere illuſion, and Liberty an empty name. Where no perſonal ſecurity exiſts, public ſafety is but an imaginary bliſs; and where the practice of *lettres de cachet* ſubſiſts, perſonal ſecurity cannot exiſt. Could your Majeſty but interrogate thoſe victims of arbitrary power abandoned and forgotten in thoſe impenetrable dungeons where ſilence and injuſtice ever dwell, you would then know to what torments is condemned the wretch for whom the ſun riſes without hope, and the night returns without repoſe. We have authority to believe that the Duke of Orleans and Meſſrs. Sabatier and Freteau are not guilty: were they ſo, the right of judging them is reſerved for the Parliament, and the prerogative of pardoning to your Majeſty. Liberty is not a privilege, but a right; and it is the duty of all Governments

Governments to reſpect that right. It is not a Prince of the Blood, nor two Magiſtrates, that the Parliament claims now in the name of the laws and of reaſon; it is three French individuals—THREE MEN." To this remonſtrance the King, with true monarchical apathy and pride, anſwered, "that his Parliament muſt with due reſpect and ſilence confide in his wiſdom, and that he forbade them to have or publiſh any farther deliberations on the ſubject."

A project more raſh and chimerical than any hitherto entertained by the Miniſter, was now diſcloſed. This was no leſs than the eſtabliſhment of a ſupreme Court by the name of the COUR PLENIERE, conſiſting of Members to be nominated by the King, and to be veſted with the power of enregiſtering the royal edicts—thus ſuperſeding the exiſting Parliaments in the higheſt and moſt appropriate branch of their authority. The Parliament of Paris, appriſed of the fatal ſtroke that was meditating, publiſhed, May 7, a declaration, copies of which were tranſmitted to all the other Parliaments, expreſſive of their determined reſolution to oppoſe to the utmoſt this arbitrary and unconſtitutional innovation. "The ſyſtem of complying with the King's abſolute will," ſay this Aſſembly, "as expreſſed in his different anſwers, proves the Miniſter's deſtructive project of annihilating the principles of the National Government, which Parliament is bound to maintain, and from which it will never depart."

The Court, reſolving to proſecute their nefarious deſigns, iſſued orders for the arreſting Meſſrs. D'Eſpremenil and Monſambert, two celebrated Counſellors and patriotic Members of the Parliament; and a party of the military, ſurrounding at midnight the ſeat of Juſtice, demanded the immediate ſurrender of the two magiſtrates. A moſt animated remonſtrance from the Parliament was the reſult of this act of tyranny—happy, had the ſentiments it contained produced their juſt effect on the mind of the Monarch! "Your Parliament is confirmed, SIRE," ſay they, "by every proceeding, of the entire innovation which is aimed at in the ſyſtem of Monarchy; but, SIRE, the French nation will never adopt the deſpotic

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meaſures to which you are adviſed: the fundamental laws of the kingdom MUST not be TRAMPLED on, and your authority can only be eſteemed ſo long as it is tempered with juſtice. We beſeech your Majeſty not to ſuffer apparent or momentary advantages to divert your attention, as they may only produce unhappy conſequences. Your Majeſty will ſooner or later diſcover the juſtice of our repreſentations."

A Bed of Juſtice being in defiance of the warnings and threatenings of Parliament held, and the edict for the eſtabliſhment of the COUR PLENIERE forcibly enregiſtered, the moſt violent commotions enſued throughout the kingdom, which every where wore the appearance of hoſtility and war. The Firſt Preſident of the Parliament, in the name of that Aſſembly, informed the King, that the Parliament would acknowledge no authority which infringed on the complete exerciſe of their prerogatives. The Parliament of Rouen pronounced the edicts in queſtion to be null and void, and all perſons aſſiſting in the execution of them to be traitors to the nation; and for this daring act of patriotiſm *lettres de cachet* were immediately executed againſt them. The Parliaments of Rennes, of Grenoble, and of Metz, diſtinguiſhed by their zeal in the ſame cauſe, were in like manner ordered into baniſhment. Great bodies of the military were in motion; and every ſtep taken on the part of the Court indicated a reſolution to perſevere in the plan of coercion, when, on the ſudden, the courage of the King and his Miniſters once more totally failed them; and an order of Council was publiſhed, Auguſt 8, fixing the convocation of the States to the firſt of May 1789, and SUSPENDING during the interval the inſtitution of the COUR PLENIERE.

On the 16th of Auguſt a ſecond Arret of Council was promulgated, avowing the inability of the Court to anſwer the ordinary demands upon the Royal Treaſury; and directing the future payments to be made partly in money, and partly in notes bearing an intereſt of five per cent. This was regarded as a direct act of bankruptcy; and the clamor, confuſion and conſternation which enſued were ſo great, that the Archbiſhop of Toulouſe, no longer able to reſiſt the torrent, thought proper to reſign his

his office, after an adminiſtration of little more than a year, diſtinguiſhed by its inconſiſtency, imbecility, and temerity. To conſole him in his diſgrace, he was tranſlated to the rich archiepiſcopal ſee of Sens, and decorated with the Roman purple. BOOK XVII. 1789.

The voice of France called aloud for the re-inſtatement of M. Necker, who was now a ſecond time placed at the head of the finances. The reputation of the new Miniſter operated as a ſort of charm. By the adoption of wiſe meaſures adapted to the preſent exigencies, the immediate embarraſſments of Government were removed. All eyes were now turned to the approaching convocation of the States General, previous to which a ſecond Convention of the Notables was held (October 5, 1788) in order to determine ſeveral important queſtions that had ariſen relative to the formation of the Aſſembly of the States. It appeared to be nearly the unanimous opinion of the Notables, that it ſhould be conſtructed on the model of the laſt Aſſembly convened in 1614; and a doubt was even ſuggeſted, whether any power ſhort of that of the States General deliberating in the antient manner by the eſtabliſhed orders of Nobles, Clergy, and the *Tiers Etat*, could ſuperinduce upon it any material alteration. The Notables were diſſolved on the 12th of December 1788. The final deciſion of the Court was at length made known by a decree of Council, dated 27th of December: by which it was determined, that the number of deputies to the enſuing States General ſhould not fall ſhort of one thouſand; that it ſhould be apportioned with all practicable accuracy to the population and financial contributions of the different bailliages; and that the repreſentation of the *Tiers Etat* ſhould be equal to the ſum of the repreſentations of the other two orders—a conceſſion eagerly deſired by the nation, and attended with the moſt important conſequences.

States General convened at Verſailles:

At length, on the 5th of May 1789, a day ever memorable in the annals of France, and of the world, the Aſſembly of the States General met at Verſailles, and the ſeſſion was opened by a ſpeech from the King, couched in terms of patriotic and paternal regard, ſuch as princes well know upon occaſion how to adopt. Although the exceſſive repugnance

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of the Court to the adoption of this meaſure had been moſt notorious, his Majeſty congratulated the Aſſembly on the arrival of the day which he had ſo long *panted* to ſee. "The public ſpirit," ſaid the Monarch, "is in a ferment, but an Aſſembly of the Repreſentatives of the Nation will certainly hearken to no other counſels than thoſe founded on juſtice and wiſdom. Whatever may be expected from the moſt tender ſolicitude for the public good, whatever can be aſked from a Sovereign the ſincereſt friend of his people, you may, you ought to hope from me." At this period, no doubt, the Court was ready to ſubmit to the neceſſity, which it could not but recogniſe, of making great and permanent conceſſions for the ſatisfaction of the Nation, and the reſtoration of the public tranquillity. But to aſcribe to the Monarch the moſt diſtant idea of a voluntary departure from the antient and eſtabliſhed prerogatives of ſovereignty, would be the extreme of weakneſs and credulity.

The firſt object of the States was the "verification of their powers." This ceremony the *Tiers Etat* inſiſted, to the aſtoniſhment of the ſuperior orders, could only take place in a common aſſembly, voting not by orders, but by poll. The admiſſion of this pretenſion involved in it no leſs than the abſolute ſubverſion of the antient Conſtitution of the States; and it was reſiſted in the ſtrongeſt manner by the ſuperior orders, as a flagrant uſurpation. On the other hand, the *Tiers Etat* plainly perceived that the antient mode of voting by orders would reduce them, the real repreſentatives of the people, to whom it peculiarly appertained to eſtabliſh freedom in France, to mere cyphers. After ſix weeks of inaction, the *Tiers Etat*, at the ſuggeſtion of the Abbé Sieyes (June 17), took the daring and deciſive ſtep of declaring itſelf the Legiſlative Body, by the appellation of the NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, and proceeded to the verification of their powers.

Aſſume the appellation of the National Aſſembly:

On the 19th of June, the Chamber of the Clergy paſſed a reſolution, importing their acquieſcence in this deciſion. Alarmed in the higheſt degree at the ſituation of affairs, the Monarch held on the 23d a Royal Seſſion, in which he propoſed a plan of government, liable indeed to many

many objections, but containing the great outlines of a free conſtitution. Agreeably to this plan, the diſtinction of orders was preſerved, allowing them nevertheleſs to debate in common on emergent occaſions, with the Royal approbation. In fine, the King declared, in virtue of his Royal authority, the proceedings of the 17th null and void—and ordered the Deputies immediately to ſeparate. This was the deciſive moment. An unreſerved obedience to the order of the King would have rendered them contemptible in their own eyes and in thoſe of the nation, which had received with unbounded acclamation the reſolution reprobated by the Monarch. The queſtion to be determined was, whether they would be ſatisfied to accept from the Royal benignity the imperfect and precarious boon now offered? or whether, at the imminent riſque of their lives and fortunes, they would make one grand effort to eſtabliſh a conſtitution founded on the eternal and immutable principles of equal and perfect freedom? Impelled by a glorious and reſiſtleſs enthuſiaſm, they heſitated not for a moment which of theſe alternatives to embrace. When the King retired, he was followed by all the Nobles and a part of the Clergy: the Commons alone remained motionleſs on the benches. The Marquis de Brezé, Grand Maſter of the Ceremonies, addreſſing himſelf to the Preſident, M. Bailli, ſaid, "SIR, you know the orders of the King:"—to which the Preſident with Roman dignity replied, "The people of France in their collective capacity have no orders to receive." And M. Mirabeau, a member highly diſtinguiſhed in the ſequel by his talents and eloquence in the Aſſembly, ſtarting up, added, "Go tell your maſter, that we are here by the power of the people, and that nothing ſhall expel us but the bayonet."

On their next meeting, the Aſſembly were joined by the majority of the Clergy, and forty-nine members of the Nobility, with the Duke of Orleans at their head; and on the 27th, at the expreſs inſtance of the King, agreeably to his characteriſtic inconſtancy, by the remaining members of the ſuperior orders; though the Duke of Luxembourg predicted, as it is ſaid, to the Monarch, "that from the day the States ſhould vote by numbers only, from that moment he was at their mercy." The

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aſſent of the King was however falſe and hollow. An army of 35,000 men, collected from various parts, were ſtationed under the command of Marſhal Broglio in the vicinity of Verſailles and Paris. Camps were marked out for a ſtill greater force, and lines of fortification drawn. A moſt ſpirited remonſtrance was preſented to the King by the Aſſembly, requeſting, or rather inſiſting upon, the removal of the troops. This was peremptorily refuſed; but his Majeſty declared his willingneſs to indulge the Aſſembly by a removal of their ſittings to Soiſſons, a ſituation far more commodious for the purpoſes of the Court.

On the 11th of July M. Necker was ſuddenly diſmiſſed, and ordered to depart the kingdom in twenty-four hours; and with him his friend M. Montmorin, Miniſter for Foreign Affairs. In the diſgrace of M. Necker the Aſſembly ſaw their own ruin determined: and they paſſed a reſolve, that the late Miniſters carried with them the confidence and regret of the Nation. But the popular enthuſiaſm having now reached its height, a moſt aſtoniſhing inſurrection took place at Paris on the 14th of July, in which the caſtle of the Baſtille was carried by ſtorm; the ſoldiery refuſing to obey the orders of their officers, and many joining the aſſailants.

The Monarch, aſtoniſhed and intimidated at theſe proceedings, once more varied his policy; and, appearing in perſon the next day in the National Aſſembly, declared "that he had iſſued orders for the immediate removal of the troops." A burſt of joy and acclamation ſucceeded; and it was now at laſt hoped, that the Monarch, ſenſible of the evil counſels by which he had been deceived and miſled, would not henceforth deviate from the path of political rectitude. M. Necker and Count Montmorin were immediately re-inſtated in their offices. The Count d'Artois, Marſhal Broglio, the Prince of Condé, and other leaders of the Court Faction, were compelled to ſeek for ſafety in flight: and on the 17th of July the King made his triumphal entry into Paris.

The Aſſembly now proceeded without interruption in their labors; and

and in a ſhort time ſeveral very important decrees, containing the firſt principles of the new Conſtitution, importing the ſubordination of the Executive, the ſupremacy of the Legiſlative, and the independency of the Judicial Powers, were preſented for the Royal acceptance. After a delay of many weeks, and an urgent re-application, the royal aſſent was moſt reluctantly given, with an expreſs ſalvo for the antient eſſential and conſtitutional prerogatives of the Crown. All the former jealouſies were now revived; and it was univerſally rumored and believed, that preparations were in train to facilitate the retreat of the King to Metz in Lorraine, where the royal ſtandard was to be raiſed in hoſtile oppoſition to the National Aſſembly. Inflamed and enraged with this dreadful apprehenſion, another popular inſurrection, of a nature not leſs extraordinary than the former, took place, October the 6th, in which a nocturnal attack was made on the palace of Verſailles, the King, and the Queen, by whoſe fatal counſels the Monarch had been chiefly guided, made captives, and conducted to Paris, where the palace of the Tuilleries, ſecured by a ſtrong military guard, was aſſigned them for their future reſidence. The effect of this violence on the perſon of the Sovereign was an explicit and unconditional acceptance, on his part, of the Articles of the Conſtitution, formerly preſented; and the National Aſſembly removed their ſittings to Paris, where they were henceforth deeply occupied in executing the Herculean taſk of regenerating the whole ſyſtem of the national polity, laws and government.

Amongſt the decrees which moſt excited the admiration or aſtoniſhment of the world were thoſe which pronounced the annihilation of all feudal privileges, the abolition of all diſtinction of orders, the reſumption of tithes and other eccleſiaſtical and monaſtic property; the diſſolution of monaſtic inſtitutions; the allotment of the kingdom into a new territorial diviſion, under the name of departments, eighty-three in number, nearly equal in population and extent; finally, the extinction of the Provincial Parliaments, and the eſtabliſhment of Departmental Aſſemblies, of Courts of Juſtice, and the Trial by Jury in each Department. The general principles on which the government of the kingdom was

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Publiſh a Declaration of the Rights of Man.

modelled, were comprehended in a Declaration of Rights, drawn up with great preciſion and ability; and which may ſerve as a perpetual charter of liberty to mankind *.

It is no wonder that a Revolution ſo extraordinary, and which, notwithſtanding certain unhappy concomitant irregularities and exceſſes, afforded ſo fair a proſpect of future and permanent happineſs, ſhould ex-

* This famous DECLARATION, which well deſerves a place in the frontiſpiece of every National Code of Laws, is ſubſtantially as follows:

I. Men were born, and always continue, free and equal with reſpect to their rights. Civil diſtinctions therefore can be founded only on public utility.

II. The end of all political aſſociations is the preſervation of the natural and impreſcriptible Rights of Man. And theſe Rights are Liberty, Property, Security, and Reſiſtance to Oppreſſion.

III. The Nation is eſſentially the ſource of all Sovereignty.

IV. Political Liberty conſiſts in the power of doing whatever does not injure another.

V. The Law ought only to prohibit actions hurtful to Society.

VI. The Law is an expreſſion of the will of the Community. All being equal in its ſight, are equally eligible to all honors, places and employments, without any other diſtinction than that created by their talents and virtues.

VII. No man ſhall be accuſed, arreſted, or held in confinement, except in caſes determined by the law, and according to the forms which it has preſcribed.

VIII. No one ought to be puniſhed but in virtue of a law promulgated before the offence.

IX. Every man is to be preſumed innocent till *conviction of guilt*.

X. No man ought to be moleſted on account of his opinions, not even his religious opinions; provided his avowal of them does not diſturb the public order.

XI. Every man may ſpeak, write, and publiſh freely—being reſponſible for the abuſes of this liberty in caſes determined by law.

XII. A public force is neceſſary only to give ſecurity to the Rights of Men and Citizens.

XIII. Public contributions ought to be divided equally among the members of the community, according to their ſeveral abilities.

XIV. Every Citizen has a right, by himſelf or his repreſentative, to a free voice in determining the neceſſity and appropriation of public contributions.

XV. Every community has a right to demand of its agents an account of their conduct.

XVI. Every community, in which the ſeparation of powers is not determined, nor a ſecurity of rights provided for, wants a Conſtitution.

XVII. The right to property being inviolable and ſacred, no one ought to be deprived of it, except in caſes of evident public neceſſity legally aſcertained, and upon condition of a previous and juſt indemnity.

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cite great exultation amongſt the friends of liberty in England. The firſt public demonſtration of this appeared on the occaſion of an anniverſary meeting of a Whig aſſociation in the metropolis, known by the name of the Revolution Society, on the 5th of November, to celebrate the memory of that great Monarch by whoſe heroic interpoſition, at a criſis of imminent danger, the laws and liberties of Great Britain were, under the favoring auſpices of Heaven, ſettled on a ſolid and permanent baſis. Previous to the aſſembling of the members at the uſual place of feſtive meeting, a ſermon or diſcourſe on "the Love of our Country" was preached to ſuch as choſe to hear, at a Chapel belonging to the Diſſenters at the Old Jewry, by the famous Dr. Price; in which the primary principles of government were ſtated in a mode which the ſanction of a century had rendered familiar in this country; and the great doctrines of liberty inculcated with all that emphaſis and energy which characterized the pen of that diſtinguiſhed and venerable patriot. "The improvement of the world depended," as the preacher affirmed, "on the attention given by men to this topic. Nor will mankind be ever as virtuous and happy as they are capable of being, till the attention to it becomes univerſal and efficacious. If we forget it, we ſhall be in danger of an idolatry as groſs and ſtupid as that of the antient heathens, who, after fabricating blocks of wood or ſtone, fell down and worſhipped them." At the concluſion of this diſcourſe, in expatiating on the favorableneſs of the preſent time to all exertions in the cauſe of liberty, he broke out into the following eloquent exclamation—"What an eventful period is this! I am thankful that I have lived to it: and I could almoſt ſay, LORD! *now letteſt thou thy ſervant depart in peace, for mine eyes have ſeen thy ſalvation.* I have lived to ſee a diffuſion of knowledge which has undermined ſuperſtition and error; I have lived to ſee the rights of men better underſtood than ever, and nations panting for liberty which ſeemed to have loſt the idea of it. I have lived to ſee thirty millions of people indignantly and reſolutely ſpurning at ſlavery, and demanding liberty with an irreſiſtible voice; their King led in triumph, and an arbitrary Monarch ſurrendering himſelf to his ſubjects.—After ſharing in the benefits of one revolution, I have been ſpared to be a witneſs to two other revolutions, both

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glorious; and now methinks I ſee the ardor for liberty catching and ſpreading, and a general amendment beginning in human affairs—the dominion of Kings changed for the dominion of Laws, and the dominion of Prieſts giving way to the dominion of Reaſon and Conſcience. Be encouraged, all ye friends of freedom, and writers in its defence! The times are auſpicious. Your labors have not been in vain. Behold kingdoms, admoniſhed by you, ſtarting from ſleep, breaking their fetters, and claiming juſtice from their oppreſſors! Behold the light you have ſtruck out, after ſetting America free, reflected to France, and there kindled into a blaze, that lays deſpotiſm in aſhes, and warms and illuminates EUROPE!"

Congratulatory Addreſs of the Revolution Society.

Impreſſed with theſe noble and elevated ſentiments, the Society, whoſe numbers on this occaſion far exceeded thoſe of any former anniverſary, unanimouſly reſolved, on the motion of Dr. Price, to offer in a formal addreſs "their congratulations to the National Aſſembly, on the event of the late glorious Revolution in France." This being tranſmitted by the Chairman, Lord Stanhope, to the Duke de la Rochefoucault, and laid by that diſtinguiſhed nobleman before the Aſſembly, was received with loud acclamations. "It belonged," ſaid the Duke de la Rochefoucault in his reply, "to Dr. Price, the Apoſtle of Liberty, to propoſe a motion tending to pay to Liberty the faireſt homage—that of national prejudices. In that addreſs is ſeen the dawn of a glorious day, in which two adverſe nations ſhall contract an intimate union, founded on the ſimilarity of their opinions, and their common enthuſiaſm for liberty." Alſo the Archbiſhop of Aix, Preſident of the National Aſſembly, tranſmitted to Lord Stanhope, in a manner the moſt polite and flattering, the vote of the Aſſembly, relative to the Addreſs, ſtating, "that the Aſſembly was deeply affected with this extraordinary proof of eſteem, and directing the Preſident to expreſs to the Revolution Society, the lively ſenſibility with which the National Aſſembly had received an addreſs, breathing thoſe ſentiments of humanity and univerſal benevolence, that ought to unite together in all countries of the world the true friends of liberty and the happineſs of mankind."

Such

Such was the general ſtate of things, when the Parliament of Great Britain was convened at Weſtminſter, January 21ſt, 1790. The King's ſpeech contained nothing remarkable. It ſlightly and ambiguouſly glanced on the affairs of France, in declaring "the internal ſituation of the different parts of Europe to have been productive of events which had engaged his Majeſty's moſt ſerious attention." But early indications appeared of the light in which the recent tranſactions in that kingdom were viewed by the Court. Lord Valletort, in moving the addreſs, took occaſion to contraſt the tranquil and proſperous ſituation of England with the anarchy and licentiouſneſs of France, and to ſtigmatize the Revolution in that kingdom as an event the moſt diſaſtrous, and productive of conſequences the moſt fatal, which had ever taken place ſince the foundation of the monarchy. This language was highly applauded by the old Prerogative phalanx, diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of the King's friends. But theſe ſentiments unfortunately were far from being confined to that inveterate and dangerous faction.

French Revolution reprobated by Mr. Burke, and the King's friends:

Upon the debate which took place on February the 9th, relative to the army eſtimates, Mr. Burke argued in favor of a reduction of the peace eſtabliſhment, from that ſtate of perfect ſecurity which the nation at preſent enjoyed—profeſſing that, on a review of all Europe, he "did not find that politically we ſtood in the ſmalleſt degree of danger from any one ſtate or kingdom it contained, nor that any foreign powers, but our own allies, were likely to obtain a preponderance in the ſcale. "France," ſaid Mr. Burke, "has hitherto been our firſt object in all conſiderations concerning the balance of power. But France is in a political light to be conſidered as EXPUNGED out of the SYSTEM of EUROPE. Whether ſhe could EVER appear in it again, as a leading power, was not eaſy to determine: but at preſent he conſidered France as not politically exiſting; and MOST ASSUREDLY it would take MUCH TIME to reſtore her to her former ACTIVE EXISTENCE. *Gallos quoque in bellis floruiſſe audivimus*, might poſſibly be the language of the riſing generation. It was ſaid, as ſhe had ſpeedily fallen, ſhe might ſpeedily riſe again. He doubted this. The fall from an height was with an accelerated

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celerated velocity; but to lift a weight up to that height again was difficult, and oppoſed by the laws of phyſical and political gravitation. In a political view, France was low indeed; ſhe had loſt every thing, even to her name.

——————Jacet ingens littore truncus,
Avolſumque humeris caput, et ſine nomine corpus.

He was aſtoniſhed at it. He was alarmed at it. He trembled at the uncertainty of all human greatneſs. The French had ſhewn themſelves the ableſt architects of ruin that had hitherto appeared in the world. In one ſhort ſummer they had completely pulled down to the ground their Monarchy, their Church, their Nobility, their Law, their Army, and their Revenue. Were we abſolute conquerors, and France to lie proſtrate at our feet, we ſhould bluſh to impoſe upon them terms ſo deſtructive to all their conſequence as a nation, as the durance they had impoſed upon themſelves. In the laſt age we were in danger of being entangled, by the example of France, in the net of a relentleſs deſpotiſm—a deſpotiſm indeed proudly arrayed in manners, gallantry, ſplendor, magnificence, and even covered over with the impoſing robes of ſcience and literature. Our preſent danger, from the example of a people whoſe character knows no medium, is, with regard to government, a danger from licentious violence—a danger of being led from admiration to imitation of the exceſſes of an unprincipled, plundering, ferocious, bloody, and tyrannical democracy—of a people whoſe government is anarchy, and whoſe religion is atheiſm. Mr. Burke pronounced the French nation very unwiſe. What they valued themſelves upon was, in his opinion, a diſgrace to them. They had gloried, and ſome people in England had thought fit to take ſhare in that glory, in making a revolution. All the horrors and all the crimes of the anarchy which led to this revolution, which attend its progreſs, and which may eventually reſult from its eſtabliſhment, paſs for nothing. The French have made their way through the deſtruction of their country to a bad Conſtitution, when they were abſolutely in poſſeſſion of a good one. Inſtead of redreſſing grievances, and improving the fabric of their State, to which they were called by their Monarch, and ſent by their Country, they had raſhly de-

ſtroyed all the balances and counterpoiſes which ſerve to fix the State, and to give it a ſteady direction. Theſe they had melted down into one incongruous ill-connected maſs; and, with the moſt atrocious perfidy and violation of all faith among men, laid the axe to the root of all property, and conſequently of all national proſperity, by the principles they eſtabliſhed, and the example they ſet in confiſcating all the poſſeſſions of the Church. They had made and recorded a ſort of inſtitute and digeſt of anarchy, called 'A Declaration of the Rights of Man:' thus ſyſtematically deſtroying every hold of authority, by opinion, religious or civil, on the minds of the people. By this *mad declaration* they had ſubverted the State, and brought on ſuch calamities as no country, without a long war, had ever been known to ſuffer. Mr. Burke declared that he felt ſome concern that this ſtrange thing called a Revolution in France ſhould be compared with the glorious event commonly called the Revolution in England. In truth, the circumſtances of our revolution, as it is called, and that of France, are juſt the reverſe of each other in almoſt every particular, and in the whole ſpirit of the tranſaction. What we did, was in truth and ſubſtance not a revolution made, but prevented. We took ſolid ſecurities; we ſettled doubtful queſtions; we corrected anomalies in our law. In the ſtable fundamental parts of our Conſtitution we made no revolution; no, nor any alteration at all. We did not impair the Monarchy. The Nation kept the ſame ranks, the ſame ſubordinations, the ſame franchiſes, the ſame order in the law, the revenue, and the magiſtracy; the ſame Lords, the ſame Commons, the ſame Corporations, the ſame Electors. The Church was not impaired. Her eſtates, her majeſty, her ſplendor, her orders and gradations continued the ſame. She was preſerved in her full efficiency, and cleared only of that intolerance which was her weakneſs and diſgrace. Was little done then, becauſe a Revolution was not made in the Conſtitution? No—every thing was done; becauſe we commenced with reparation, not with ruin. Inſtead of lying in a ſort of epileptic trance, expoſed to the pity or deriſion of the world for her wild, ridiculous, convulſive movements, the State flouriſhed; Great Britain roſe above the ſtandard of her former ſelf. All the energies of the country were awakened, and a new æra of pro-

ſperity

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ſperity commenced, which ſtill centinues, not only unimpaired, but receiving growth and improvement under the waſting hand of Time."

Vindicated by Mr. Fox and the friends of the people.

Mr. Fox, notwithſtanding his perſonal regard and friendſhip for Mr. Burke, thought it neceſſary, in juſtice to the rectitude and dignity of his own character, to declare "his total diſſent from opinions ſo hoſtile to the general principles of liberty; and which he was grieved to hear from the lips of a man whom he loved and revered—by whoſe precepts he had been taught, by whoſe example he had been animated to engage in their defence. He vindicated the conduct of the French army in refuſing to act againſt their fellow-citizens, from the aſperſions of Mr. Burke, who had charged them with abetting an abominable ſedition by mutiny and deſertion—declaring that, if he could view a ſtanding military force with leſs conſtitutional jealouſy than before, it was owing to the noble ſpirit manifeſted by the French army; who, on becoming ſoldiers, had proved that they did not forfeit their character as citizens, and would not act as the mere inſtruments of a deſpot. The ſcenes of bloodſhed and cruelty that had been acted in France, no man," ſaid Mr. Fox, "could hear of without lamenting. But when the grievous tyranny that the people had ſo long groaned under was conſidered, the exceſſes they had committed in their efforts to ſhake off the yoke could not excite our aſtoniſhment ſo much as our regret. And as to the contraſt which Mr. Burke had exhibited, reſpecting the mode in which the two Revolutions in England and France were conducted, it muſt be remembered, that the ſituation of the two kingdoms was totally different. In France, a free conſtitution was to be created. In England, it wanted only to be ſecured. If the fabric of government in England ſuffered leſs alteration, it was becauſe it required leſs alteration. If a general deſtruction of the antient Conſtitution had taken place in France, it was becauſe the whole ſyſtem was radically hoſtile to liberty, and that every part of it breathed the direful ſpirit of deſpotiſm."

Mr. Sheridan, with ſtill leſs reſerve and attention to perſonal reſpect, reprobated the political ſentiments which had been that night advanced by

by Mr. Burke. "The people of France," ſaid Mr. Sheridan, "it is true, have committed acts of barbarity and bloodſhed which have juſtly excited indignation and abhorrence. That deteſtation and abhorrence however are ſtill more juſtly due to the Government of France prior to the Revolution; the tyranny and oppreſſion of which had deprived the people of the rights of men and of citizens, and driven them to that degree of deſperation which could alone have incited thoſe unexampled acts of cruelty and revenge which had been practiſed in the firſt agitation and violence of the effort to regain their freedom. Could it be expected, that men in their ſituation ſhould be capable of acting with the ſame moderation and the ſame attention to humanity and ſenſibility as characteriſed freemen? Were the mad outrages of a mob an adequate ground for branding the National Aſſembly with the ſtigma of being a bloody, ferocious, and tyrannical democracy? It was a libel on that illuſtrious body thus to deſcribe them. A better conſtitution than that which actually exiſted, it is allowed that France had a right to expect. From whom were they to receive it? From the bounty of the Monarch at the head of his courtiers? or from the patriotiſm of Marſhal Broglio at the head of the army? From the faint and feeble cries emitted from the dark dungeons of the Baſtille? or from the influence and energy of that ſpirit which had laid the Baſtille in aſhes? The people, unhappily miſguided as they doubtleſs were in particular inſtances, had however acted rightly in their great object. They had placed the ſupreme authority of the community in thoſe hands by whom alone it could be juſtly exerciſed, and had reduced their Sovereign to the rank which properly belonged to kings—that of adminiſtrator of the laws eſtabliſhed by the free conſent of the community." The Houſe appeared, during a long and moſt intereſting diſcuſſion, greatly agitated by this ſhock and conflict of opinions. But Mr. Pitt preſerved a cautious and politic ſilence as to the merits of the Revolution which had taken place; laviſhly applauding, nevertheleſs, Mr. Burke, for the zealous and ſeaſonable attachment he had diſplayed to the principles of the Britiſh Conſtitution.

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The ſpirit by which the Court was now actuated ſtill more evidently appeared in their conduct relative to the Diſſenters, who had ſignalized themſelves by the exuberance of their joy at the late events in France. Since the favorable deciſion of the late ſeſſion relative to the repeal of the Teſt Laws, they had not ceaſed their efforts by every means in their power to increaſe the number of their friends in the Houſe of Commons. Provincial meetings were convened by them in every part of the kingdom; and reſolutions, framed in terms for the moſt part harſh and revolting, paſſed, expreſſive of their ſentiments of the injuſtice and oppreſſion under which they ſuffered. And in contemplation of the approaching general election, they had even the groſs indiſcretion, in many of their public votes, to recommend a marked preference in favor of thoſe who had ſhewn themſelves the friends and advocates of equal and univerſal liberty. In the ſtead of Mr. Beaufoy, a friend and partiſan of the Miniſter, Mr. Fox was now ſolicited to move the Houſe a third time for the repeal of the acts in queſtion; to which he gave a ready and generous aſſent. By appearing to conſider the repeal of the Teſt Laws as a matter of great magnitude and importance, the Nation at large, which had originally regarded the queſtion with indifference, were led to believe it to be a matter of high and ſerious import. Counter-meetings of the Friends of the Church were called, in which the repeal of the Teſt was deprecated as fatal to its ſecurity. The Clergy revived with incredible ſucceſs the obſolete and ſenſeleſs clamor, that the CHURCH was in DANGER. All poſſible encouragement was given to theſe artifices of faction and efforts of bigotry by the Court; ſo that when the period arrived at which the deſtined motion was to be made, the Diſſenters were aſtoniſhed to find the Government, the Church, and the Nation combined in paſſionate oppoſition to a claim which to them appeared founded on the cleareſt principles of reaſon, policy, and juſtice.

Mr. Fox's motion for a repeal of the Teſt,

On the 2d of March Mr. Fox brought forward his motion of repeal, which, unmindful of its preſent extreme unpopularity, and fixing his attention only on the eſſential and immutable rectitude of the meaſure, he ſupported with a wonderful diſplay of ability. He ſaid, "that it was

to him a matter of triumph, that the very people who had imputed to him deſigns hoſtile to Liberty and ſubverſive of the Conſtitution, had requeſted him to plead their cauſe on that day. This was at once a refutation and reparation of the WRONG they had done him." He ſaid, "he was himſelf a member of the Eſtabliſhed Church, and thought an eſtabliſhment, if not neceſſary, at leaſt uſeful and adviſable. And ſhould any attempts be made to invade the juſt rights of the Church, ſhe ſhould find him as ready to ſtand forward the champion of thoſe rights, as he was this day to plead thoſe of the Diſſenters; and he hoped the time would come when the Church would ſee his conduct in its true light, and acquit him of any deſign upon her ſplendor, influence, or greatneſs. Perſecution," ſaid Mr. Fox, "is a bond of union. Remove the barriers which ſeparate the Diſſenters from the community of citizens, and in their collective capacity they would be no longer known. Men unite to reſiſt oppreſſion: but ceaſe to oppreſs, and the union is diſſolved. Continue it, and you render the union ſtill more compact and firm, till reſiſtance, at firſt perhaps weak, gradually becomes formidable, and finally ſucceſsful. And experience ſhews, that when oppreſſion has been carried to certain lengths, men think that the only way to deſtroy the oppreſſion is to deſtroy the oppreſſor. Such is the tendency and ſuch the termination of this wretched ſyſtem of policy. For any government to extend its juriſdiction over the opinions of individuals," ſaid this magnanimous Stateſman, "is at once abſurd and tyrannical. It is abſurd, for opinions muſt and ought to be free. They are not the proper objects of human authority, and they may in fact be perfectly innocent and harmleſs, when in a mere ſpeculative view they perhaps appear fraught with miſchief and danger. It is tyrannical, for it would furniſh a pretext for every ſpecies of oppreſſion and perſecution. It is not to control opinions, but actions, that government is inſtituted. And then only has the State a right to interfere, when by any overt act a man has offended againſt any known law. Then, and then only, is puniſhment juſtly inflicted, when a man by his conduct has proved himſelf criminal; and not when it is inferred, and perhaps moſt unjuſtly inferred, from his opinions, that he may poſſibly become ſo. Such," ſaid Mr. Fox, "is the abſurdity

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ſurdity of the laws in queſtion, that the Legiſlature has for many ſucceſſive years regularly paſſed an act for indemnifying thoſe who preſume to ſerve their country at their own peril. To this miſerable expedient are men driven, rather than repeal a law which they themſelves bluſh to execute."

Mr. Pitt, who had done himſelf honor by the temper and moderation with which he had oppoſed the former applications, now indulged ſome expreſſions of aſperity. "Neither the merits nor demerits of individuals ought," he ſaid, "to have any influence in the diſcuſſion of the preſent queſtion: yet was the conduct of the Diſſenters liable to juſt reprehenſion, who, at the very moment they were reprobating the Teſt Laws, diſcovered an intention of forming aſſociations through the country for the purpoſe of impoſing a Teſt upon the Members of that Houſe, and judging of their fitneſs for diſcharging their parliamentary duty from their votes upon this ſingle queſtion. He was far from wiſhing to throw any ſtigma upon the Diſſenters; but he affirmed it to be EXTREMELY PROBABLE, that they might exerciſe the power they demanded for the ſubverſion of the preſent Eſtabliſhment. The important queſtion at iſſue, he aſſerted, plainly was, whether the Houſe ought to relinquiſh at once thoſe acts which had been adopted by the wiſdom of our anceſtors to ſerve as a bulwark to the Church, whoſe conſtitution was ſo intimately connected with that of the State, that the ſafety of the one muſt be always affected by any danger that threatened the other. To toleration the Diſſenters were undoubtedly entitled. They had a right to enjoy their liberty and their property, to entertain their own ſpeculative opinions, and to educate their offſpring in ſuch religious ſentiments as themſelves approved. But the indiſpenſable neceſſity of a permanent Church Eſtabliſhment for the good of the State, required that toleration ſhould not be extended to equality; if it were, there would be an end for ever to the wiſe policy of prevention, and a door would be opened to the abſolute ruin of the Conſtitution."

The policy of prevention has indeed been ever a primary object of the

the attention of the ableſt and moſt enlightened ſtateſmen. The only queſtion upon this occaſion was, what conduct this wiſe policy dictated and required. Agreeably to the general ſyſtem of which Mr. Pitt profeſſed himſelf the advocate, the Conſtitution could be effectually ſecured from eventual attack by no other means than the impoſition of arbitrary and odious reſtraints—and branding with opprobrious diſtinctions thoſe who were ſuſpected of diſaffection to the Government, however apparently loyal in profeſſion and in conduct. On the contrary, Mr. Fox's plan of prevention conſiſted in extending with an equitable and impartial hand the privileges of the Conſtitution to all the numerous claſſes and deſcriptions of citizens profeſſing allegiance to the Government, preſuming diſaffection to be the offspring of oppreſſion, and that equality of advantage would certainly and neceſſarily produce reciprocal equality of attachment. In a word, Mr. Pitt would obviate the power, but Mr. Fox the inclination, to injure. Mr. Pitt would bind the *diſaffected* in chains—he would load them with the galling weight of fetters and manacles; but Mr. Fox, whoſe policy is juſtice, and whoſe juſtice policy, with magnanimous indignation would burſt their bonds and annihilate their diſaffection.

Mr. Burke ſeconded the Miniſter in a ſpeech of far more virulence, and in preſent circumſtances therefore of far more efficacy. He expreſſed his "utter contempt of all abſtract principles of natural right: theſe," he ſaid, "were annihilated by ſociety, which ſecured the poſſeſſion of every comfort which thoſe proud and boaſtful rights impotently held out, but could not beſtow. He aſtoniſhed and alarmed the Houſe with reading ſeveral paſſages from the writings of Diſſenting Divines on the ſubject of Eccleſiaſtical Eſtabliſhments, expreſſed with the uſual acrimony and violence of theological polemics. From theſe teſtimonies Mr. Burke inferred the inveterate enmity of the Diſſenters to the Church; and he adjured the Houſe to ſuffer the fatal incidents which had taken place in France, and the ſudden ruin of the Gallican Church, to awaken their zeal for the preſervation of our preſent happy and excellent Eſtabliſhment."

On

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On the diviſion the numbers were, ayes 105, noes 294; ſo that the majority againſt the repeal had increaſed ſince the laſt ſeſſion from 20 to 189 voices. In conſequence of the unhappy manner in which this queſtion was treated, the ſpirit of religious bigotry, prejudice, and animoſity was revived throughout the kingdom in an extraordinary degree. The grand fabric of policy which it had been the labor of a century to rear, and the glory of the houſe of Hanover for two ſucceſſive reigns to cheriſh, was now in a moment of raſhneſs and reſentment demoliſhed and overthrown. The Diſſenters on their part can by no means be acquitted of blame. Conſidering the great plauſibility which may be given by eloquent and artful men to principles the moſt abſurd and erroneous, it is no wonder that many highly reſpectable perſons, far removed from contempt as to knowledge and underſtanding, ſhould regard the repeal of the Teſt Laws as attended with a degree of riſque and danger *. Till the PASSIONS of the public were awakened, it is however extremely evident that the arguments of the Diſſenters, and of their advocates, both in and out of Parliament, made a ſenſible impreſſion in their favor; but when they proceeded to a rude and arrogant mode of urging their claim, the voice of reaſon was loſt in the ſubſequent conflict. Had the Diſſenters conducted themſelves with the reſpect and deference due to the Government of a country even when in error, it is by no means improbable that at a future period the Court might have

* "The ſufferings of men in their civil rights upon religious accounts," ſays Biſhop HOADLEY in his memorable anſwer to Biſhop SHERLOCK, "was the INFLAMING CONSIDERATION—and what gave riſe to thoſe paſſions which in the laſt century produced ſuch fatal effects. The contrary conduct, therefore, would have the contrary effect. Let all hardſhips and all oppreſſions ceaſe. Let there be no civil puniſhment, or civil ſuffering, or civil inconvenience, call it as you pleaſe, on account of what is the dictate of men's private conſcience, unleſs it immediately affect the Civil Government. If the former method has been tried, and has been ſeen to blow up diſaffection into violence, then the true cure for theſe evils is to prevent them by acting a contrary part, and trying that which never yet has had in any part of the world ſo fatal effects. To go on in the old way of continuing grievances and burdens, is only to pave the way to the ſame evils whenever time and opportunity ſhall offer; and this as certainly as that the ſame human nature will be worked upon in the ſame manner by the ſame methods; or as certainly as that the ſame cauſes, all things concurring,

have *ſuffered* the repeal to paſs; but by preſſing the repeal with a boldneſs and precipitancy which allowed no ſalvo for the honor of Government, they could expect no other than a decided and acrimonious oppoſition. It is nevertheleſs very remarkable in one view, that the meaſure in queſtion ſhould be oppoſed with ſuch pertinacity by the Executive Government, ſince the very object of the repeal was merely to remove a reſtraint upon the exerciſe of its prerogative. And if the object of theſe ſucceſſive applications had been attained in its utmoſt extent, it would ſtill have depended upon the pleaſure of the Crown, whether a ſingle Diſſenter ſhould have been employed in any office for which a compliance with the Teſt was previouſly neceſſary. The conduct of the Diſſenters, too eagerly ſolicitous to remove a ſtigma which they were conſcious they did not deſerve, muſt indeed be acknowledged unwiſe and indefenſible. But when was wiſdom ſuppoſed the characteriſtic of a promiſcuous and countleſs multitude? The conduct of Government was alſo at leaſt equally unwiſe. But from the Government of a great nation we have a right to expect wiſdom; and from the palpable want of it during the preſent reign, evils and miſchiefs beyond all power of calculation have reſulted. After the fatal experience of thirty years, that moſt important of all political truths remained to be diſcovered—that mankind are with infinitely more eaſe and efficacy to be governed by mildneſs than ſeverity *.

Shortly

curring, will ever produce the ſame effects. Thoſe evils were begun by partiality and oppreſſion, and therefore the true laſting effectual remedy would be for Government to aboliſh all partiality as to civil rights, and all hardſhip wherever there is equal affection to the Civil Government, properly ſo called. Admitting, for argument's ſake, the diſaffection of the Diſſenters to the Government at former periods, if that diſaffection to the Civil Conſtitution, teſtified by former actions, were a juſt ground for making ſuch excluſive acts, then certainly the trueſt affection to the preſent Civil Conſtitution, teſtified through a long ſeries of years and in times the moſt critical and dangerous, is the juſteſt reaſon in the world for putting an end to theſe acts." Such were the noble ſentiments, and ſuch the generous and enlightened policy, with which the Diſſenters were not only uniformly treated, but publicly defended, by thoſe men in whom the houſe of Brunſwick once placed their truſt and confidence.

* Of the Apologues of antient and of modern times, there is none perhaps that conveys ſo beautiful a moral, and ſo extenſively applicable, as that of the SUN and WIND. "A traveller," ſays the Fabuliſt, "was journeying with a large and thick cloak looſely caſt upon his

ſhoulders,

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Mr. Flood's motion for a reform in the Britiſh Parliament.

Shortly after the deciſion of the Houſe upon this buſineſs, Mr. Flood, ſo long celebrated as a patriot and orator in the Iriſh Houſe of Commons, and who had ſat ſome years almoſt undiſtinguiſhed in the Britiſh Parliament, brought forward a plan of Parliamentary Reform, in conformity to which an additional number of Repreſentatives, to the amount of one hundred, was to be admitted into the Legiſlative Body, in a proportional ratio to the population of each county, by the election of the reſident houſeholders only. This was a bold and happy effort at reform; and it was ſupported by the mover in a very able and eloquent ſpeech, in which, adverting to the preſent ſtate of things in France, he declared "that it was the want of timely and temperate reforms that had made a revolution neceſſary in that country. Thoſe who oppoſed ſuch reforms might be enemies to revolution in their hearts, but they were friends to it by their folly."

This motion was vehemently oppoſed by Mr. Windham, Member for Norwich, the obſequious and devoted admirer of Mr. Burke, who adopted in their full extent all his eccentricities and deviations from the rule of right, but who followed him in his ſuperior lines of character, his genius, and his eloquence, with very unequal ſteps. "At the cloſe of the American war," Mr. Windham ſaid, "a deluge of opinions had been let looſe, a clamor had been raiſed, and a parliamentary reform demanded—as a remedy for the evils we felt from it. Happily thoſe wild notions had long

ſhoulders, when an eager contention aroſe between the Sun and the Wind which could with the greater facility cauſe him to throw it off. To aſcertain this queſtion, the Wind firſt began to blow with keenneſs, then with violence, riſing by degrees into a dreadful tempeſt. But the Traveller, far from caſting away his cloak, only wrapped it round him the cloſer. The Sun then, ſmiling at the fierce and at the ſame time impotent efforts of his antagoniſt, began to ſhine, till, at length overpowered by the increaſing ſplendor of his beams, the Traveller threw off his cloak, not merely as a ſuperfluous, but inconvenient and cumbrous burden. The Wind, now inſtructed by experience, ingenuouſly confeſſed the wretched inefficacy of terror to influence the will, when compared with the generous glow of kindneſs, and the cheering rays of beneficence."—"Conſtraint," ſays a moſt diſcerning judge of mankind, "is the moſt defective of all the ſprings of authority.—In all affairs, *without exception*, coercive means are the moſt adapted to produce in man an effect exactly oppoſite to the intention."

ſince ſubſided; the danger, however, was now breaking out afreſh; and were he otherwiſe a friend to the propoſition, he ſhould have objected to it on accouut of the time at which it was introduced. Where was the man who would be mad enough to adviſe them to repair their houſe in the hurricane ſeaſon?"

Mr. Pitt entirely coincided in theſe reaſonings of Mr. Windham, and declared, "that, were the motion before them the preciſe propoſition he himſelf had formerly offered, he ſhould now vote againſt it from a conviction of its actual impropriety. But at a more ſeaſonable opportunity he would MOST CERTAINLY again ſubmit his ideas upon the ſubject to the conſideration of the Houſe."

Mr. Fox declared, "that he ſaw no reaſon why we ſhould be ſtruck with a panic on account of the ſituation of affairs in France; and in alluſion to Mr. Windham's metaphorical argument, he affirmed, that no ſeaſon could be more proper to begin a repair than when a hurricane was near and ready to burſt forth." Mr. Flood, perceiving the general ſentiments of the Houſe, even of thoſe Members who had formerly favored the idea of Parliamentary Reform, to be adverſe to the motion, at length aſſented to withdraw his propoſition.

The buſineſs relative to the abolition of the Slave Trade went on ſlowly and heavily. Every artifice of procraſtination was uſed on the part of the Slave-merchants and Planters, and the whole ſeſſion paſſed over in the hearing of evidence, and examination of witneſſes.

Trial of Mr. Haſtings. Its diſgraceful procraſtination.

The trial of Mr. Haſtings alſo proceeded with almoſt equal languor. On the 16th of February (1790) the charge reſpecting preſents was recapitulated by Mr. Burke; but in the entire courſe of the ſeſſion the Court ſat only thirteen days. The enthuſiaſm of thoſe who wiſhed and expected to have ſeen a great public delinquent brought to ſpeedy and exemplary juſtice, was faſt changing to compaſſion for the man who ſeemed deſtined to live a life of impeachment, and to have become the object of

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a relentleſs perſecution. The evidence on three articles only of the general charge out of twenty was as yet cloſed on the part of the Commons, after which Mr. Haſtings was to enter upon his defence, and the Commons were to reply; ſo that in all probability the judges and the witneſſes, the accuſers and the accuſed, would be all ſwept away by the hand of Time before the trial could arrive at its legal termination. The common ſenſe of mankind revolted at this procedure. It appeared manifeſt to all, that this was not the mode in which human affairs could or ought to be conducted. The real merits of the cauſe were loſt in the immenſity of the detail. It was not to be expected or imagined that the public at large could pretend to form any judgment reſpecting it. This only without heſitation they inferred, that if Mr. Haſtings was ſo criminal as he was repreſented, a ſhort and ſimple ſtatement of facts would ſuffice to prove his guilt. But Weſtminſter Hall was converted into a LYCEUM, a School of Eloquence, and all was ſeen confuſed and magnified through the miſt of rhetorical declamation. The Houſe of Commons had indeed originally propoſed, that the Lords ſhould decide ſeparately upon each article, which might doubtleſs have tended conſiderably to ſhorten the proceedings; but this their Lordſhips refuſed, as an unfair and partial mode of determining upon the merits of ſo complicated a caſe, and in which many of the articles of impeachment were ſo intimately connected. Towards the cloſe of the ſeſſion, a reſolution paſſed the Houſe of Commons, on the motion of Mr. Burke, "That the Houſe do authorize the Managers to inſiſt only upon ſuch and ſo many of the charges as may appear to them conducive to the obtaining ſpeedy and effectual juſtice;" and Major Scott was, by the order of the Houſe, reprimanded by the Speaker in his place, for aſcribing, in a certain libellous publication, the procraſtination of the trial to the ſyſtematical artifices of the Managers.

On the 31ſt of March, 1790, Mr. Dundas brought forward his annual ſtatement of the debts and revenues of the Eaſt India Company, as required by the Regulation Act. He repreſented, according to annual cuſtom, their ſituation as in the higheſt degree proſperous and flouriſhing; and, what is very remarkable, he did not conclude his eulogium of the preſent

Wiſe adminiſtration of Lord Cornwallis in India.

year, with aſking a loan to enable them to avoid the horrors of inſolvency. Through the wiſe and equitable adminiſtration of Lord Cornwallis, the revenues of Bengal had been advanced during the laſt year, without the aid of any new impoſition, from one million eight hundred thouſand pounds to two millions one hundred and fifty thouſand pounds. The preſent Governor General, on his acceſſion to his high office, had ſtated the ſituation of the provinces as moſt wretched and deplorable. In his diſpatch to the Court of Directors, dated Auguſt 2, 1789, he ſays, "Independent of all other conſiderations, it will be of the utmoſt importance for promoting the ſolid intereſt of the Company, that the PRINCIPAL LANDHOLDERS and TRADERS in the interior parts of the country ſhould be *reſtored* to ſuch circumſtances as to enable them to ſupport their families with decency, according to the cuſtoms of their ſeveral *caſtes* and religions. I am ſorry to be obliged to ſay, that agriculture and internal commerce have for many years been gradually declining; and that at preſent, excepting the claſs of ſhroffs and banians, who reſide almoſt entirely in great towns, the inhabitants of theſe provinces were advancing haſtily to a general ſtate of poverty and wretchedneſs. In this deſcription I muſt include almoſt every zemindar in the Company's territories." And in his Council-minute of September 18, 1789, his Lordſhip writes, "I can ſafely aſſert, that ONE THIRD of the Company's territory is now a jungle, inhabited by WILD BEASTS!"

One of the primary and moſt important meaſures of the new Governor General was, to leaſe the lands *in perpetuity* at an equitable valuation to the actual occupants; in alluſion to which momentous tranſaction his Lordſhip thus forcibly expreſſes himſelf to the Directors: "The ſecurity of property, and the certainty which each individual will NOW feel of being allowed to enjoy the fruits of his labors, muſt operate uniformly as incitements to labor and induſtry." This could not but be conſtrued as a bitter ſatire on the conduct of his predeceſſor; and as amounting to a very explicit acknowledgment of the miſery and oppreſſion which the inhabitants had long ſuffered under his capricious, haughty, and tyrannical domination.

BOOK XVIII.

Diſpute with Spain relative to the Settlement at Nootka Sound. Reluctance of France to ſupport the Claims of Spain. Convention between Great Britain and Spain ſigned at the Eſcurial. Anniverſary of the French Revolution celebrated. Mr. Burke publiſhes calumnious Reflections on the French Revolution. The pernicious and fatal Conſequences of the Reflections. Reflections anſwered by Thomas Paine. Wonderful Effects of Paine's Pamphlet. New Parliament—Attempt of Mr. Pitt to ſeize the unclaimed Dividends at the Bank. Debate on the Pendency of Mr. Haſtings's Impeachment. Catholic Toleration Act paſſed. Mr. Fox's Motion for a Bill to aſcertain the Rights of Juries. Mr. Wilberforce's Motion for the Abolition of the Slave Trade. Bill for eſtabliſhing a Conſtitution in Canada. Alarming Diſpute with Ruſſia. Formidable Oppoſition in Parliament. Mr. Pitt compelled to diſgraceful Retractations. State of Affairs in France. Church and King—Riots at Birmingham. Seſſion of Parliament—Flouriſhing State of the Nation. Mr. Whitbread's Motion of Cenſure reſpecting Ruſſia. Mr. Wilberforce's ſecond Motion of Abolition. Inſidious Conduct of the Houſe of Lords. Mr. Fox's Motion for a Repeal of the Penal Laws. Mr. Whitbread's Motion of Enquiry into the Birmingham Riots. Mr. Fox's Libel Bill paſſed into a Law. Act for the Relief of the Scottiſh Epiſcopalians. Society of the Friends of the People inſtituted. Royal Proclamation for the Suppreſſion of Sedition. State of Affairs in India. State of Affairs in France. Amicable Overtures of the French Court rejected. Depoſition of the King of France. Injurious Decree of the Convention. Infamous Invaſion of Poland by the Ruſſians. Deteſtable Perfidy of the King of Pruſſia. King of Sweden aſſaſſinated.

Saſſinated. Engliſh Ambaſſador recalled from France. Unſolicited Offer of Aſſiſtance to the States General. Embargo on Corn Veſſels freighted for France. Terrors of Innovation—Aſſociations formed. Royal Proclamation—Militia embodied. Parliament convened—A Plot in Diſguiſe. Defection of the Alarmiſts. Mr. Fox's Motion for a Negotiation with France negatived. Mr. Dundas's raſh and confident Prediction. Ineffectual Efforts of the Executive Council of France to avert the War. French Ambaſſador ordered to depart the Kingdom. Inſults and Injuries offered to France. Engliſh Government at length propoſes to negotiate. War declared by France againſt England and Holland.

BOOK XVIII. 1790.

IN the month of April Mr. Pitt preſented, as uſual, his ſtatement of the national revenue and expenditure; and it was very conſolatory to the public to be informed that the receipt of the Exchequer had ſurpaſſed that of the year preceding in the ſum of half a million; and more ſo to be told that ſtill greater acceſſions might reaſonably be hoped from the uninterrupted enjoyment of the ineſtimable bleſſings of peace. It therefore excited peculiar aſtoniſhment, when, in about a fortnight from this period, viz. May 5th, 1790, a Royal Meſſage was delivered by the Miniſter, announcing a ſtate of things which bore the undiſguiſed and menacing aſpect of war.

Diſpute with Spain relative to the Settlement at Nootka Sound;

To elucidate this matter, it is neceſſary to mention that the celebrated circumnavigator Cook *, in his laſt voyage of diſcovery, touching at divers

* It is impoſſible, on the incidental mention of a name ſo famous, not to pauſe for a moment, in order to pay to his memory the paſſing tribute of applauſe. What the combined efforts of former ages had left doubtful, was at length aſcertained by the ſkill, courage, and perſeverance of Cook. Thoſe grand geographical problems, the exiſtence of a Southern Continent, and the practicability of a north-weſt paſſage from the Atlantic to the Pacific, are now become geographical chimæras. The unfortunate event by which this great Navigator, like his renowned predeceſſor Magellan, loſt his life in an encounter with the ſavages of an iſland in the Indian Ocean, has been celebrated in a moſt beautiful elegy, by one of the firſt poetical geniuſes of the age—Miſs Seward. The lines expreſſive of the anxious impatience of his widowed conſort, as yet unconſcious of the loſs ſhe had ſuſtained, for the return of him for

vers ports on the weſtern coaſt of North America, purchaſed from the natives a number of valuable furs bearing a high price in the Chineſe market. This branch of commerce proving very lucrative, a ſpot of ground was in the year 1788 procured from the Indians, and a regular eſtabliſhment, defended by a ſlight fortification, formed at a place called Nootka Sound, ſituated about the 50th degree of latitude. This being regarded by the Spaniards as a flagrant encroachment on their excluſive rights of ſovereignty, the Princeſſa, a Spaniſh man of war, diſpatched for this purpoſe by the Viceroy of Mexico, in the following ſpring, ſeized without ceremony upon the fort, and captured ſuch Engliſh veſſels, the Iphigenia, Argonaut, &c. as were found trading on the coaſt. At the ſame time the Spaniſh Commandant, hoiſting the national ſtandard, declared that the whole line of coaſt from Cape Horn to the 60th degree of North latitude belonged to the King of Spain. After ſome delay, and much loſs and vexation to the proprietors, the captured veſſels were reſtored by order of the Viceroy, on the ſuppoſition, as he declared, "that nothing but ignorance of the rights of Spain could have induced the merchants in queſtion to attempt an eſtabliſhment on that coaſt."

Of theſe particulars the Court of London was informed by the Spaniſh Ambaſſador ſo long ſince as the 10th of February; and his Excellency at the ſame time requeſted "that meaſures might be taken for preventing his Britannic Majeſty's ſubjects from frequenting thoſe coaſts, and

for whoſe ſafety ſhe had preferred her daily and nightly vows, are peculiarly ſtriking and emphatic:

'But ah! aloft on Albion's rocky ſteep,
That frowns incumbent o'er the boiling deep,
Solicitous and ſad a ſofter form
Eyes the lone flood, and deprecates the ſtorm.
Ill-fated Matron! for, alas! in vain
Thy eager glances wander o'er the main.
'Tis the vex'd billows that inſurgent rave—
Their white foam ſilvers yonder diſtant wave;
'Tis not his ſails—thy huſband comes no more:
His bones now whiten an accurſed ſhore!"

from

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from carrying on their fiſheries in the ſeas contiguous to the Spaniſh continent, as derogatory to the inconteſtable rights of the Crown of Spain." This was the exact counterpart of the memorable affair of Falkland Iſlands, which had ſo nearly involved Europe in a war twenty years before. The Miniſter of that day, had he continued in power, would doubtleſs have avoided ſtriking a ſecond time upon the ſame rock; but it has been obſerved, not without too much color of pauſibility, from facts like the preſent, that although individuals gain wiſdom by experience, nations do not. The famous diſpute between the Courts of Madrid and London, relative to the Scottiſh ſettlement on the Iſthmus of Darien, in the reign of King William, was of a nature exactly analogous to the more recent ones of Falkland Iſlands and Nootka Sound; and, if it were poſſible for ſtateſmen to profit by the errors of their predeceſſors, exhibited a moſt uſeful and inſtructive leſſon.

The claims of Spain, in relation to her rights of dominion and ſovereignty in America, were doubtleſs in the higheſt degree chimerical, and could perhaps be equalled in extravagance only by the claims of Great Britain. By the treaty of 1763 the river Miſſiſſippi, flowing from north to ſouth in a direct courſe of 1500 miles, was made the perpetual boundary of the two empires; and the whole country to the weſt of that vaſt river belonged to his Catholic Majeſty, by juſt as valid a tenure as the country eaſtward of the river to the King of England. Excluſive of this recent and deciſive line of demarcation, by which the relative and political rights of both nations were clearly aſcertained, the Spaniſh Court referred to antient treaties, by which the rights of the Crown of Spain were acknowledged in their full extent by Great Britain.

Charles III. King of Spain died December 1788, and his ſon Charles IV. the preſent Sovereign, confiding in the juſtice of his claims, offered with dignified candor to ſubmit the deciſion of this queſtion to any one of the Kings of Europe, leaving the choice wholly to his Britannic Majeſty. "It is ſufficient (ſays the Spaniſh Miniſter, Count Florida Blanca) for the Spaniſh Monarch, that a Crowned Head, from full information of the

the facts, shall decide as he thinks just; adding, that on a late application to the Court of St. Petersburgh, in relation to similar encroachments on the part of the Russians, the Empress had given the most positive orders that no settlement should be formed on that line of coast. As to the non-occupancy of the particular spot in question by the Spaniards, the Court of Madrid justly observed, that such a plea, if admitted, would tend, by the incongruous intermixture of settlements, to the utter annihilation of all definite and permanent boundaries."

The reply of the Court of London to the Memorial of the Spanish Ambassador was high and haughty. "The act of violence mentioned in the Memorial, necessarily suspended any discussion till an adequate atonement had been made for a proceeding so injurious to Great Britain."

On the statement of these facts in the Royal Message, the House unanimously joined in an address to the King, assuring his Majesty of the determination of his faithful Commons to afford his Majesty the most zealous and affectionate support, in such measures as may become requisite for maintaining the dignity of his Majesty's Crown, and the essential interests of his dominions." A vote of credit passed the House for the sum of one million; and vigorous military and naval preparations were made in both kingdoms, in the contemplation of an immediate declaration of war.

It must be acknowledged that the hostile procedure of Spain had reduced the English Ministry to a difficult dilemma. The value of the settlement at Nootka, in a commercial and national view, was beneath all calculation of insignificance; and it argued culpable inattention in the British Ministers, not to have been better and earlier apprised of the extent of the real or imaginary rights of Spain, whose jealousy at the slightest infringement upon those rights was sufficiently notorious. This extreme irritability was the more pardonable, as Spain had ever with the strictest honor abstained from all violations of the similar claims and pretensions of other countries. A moment's reflection must have evinced,

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that a Britiſh ſettlement on the coaſt of California muſt be eventually productive of a ſerious contention with the Court of Madrid: and a ſlight degree of diſcretion would have ſufficed to obviate this ground of national quarrel. But in conſequence of the raſh ſtep taken by Spain, the NATIONAL HONOR was now at ſtake: and Mr. Grey, in moving for papers relative to this tranſaction, juſtly obſerved, "that national honor was not, as ſome repreſented it, a viſionary thing; a nation without honor was a nation without power. In loſing this ineſtimable attribute, it inevitably loſt the genuine ſpring of its ſpirit, energy and action. Every nation therefore ought to be careful of its honor; to be careful leſt by one mean ſubmiſſion it encouraged an attack upon the dignity of its character—that beſt ſecurity for the preſervation of its peace."

Theſe high and elevated ſentiments, ſuggeſted by the generous ardor of youth, Mr. Burke's long and eventful experience ſeemed to regard as ſuſceptible nevertheleſs of ſome modification. "He hoped that the national honor would not be found incompatible with the means of amicable accommodation. As we never ought to go to war for a profitable wrong, ſo we ought never to go to war for an unprofitable right. He therefore truſted that the intended armament would be conſidered not as a meaſure calculated to terminate the war happily, but to carry on the negotiation vigorouſly. He wiſhed the war might be avoided. He had ſeen three wars, and we were gainers by none of them. Our ability and reſources were doubtleſs great; but *then* did a country prove its magnanimity moſt clearly, when ſhe manifeſted her moderation to be proportionate to her power. What indeed had we to contend for? If all the diſtant territories of Spain were thrown into the ſcale of England, we ſhould, like Spain, be only the weaker for our acquiſitions."

On the 10th of June, 1790, the King terminated the ſeſſion, and in his ſpeech ſignified the probability of a ſpeedy diſſolution of the preſent Parliament; aſſuring them in handſome terms of "the deep and grateful ſenſe which he entertained of that affectionate and unſhaken loyalty, that uniform and zealous regard for the true principles of the Conſtitution, that

that unremitted attention to the public happineſs and proſperity, which had invariably directed all their proceedings;" and on the day following the Parliament was diſſolved by proclamation.

Conſcious of her inability to contend alone with the power of England, Spain had in an early ſtage of the negotiation applied to the Court of France, to know how far ſhe could depend, in preſent circumſtances, upon the fulfilment of the conditions of the Family Compact, in caſe of a rupture with Great Britain.

From the period of the King's compulſive removal to Paris, no ſymptoms of oppoſition to the will of the Nation had appeared; and by ſeeming cheerfully to acquieſce in the ſucceſſive decrees of the Aſſembly, he had in ſome meaſure recovered, what of all things is moſt difficult to regain—LOST CONFIDENCE. "Let us," ſaid the Monarch, in a ſpeech delivered on a ſolemn occaſion to the Aſſembly (February 1790), "give ourſelves up with good faith to the hopes that we ought to conceive. Continue your labors. Let it be known that your Monarch applauds them. I ſhould have many loſſes to recount, but I find my happineſs in that of the Nation. From the bottom of my heart do I expreſs this ſentiment. I will maintain the Conſtitution with my whole power. May this day, in which your Monarch comes to re-unite himſelf to you, effect in like manner the re-union of all!" In the plan of the new Conſtitution, though much was detracted from the prerogative of the Monarch, much was retained: and the authority of the King of France was ſtill amply ſufficient for the real purpoſes of government. He was acknowledged as the ſole depoſitary of the executive power—as the ſupreme head of the general adminiſtration of the kingdom. In virtue of his ſanction, the acts of the Legiſlative Body acquired the force of law. He was conſtituted not the nominal merely, but efficient Chief of the army and of the navy. The external ſafety of the State, and the conſervation of its rights and privileges in relation to foreign powers, were confided to him. He diſpoſed at his pleaſure of the great offices of State. He appointed, recalled, and received ambaſſadors; and he was the grand medium of intercourſe with

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foreign nations. He was addreſſed by the auguſt titles of SIRE and MAJESTY; and to maintain the dignity and ſplendor of the crown, he had a civil liſt revenue of one million two hundred and fifty-thouſand pounds per annum. Where then, after all the ſenſeleſs clamors of the enemies of this Revolution, was as yet the mighty injury the Monarch had ſuſtained? That the Conſtitution itſelf, like all other human things, was not free from imperfection, may without difficulty be admitted; but the ſubſequent misfortunes of France originated from cauſes which bore no analogy to thoſe defects. They were owing not to the Conſtitution, whether well or ill conſtructed, but to the oppoſition made to its eſtabliſhment.

The Count de Montmorin having laid, by order of the King, the Memorial of the Spaniſh Court before the Aſſembly, this gave riſe to a very intereſting report from the Diplomatic Committee, preſented to the Aſſembly by the Count de Mirabeau. With ſome heſitation, and many high compliments to the Engliſh nation, the report comes at length to the concluſion, "that it would not be juſt or honorable to annul the ſolemn engagements ſubſiſting between Spain and France, at an inſtant when Spain is threatened with the ſame dangers which ſhe had repeatedly warded off from them." An ardent wiſh for the eſtabliſhment of permanent peace and cordial amity with England is notwithſtanding the predominant ſentiment in this celebrated report. "Perhaps," ſay they, "the moment is approaching when LIBERTY, triumphant in both hemiſpheres, ſhall accompliſh the wiſh of Philoſophy, by delivering the human ſpecies from the neceſſity of war. What is it but an inſidious ſyſtem of politics that has hitherto repreſented as our rival a nation whoſe ſteps we have followed, whoſe brilliant example has been a light to direct us in the attainment of our liberties, and with whom ſo many new motives lead us to cultivate a good underſtanding?"

Reluctance of France to ſupport the claims of Spain.

Notwithſtanding the vote of the National Aſſembly for an immediate augmentation of the naval force, the Court of Madrid plainly ſaw the reluctance of the French nation to engage in a war with England; and, yielding to neceſſity, complied firſt with the harſh demand of previous reſtitution

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Convention between Great Britain and Spain ſigned at the Eſcurial.

ſtitution and indemnification; and at length, on the 2d of October (1790) a Convention was ſigned at the Eſcurial, by which every point in diſpute was conceded by Spain. The ſettlement at Nootka was reſtored; the free navigation and right of fiſhery in the Southern Pacific were confirmed to Britain; a full liberty of trade was granted to all the north-weſt coaſts of America, beyond the moſt northerly of the Spaniſh ſettlements, unaccompanied, however, by any formal renunciation of their right of ſovereignty. And the two powers were, on the other hand, equally reſtrained from attempting any ſettlement nearer to Cape Horn than the moſt ſoutherly of the ſettlements actually formed by Spain. A very wiſe article was inſerted likewiſe in this treaty: That in all future caſes of complaint, or ſuppoſed infraction of the preſent Convention, no act of violence ſhall be committed, but an exact report ſhall be made of the affair to the reſpective Courts, who will terminate ſuch difference amicably.

Thus ended a diſpute frivolous in its origin, but which ſeemed in its progreſs to threaten very ſerious conſequences, and which coſt Great Britain the ſum of three millions in warlike preparations; though this expence might have been, with great advantage to the general intereſts of mankind, avoided, by ſubmitting the whole of the diſpute, in the mode propoſed by Spain, to amicable arbitration. And ſo inſignificant was the object in conteſt, that no one either in or out of Parliament has, ſo far as appears, thought it worth while to enquire whether reſtoration has really been made in the mode preſcribed by the treaty, or not.

Anniverſary of the French Revolution celebrated.

The ANNIVERSARY of the REVOLUTION in France, which was dated from the fall of the Baſtille (July 14), was celebrated throughout the country, and more eſpecially at Paris, with great magnificence. The King aſſiſted in perſon, and took a ſolemn oath to maintain the Conſtitution. The National Aſſembly and the armed Citizens repeated it amidſt the acclamations of innumerable ſpectators; and the whole kingdom, with one voice, and almoſt at the ſame moment, ſwore to live free or die. In the genuine ſpirit of antient Greece, was raiſed on the ſite of the Baſtille a ſuperb column ſacred to Liberty: and in the Grecian ſpirit of citizenſhip

and

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and equality, a Decree of the Aſſembly had recently paſſed, aboliſhing all artificial diſtinctions of rank—all the Gothic inſtitutions of chivalry and knighthood, ribbands, croſſes, armorial bearings, and hereditary titles of honor*. In ENGLAND alſo, the French Revolution was commemorated in the metropolis, and various other parts, with great feſtivity and the moſt cordial gratulation; the characteriſtic generoſity of the people of England diſplaying itſelf upon this occaſion in a manner very conſpicuous and pleaſing.

Mr. Burke publiſhes calumnious Reflections on the French Revolution.

Soon after this tranſaction, Mr. Burke, who had in the laſt ſeſſion uttered ſo furious an invective againſt the French Revolution in the Houſe of Commons, ſtill more tranſported with rage and rancor at the high degree of proſperity it had now attained, publiſhed a book entitled "Reflections on the French Revolution," written with a force of eloquence and energy of declamation calculated to produce the moſt powerful effects. The object of this elaborate treatiſe was twofold: 1. To expoſe to the public reſentment and indignation thoſe perſons who had in this country manifeſted their approbation of the Revolution in France; and, 2. To place that Revolution itſelf in an odious and abominable light, as an event to be deplored, deteſted, and deprecated. And, in an appendix to this work, he with moſt atrocious and unexampled malig-

* After the reduction of the citadel of Syracuſe by Timoleon, that great man, as we are told, did not ſpare the place on account of its beauty and magnificence: but, on the contrary, he invited the Syracuſans by public proclamation to join in the deſtruction of the bulwark of deſpotiſm; and, the building being levelled with the ground, he erected a COMMON HALL there for the ſeat of judicature, at once to gratify the citizens and to ſhew that a popular government ſhould be elevated on the ruins of tyranny. When, after thus glorioufly re-eſtabliſhing the liberty of Sicily, an envious and factious Demagogue preferred a public accuſation againſt him in the Aſſembly of the People, who could not ſuppreſs the emotions of their indignation; he immediately ſtilled the tumult by declaring, "that he had voluntarily undergone ſo many labors and dangers, that the meaneſt Syracuſan might have recourſe when he pleaſed to the laws:" adding, "that he could not ſufficiently expreſs his gratitude to the GODS, in permitting him to ſee all the Syracuſans enjoy the liberty of ſaying what they thought fit." Let the admirers of ſuch diſtinctions declare, what TITLE could add dignity to the name of TIMOLEON.

nity invites and exhorts all Chriſtian Princes to make, what he ſtyles, "a common cauſe with a juſt Prince dethroned by rebels and traitors." The deluded people of France, to be reſcued from the evils they had brought upon themſelves, muſt, as he affirmed, be SUBDUED. And he intimates that this war, or cruſade, is to be conducted on principles different from any former one. "The mode of civilized war," ſays he, "will not be practiſed; they muſt look for no modified hoſtility; all which is not battle will be MILITARY EXECUTION." The members of the Revolution Society, and the other commemorators of the French Revolution, he inveighs againſt in terms of the moſt unqualified abuſe; and he charges Dr. Price in particular with having *fulminated* in his Revolution Sermon principles little ſhort of treaſon and rebellion. "His doctrines," ſays Mr. Burke, "affect our Conſtitution in its vital parts. He affirms that his Majeſty is almoſt the only lawful King in the world, becauſe the only one who owes his crown to the choice of his people. As to the Kings of the world, all of whom, *except* ONE, this Arch-pontiff of the Rights of Men, with all the plenitude, and with more than the boldneſs, of the papal depoſing power in its meridian fervor of the twelfth century, puts into one ſweeping clauſe of *ban and anathema*, and proclaims uſurpers by circles of longitude and latitude over the whole globe, it behoves them to conſider how they admit into their territories theſe Apoſtolic Miſſionaries, who are to tell their ſubjects they are not lawful kings. Nothing can be more untrue, than that the crown of this realm is held by his Majeſty by the choice of the people. Whilſt the legal conditions of the COMPACT of SOVEREIGNTY are performed, he holds his crown, as Mr. Burke virtually affirms, in CONTEMPT of their choice *:" *i. e.* according to

* The words of Mr. Burke are, literally, "the choice of the Revolution Society." But if his Majeſty reigns in contempt of the choice of one part of the people, he reigns doubtleſs, by a parity of reaſon, in contempt of every part. As this eccentric writer and politician has with ſuch perſevering effrontery denied that the principles promulgated by Dr. Price, and other patriots of the ſame ſtamp, are thoſe of *ancient and genuine Whiggiſm*, which conſiſts, according to Mr. Burke's deſcription of it, merely in "ſtuff to make paradoxes;" it will not be improper to quote, from Lord Moleſworth's Prefatory Introduction to Hottoman's Franco-Gallia, an extract compriſing the ideas of that diſtinguiſhed and celebrated nobleman of

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to this novel and extraordinary mode of reaſoning, in conforming his conduct to the conditions of the national choice, he reigns in actual contempt of a *true Whig*. Mr. Burke, who is ſaid to have formed a reſolution worthy of himſelf, to read nothing that is written in oppoſition to his own publications, is in no danger of bluſhing at any detection of his groſs and monſtrous miſrepreſentations. "My notions of a Whig," ſays Lord Moleſworth, "I mean of a real Whig—FOR THE NOMINAL ARE WORSE THAN ANY SORT OF MEN—is, that he is one who is exactly for keeping up to the ſtrictneſs of the true old Gothic Conſtitution under the three eſtates of King, Lords, and Commons; the legiſlature being ſeated in all three together—the executive entruſted with the firſt, BUT ACCOUNTABLE TO THE WHOLE BODY OF THE PEOPLE IN CASE OF MAL-ADMINISTRATION. A true Whig is not afraid of the name of a COMMONWEALTH'S-MAN, becauſe ſo many fooliſh people, who know not what it means, run it down. Queen Elizabeth and many other of our beſt Princes were not ſcrupulous of calling our government a Commonwealth, even in their ſolemn ſpeeches to Parliament. It is certainly as much a TREASON and REBELLION againſt this Conſtitution, and the known laws, in a PRINCE to endeavor to break through them, as it is in the People to riſe againſt him whilſt he keeps within their bounds, and does his DUTY. Our Conſtitution is a government of LAWS, not of PERSONS. Allegiance and protection are obligations that cannot ſubſiſt ſeparately. When one fails, the other falls of courſe. The true etymology of the word *Loyalty* is an entire obedience to the Prince in all his commands *according to* LAW; that is, to the laws themſelves, to which we owe both an active and a paſſive obedience. WHIGGISM is not circumſcribed and confined to any one or two of the religions now profeſſed in the world, but diffuſes itſelf among *all*.—All penal acts of Parliament for opinions purely religious, which have no influence on the State, are ſo many encroachments upon Liberty. Why may not all be Citizens of the World?——A right Whig looks upon frequent Parliaments as ſuch a fundamental part of the Conſtitution, that even no Parliament can part with this right. He thinks that a waſte or a deſert has no claim to be repreſented. High Whiggiſm is for annual Parliaments, and Low Whiggiſm for triennial with annual meetings. I leave it to every man's judgment which of theſe is leaſt liable to corruption! No man can be a ſincere lover of Liberty, that is not for increaſing and communicating that bleſſing to all people.—And therefore the giving or reſtoring it, not only to our brethren of Scotland or Ireland, *but even to* FRANCE *itſelf*, were it in our power, is one of the PRINCIPAL ARTICLES of WHIGGISM.—A right Whig cannot ſatisfy himſelf with any of the *fooliſh diſtinctions* trumped up of late years, but deals upon the ſquare; and plainly owns that the exerciſe of an arbitrary illegal power would incapacitate King James or King William, or ANY OTHER KING, whenever the public has power to hinder it. A Whig is againſt the raiſing or keeping-up a ſtanding army in time of peace. LASTLY, the ſupporting of parliamentary credit, employing the poor, ſuppreſſing idlers, maintaining the liberty of the preſs, are all articles of my Whiggiſh belief; and if all theſe together amount to a COMMONWEALTH'S-MAN, I ſhall never be aſhamed of the name." "A KING," ſays the famous Selden, "is a *thing* which men have *made* for their own ſakes—for QUIETNESS SAKE!"—How far the inſtitution has anſwered

tempt of their choice. Dr. Price having aſſerted the abſtract right of the People, as exemplified at the Revolution, to depoſe their governors for miſconduct, and frame a government for themſelves; Mr. Burke ſays, "the people of England utterly diſclaim it; they will reſiſt the practical aſſertion of it with their lives and fortunes." But *how* the people can, in any given or poſſible circumſtances, *reſiſt their own act*, is a paradox which Mr. Burke attempts not to ſolve. Certain it is that Dr. Price advanced, in this famous diſcourſe, no other principles than thoſe which Mr. LOCKE had urged a hundred years before in defence of the title of King William and the validity of the Revolution Government. Amongſt innumerable paſſages to the ſame purpoſe, a ſingle citation may well ſuffice in vindication of a doctrine reſting on the immovable foundation of common ſenſe. "Though in a conſtituted Commonwealth," ſays that immortal writer, "ſtanding upon its own baſis, and acting according to its own nature, that is, acting for the preſervation of the community, there can be but one ſupreme Power, which is the Legiſlative, to which all the reſt are and muſt be ſubordinate; yet, the Legiſlative being only a FIDUCIARY POWER, to act for certain ends, there remains ſtill in the People a ſupreme power to remove or alter the Legiſlative, when they find the Legiſlative act contrary to the truſt repoſed in them. For all power given with truſt for the attaining an end, being limited by that end; whenever that end is manifeſtly neglected or oppoſed, the truſt muſt neceſſarily be *forfeited*, and the power devolve into the hands of

anſwered the purpoſe, it is the province of hiſtory to tell, and the right of every nation to judge. It is related of the moſt celebrated of modern Sovereigns, the Emperor Charles V. who ſpent the laſt years of his life as a *religieux* in the monaſtery of St. Juſte—that, upon ſome *faintly* occaſion, awakening a brother Friar to go to matins at a very early hour, the latter with ſome ſpleen exclaimed, "Is it not enough to have diſturbed ſo long the repoſe of the univerſe, but you muſt alſo interrupt the reſt of a poor inſignificant monk?" The malignity of Mr. Burke's famous pamphlet, by which he will be chiefly known to poſterity, is ſuch as to have given riſe to one of the biteereſt ſarcaſms ever penned, in the following lines——

Oft have we wonder'd that on Iriſh ground
No pois'nous reptile ever yet was found;
Reveal'd the ſecret ſtands of Nature's work—
She ſpar'd her venom to create her BURKE.

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thoſe that gave it, who may place it anew where they ſhall think beſt for their ſafety and ſecurity. And thus the community perpetually retains a ſupreme power of ſaving themſelves from the attempts and deſigns even of their Legiſlators, whenever they ſhall be ſo fooliſh or ſo wicked as to lay and carry on deſigns againſt the liberties and properties of the ſubject. If they who ſay this hypotheſis lays a foundation for rebellion, mean that it *may* occaſion civil wars or inteſtine broils, to tell the people that they are abſolved from obedience when illegal attempts are made upon their liberties and properties, they may as well ſay, upon the ſame ground, that honeſt men may not oppoſe robbers or pirates, becauſe this may occaſion diſorder or bloodſhed. I deſire it may be conſidered what kind of peace there will be in the world, which is to be maintained only for the benefit of robbers and oppreſſors. Polyphemus's den gives us a perfect pattern of ſuch a peace; ſuch a government, wherein Ulyſſes and his companions had nothing to do but quietly to ſuffer themſelves to be devoured. Are the people to be blamed if they have the ſenſe of rational creatures, and can think of things no otherwiſe than as they find and feel them? And is it not rather their fault who put things in ſuch a poſture, that they would not have them thought as they are? But whether the miſchief hath oftner begun in the people's wantonneſs or in the rulers' inſolence, I leave to impartial hiſtory to determine*."

From

* Undoubtedly the point which Mr. Burke, in his ſucceſſive publications, has with moſt plauſibility and force conteſted, is that which relates to the ſubmiſſion due from the minority to the will of the majority of the members of a civil community. Unleſs a nation be *ſelf-governed*, neither civil nor political liberty can, in a clear or proper ſenſe, be ſaid to ſubſiſt. And this ſeems to imply, that all the members of a community have an equal inherent right of ſuffrage, as to all queſtions which concern the body politic—and that the opinions of the majority ſhould invariably prevail. Theoretically ſpeaking, this is indeed a juſt and noble principle, and exhibits the moſt perfect model of civil ſociety: but then this principle is ſo ill adapted to the actual ſituation of things, and to the imperfection, not to ſay the corruption and depravity, of human nature, that it can only be aſſented to, in practice, in a very qualified ſenſe, and with numerous and important modifications. Hence ariſe the capital difficulties which occur, in treating on the ſcience of government. It would be the higheſt extravagance to maintain, that the majority have a right to diſpenſe with the eternal laws of equity or juſtice; or that the few are bound by any ties of political morality, to

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From the date of the fatal publication of Mr. Burke, who ſeemed ambitious to ſignalize himſelf by ſetting not merely a palace or a temple, but the world itſelf on fire, the nation was divided into two violent and openly hoſtile parties. The Tory faction, which had hitherto ſcarcely dared to whiſper their diſlike—now, under the ſanction of Mr. Burke's authority, became bold and clamorous in their vociferations. And the principles advanced by Mr. Burke, ever grateful to the ears of princes, at once obliterated all paſt offences, and placed him in the foremoſt rank of favorites and courtiers.

The pernicious and fatal conſequences of the Reflections.

This extraordinary production gave riſe to numberleſs replies, of which by far the moſt memorable was that written by Thomas Paine, the author of the famous pamphlet ſtyled COMMON SENSE, which by its almoſt magical effect on the minds of the people of America, at a moſt important criſis, paved the way for the declaration of independency. His preſent work, RIGHTS OF MAN, was written with no leſs power of

Reflections anſwered by Thomas Paine.

to ſubmit to the tyranny of the many. It would be alſo equally abſurd to affirm, that all the members of a community, in every poſſible ſtate of ſociety, are qualified to exerciſe the right of ſuffrage. Government is founded on the baſis of utility, and its powers muſt be limited by, and made commenſurate with, its purpoſes. If the minority are in actual poſſeſſion of the conſtituted authorities of government, and if they have good ground to believe that they cannot be ſafely transferred to the majority, they are perfectly juſtified in withholding them—ſtill conſidering themſelves as fiduciary truſtees, who have no right to retain the monopoly whenever it becomes ſafe to ſurrender it. But who, it may be aſked, is to be the judge when the minority may exerciſe excluſive power, or when, ſuppoſing their excluſion from power, they may juſtly refuſe ſubmiſſion to the will of the majority? To this, no other anſwer can be given, than that the minority themſelves, and each individual included in it, muſt, in all the viciſſitudes of ſituation, act according to the dictates of their own underſtandings. In ſuch caſes it is in vain to ſearch for any preciſe rule of judgment or of action. He who oppoſes the will of the majority of a community, doubtleſs takes upon him to do that which very weighty and important reaſons only can juſtify. He incurs at the ſame time a great riſque, and a great reſponſibility. But to deny the right, in an abſtract or modified ſenſe, becauſe it is liable to abuſe, would be prepoſterous, and muſt tend to confound all moral and political diſtinctions and limitations. Upon this principle the Huguenots of France would be criminal in having recourſe to arms, after the maſſacre of St. Bartholomew; and the Moriſcoes of Spain would merit puniſhment by reſiſting the horrible edict of expulſion.

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intellect and force of language, and made a correſpondent, perhaps an indelible, impreſſion upon the public mind. Not content with pointing out and expoſing with the moſt ſarcaſtic ſeverity the abſurdities and miſrepreſentations of Mr. Burke—not content with painting in juſt and ſtriking colors the abuſes and corruptions of the exiſting government, he with daring and unhallowed hand attacked the principles of the Conſtitution itſelf—deſcribing it in terms the moſt indecent as radically vicious and tyrannical; and reprobating the introduction of ariſtocracy or monarchy, under whatever modifications, into any form of government, as a flagrant uſurpation and invaſion of the unalienable rights of man. "When we ſurvey," ſays this temerarious writer, "the wretched condition of man under the monarchical and hereditary ſyſtems of government, dragged from his home by one power, or driven by another, and impoveriſhed by taxes more than by enemies, it becomes evident that thoſe ſyſtems are bad, and that a GENERAL REVOLUTION in the principle and conſtruction of governments is neceſſary."

Wonderful effects of Paine's pamphlet.

This pamphlet unfortunately appearing at a time when a large proportion of the community, and thoſe the moſt zealouſly attached to liberty, were from cauſes already ſpecified in a ſtate of great irritation and diſcontent; and the book, notwithſtanding its abſurd and miſchievous political poſitions, being written in a ſtyle and manner which "came home to men's buſineſs and boſoms," innumerable converts were made to its general ſyſtem, and infinite pains were taken to circulate it amongſt the body of the people *. Political aſſociations were alſo inſtituted in every

* A few detached quotations from this famous publication may ſerve as ſpecimens, to gratify curioſity, of the wonder-working power with which it cannot be denied to have been written. "The countries of the Old World have been long haraſſed by the quarrels and intrigues of their Governments. Age after age has rolled away for no other purpoſe than to behold their wretchedneſs. Invention is continually exerciſed to furniſh new pretences for revenue and taxation. It watches proſperity as its prey. All monarchical governments are military. War is their trade, and plunder their object—wearied with human butchery, they ſit down to reſt, and call it peace.—If we would delineate human nature with a baſeneſs of heart and hypocriſy of countenance that reflection would ſhudder at, and humanity diſown, it

every part of the kingdom, profeſſing to have in view the reform of the Conſtitution, but which with too much reaſon were ſuſpected really to aim at its ſubverſion. Such were the lamentable conſequences reſulting from the raſhneſs and folly of Mr. Burke—whoſe boaſted *panacea* operated upon the body-politic as a moſt deadly poiſon; and which ſerved to prove that learning, parts, and eloquence may ſubſiſt in the higheſt perfection, without being accompanied with a ſingle particle of wiſdom *.

The

it is Kings, Courts, and Cabinets, that muſt ſit for the portrait. War is the pharo table of Governments, and Nations the dupes of the game.—Government on the old ſyſtem is an aſſumption of power for the aggrandizement of itſelf—on the new, a delegation of power for the common benefit of ſociety. Monarchy is the maſter-fraud which ſhelters all others. By admitting a participation of the ſpoil, it makes itſelf friends; and when it ceaſes to do this, it will ceaſe to be the idol of courtiers. There is a morning of reaſon riſing upon man on the ſubject of government, that has not appeared before. The trade of Courts is beginning to be underſtood; and the affectation of myſtery, with all the artificial ſorcery by which they impoſed upon mankind, is on the decline. It has received its death-wound; and though it may linger, it will expire. No queſtion has ariſen within the records of hiſtory that preſſes with the importance of the preſent. It is not whether this or that party ſhall be in or out, or Whig or Tory, or High or Low Church ſhall prevail; but whether man ſhall inherit his rights, and univerſal civilization ſhall take place.—When it ſhall be ſaid in any country in the world, 'My poor are happy, neither ignorance nor diſtreſs is to be found amongſt them—my gaols are empty of priſoners, my ſtreets of beggars—the aged are not in want, the taxes are not oppreſſive—the rational world is my friend, becauſe I am the friend of its happineſs'—when theſe things can be ſaid, then may that country boaſt its Conſtitution and Government."—That the ſtupendous effect produced by the "Rights of Man" was entirely owing to that ſtate of irritation and reſentment which the wretched policy of the Adminiſtration had recently excited, is apparent from the conſideration that the ſame anti-monarchical principles were fourteen or fifteen years before inculcated with equal force and virulence in the pamphlet ſtyled "Common Senſe," without making in this country any viſible impreſſion; while in America, where the public mind was in a proper ſtate to receive theſe doctrines, it operated as a ſort of intellectual gunpowder, cauſing an inſtantaneous exploſion which laid the whole fabric of Monarchy in ruins.

* On Mr. Burke's firſt appearance at Court after the promulgation of this celebrated pamphlet, the King, amongſt other high and flattering compliments, as it is ſaid, declared to him, "that every *gentleman* in Europe was obliged to him for his publication." But, admitting this obligation to be as real as it is problematic, it muſt be remembered that the privileged

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The new Parliament aſſembled on the 25th of November. In his opening ſpeech the King ſignified "his ſatisfaction that the differences with Spain were brought to an amicable termination. He obſerved, that ſince the laſt ſeſſion of Parliament a foundation had been laid for a pacification between Auſtria and the Porte—that a ſeparate peace had actually taken place between Ruſſia and Sweden; but that the war between Ruſſia and the Porte ſtill continued. The principles on which I have hitherto acted," ſaid the Monarch, "will make me always deſirous of employing the weight and influence of this country in contributing to the reſtoration of general tranquillity."

The terms of the Convention with Spain were approved and ratified in both Houſes by great majorities—but not unanimouſly. For the papers and documents relative to the negotiation being partially withheld, Mr. Grey moved an adjournment, declaring "that without them it was impoſſible to know whether the late diſputes were owing to the reſtleſs ambition and unjuſt claims of Spain, or to the raſhneſs, preſumption and ignorance of his Majeſty's Miniſters." In the Upper Houſe, the Marquis of Lanſdowne expreſſed his "determination not to join in a vote of approbation of the conduct of Miniſters, who had permitted a ſet of unknown adventurers to fit out ſhips with *fine names*, and under Portugueſe colors and papers to break through a ſyſtem re-

vileged claſs of *gentlemen* conſtitute a very ſmall proportion of every civil community: and the grand queſtion ſtill remains, "What cauſe have the great maſs of the people, or the 'ſwiniſh multitude' (as Mr. Burke chuſes to ſtyle them), for gratitude to the man whoſe proud and unfeeling heart would render intolerable that 'inferiority which (to uſe his own language) degrades and vilifies their condition?"—As to the merit of this famous pamphlet, conſidered merely in the light of a literary compoſition; notwithſtanding the wit, eloquence, and ſplendid imagery which diſtinguiſh many paſſages of the work, it muſt, upon an impartial review, be condemned as a tedious and perplexed declamation. He "labors, till he clouds himſelf all o'er." Through high-ſounding and pompous periods we ſearch, and ſearch in vain, for ſenſe: the whole betrays an egregious deficiency of taſte and judgment. There is nothing of Attic chaſteneſs and ſimplicity; all is "bedecked, ornate, and gay"—exhibiting an example of that falſe and florid rhetoric which Quintilian, and the other great critics of antiquity, held in juſt and profound contempt.

garding

garding Spaniſh America, which had been ſanctioned by the policy of Europe for more than 200 years."

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Attempt of Mr. Pitt to ſeize the unclaimed dividends at the Bank.

To defray the expence of the armament, Mr. Pitt, with the laudable reſolution to ſuffer no permanent increaſe of debt, propoſed various temporary taxes, which would diſcharge the incumbrance in four years—with the aſſiſtance of five hundred thouſand pounds, which he had it in contemplation to take from the *unclaimed dividends* lying in the Bank of England, the amount of which he eſtimated at ſix hundred and ſixty thouſand pounds. This latter propoſition excited a juſt alarm in all the great chartered companies, and in the commercial and mercantile world in general. It was ſtrongly and ably oppoſed in the Houſe by Mr. Fox, Mr. Thornton a Bank Director, and Mr. Samuel Whitbread, recently returned as Member for the borough of Bedford—a young man of great perſonal and mental accompliſhments, of a diſpoſition open, noble, and ingenuous; and whoſe ardor of mind, bordering on the enthuſiaſm of public virtue, was happily regulated by an excellent underſtanding and correct judgment. It was urged, "that, agreeably to the original contract between the Government and the public creditors, the Directors of the Bank are conſtituted truſtees for the public creditor. When the money is once paid into the Bank, it ceaſes to be public money, and is inſtantly converted into private property; which muſt there remain a ſacred depoſit till it is claimed by the private individuals to whom it appertains. And even in caſe of the expiration of the charter of the Bank of England, the Directors ſtill remain a corporation by law, for the expreſs purpoſe of executing their delegated truſt. What miſchief may not reſult from the admiſſion of a power in Government, arbitrarily to depart from the conditions of the contract actually made with the public? Under the very term *unclaimed dividends*, is indeed veiled a groſs fallacy. Excluſive of the dividends of the laſt three years, which are not properly *unclaimed* but merely *unreceived* dividends, the balance amounts ſcarcely to a fifth part of the ſum which the Miniſter propoſes to ſeize. If the recent and fluctuating balances of the Bank are thus liable to ſeizure, the Miniſter may one day order the money to be paid into the Bank, and the next he may without any violation of public faith

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faith command it to be repaid into the Exchequer. But in fact this is no other than a meaſure of injuſtice and violence, calculated to compel the Bank to relinquiſh their truſt when the original and expreſs purpoſes of it are evidently unaccompliſhed." After much heſitation and conteſt, the Miniſter conſented, by way of compromiſe, to accept of a loan of five hundred thouſand pounds from the Bank, without intereſt, ſo long as a floating balance to that amount ſhould remain in the hands of the caſhier.

Debate on the pendency of Mr. Haſtings's Impeachment.

On the 17th of December, Mr. Burke moved, "that the Houſe do reſolve itſelf into a Committee, to take into conſideration the ſtate of the Impeachment of Warren Haſtings, Eſq." This being done, he made a ſecond motion, "That an Impeachment by this Houſe, in the name of the Commons of Great Britain, againſt Warren Haſtings, Eſq. for high crimes and miſdemeanors, is ſtill pending." From this propoſition, the entire corps of lawyers in the Houſe, with ſcarcely an exception, declared their total diſſent: and Mr. Erſkine, whoſe talents at the Bar were of the higheſt rank, and who had in the general tenor of his practice diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his zealous attachment to the principles of the Conſtitution, in an elaborate ſpeech endeavored to ſhew that in conſequence of the diſſolution of Parliament the Impeachment had *abated;* and on this ground he was ſupported by Mr. Hardinge, Mr. Mitford, and Sir John Scott.

Upon this great queſtion, in the deciſion of which the honor, the dignity, and the authority of the Houſe were ſo deeply involved, the Speaker with great propriety roſe to deliver his opinion. "If the maxim laid down by the Lawyers were admitted as juſt, the conſequence was obvious. The Impeachment of a profligate or corrupt Miniſter might, by the inſidious intervention of the Prerogative, at any time be rendered nugatory and abortive. In the view of the Conſtitution, and even by the forms of Parliament, the Impeachment is preferred not by the Houſe of Commons merely, but by all the Commons of England; and the Houſe can be conſidered in relation to the proſecution as no more than the agents and attorneys of the people at large. A ſecond Houſe of Commons therefore, though certainly poſſeſſing a diſcretionary power of dropping

the proſecution, if upon due conſideration they are of opinion that it does not reſt upon a juſt foundation, are as certainly at full liberty to proceed in it, if in their judgment conducive to the ſafety or the intereſts of the State. In an Impeachment of the nature of the preſent, it would ſcarcely be imagined that twenty-two complex articles could by any mode of inveſtigation be decided upon in a ſingle ſeſſion. If then, agreeably to the genius of the antient Conſtitution, Parliaments themſelves were to be made annual, the labor would be truly Syſiphean; as ſuch a trial *never* could arrive at a legal termination. Such were the plain dictates of common ſenſe; but in reſorting to rules of law, and precedents of Parliament, doubts and difficulties preſented themſelves. Upon thoſe remote and obſcure precedents which occurred previous to the civil wars of the laſt century little ſtreſs was laid: but during the reign of King Charles II. the queſtion had come repeatedly under the formal and regular diſcuſſion of both Houſes. Theſe precedents, and ſuch as had ſince occurred, the Speaker had accurately examined; and in his report of them upon this occaſion commented upon with great judgment and ability. In the famous caſe of Lord Danby (A. D. 1679), the Parliament was unqueſtionably diſſolved, for the purpoſe of ſcreening the Miniſter from the effects of the Impeachment then actually pending againſt him. But the next Parliament underſtood their privileges too well to make the ſlighteſt conceſſion on this important conſtitutional point. And in compliance with the claims of the Commons, the Houſe of Peers, March 19th, 1678-9, RESOLVED, 'that the diſſolution of the laſt Parliament doth not alter the ſtate of the Impeachments (viz. that of the Earl of Danby, and the Lords accuſed as parties in the Popiſh Plot) brought up by the Commons in that Parliament. In conformity to this deciſion, the trial of the Earl of Danby was continued in no leſs than four ſucceſſive Parliaments, till in February 1683-4, no Parliament being then ſitting, or likely to ſit, his Lordſhip was bailed by authority of the Court of King's Bench. On the 19th of May 1685, the firſt and only Parliament of King James II. was convened; and the queſtion coming immediately before them, reſpecting the validity of the proceedings on the late Impeachment, it was almoſt unanimouſly determined,

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that the reſolution of March 1679* be reverſed and annulled; and Lord Danby and the other Lords were diſcharged from their recognizances. But it being evidently the province of the Peers in their judicial capacity *jus dicere* and not *jus dare*, the reverſal of the declaratory reſolution of 1679 was regarded by the Commons as of no weight or authority whatever. In the ſecond Parliament convened after the Revolution, an order was made by the Lords, April 1690, to take into conſideration, whether Impeachments continue from Parliament to Parliament; but the Houſe adjourned the deciſion of this queſtion from time to time till the Parliament was prorogued. And on their next meeting, October 1690, the Earls of Peterborough and Saliſbury, impeached by the preceding Parliament, were diſcharged from their bail; but whether in virtue of the act of free and general pardon that had recently paſſed, or of the reſolution of May 1685, is not expreſſed. In 1695, the Earl of Danby, now Duke of Leeds, was a ſecond time impeached, on grounds totally diſtinct from the former: and this Impeachment, notwithſtanding the reverſal of 1685, continued pending under ſeveral ſucceſſive Parliaments, though for the moſt part in an almoſt dormant ſtate, for no leſs than ſix years; till on the 24th of June 1701, the Houſe of Lords reſolved, 'that articles having been exhibited againſt the Duke of Leeds, to which he had anſwered, and the *Commons not proſecuting*, the Impeachment and articles ſhould be diſmiſſed.' On the 1ſt of April 1701, the Earls of Portland and Orford and the Lords Somers and Halifax were impeached: but the Commons refuſing to exhibit articles againſt them in the mode preſcribed by the Peers, theſe Impeachments were on the laſt day of the ſeſſion diſmiſſed. The next Parliament, which met December 1701, it is

* In the conference between the two Houſes, which preceded and gave riſe to this famous reſolution, Serjeant Maynard, one of the Managers of the Impeachment, ſaid, "That which is moſt inſiſted upon is, that the charge now made againſt this Lord was preſented in another Parliament. It is true. But under favor, what is once upon record in Parliament *may* at any time afterwards be proceeded upon. I conceive it *hath* been done. However, in a caſe of this nature— if there were not, I hope you would MAKE A PRECEDENT." In the caſe of Lord Stafford, who urged in arreſt of judgment that his Impeachment was pending in three different Parliaments, the Houſe refuſed, as a point already determined, to hear the arguments of counſel upon it.

true,

true, took no ſteps whatever to revive the Impeachments; not that they admitted the principle of abatement by diſſolution, but that, being of a political complexion totally different from the preceding Parliament, they, with a great majority of the people of England, conſidered the public conduct of theſe great WHIG LORDS not only as innocent, but in the higheſt degree meritorious. In July 1715, the Earl of Oxford was impeached. In June 1716, the Parliament was prorogued; and on their ſubſequent meeting, February 1717, the Earl petitioning that his impriſonment might not be indefinite, a Committee was appointed by the Houſe to ſearch for and report ſuch precedents as relate to the continuance of Impeachments from ſeſſion to ſeſſion, and from Parliament to Parliament; which report being read, it was moved to reſolve, 'That the Impeachment of the Commons againſt the Earl of Oxford is determined by the intervening prorogation. This was negatived on the diviſion by 87 to 45 Lords. But a proteſt enſued ſigned by ten Lords, in which the general propoſition is aſſumed, that a diſſolution would determine the Impeachment; and their Lordſhips affirm, that there is no eſſential difference in law between a prorogation and diſſolution. If ſo, the inference ſurely is, that the 87 Lords would have decided ſimilarly in the caſe of diſſolution. It deſerves ſpecific notice, that Lord Chief Juſtice Holt, that great authority on all points of conſtitutional law, in the caſe of Peters and Benning, 13th William III. publicly delivered it as his opinion, notwithſtanding the exiſting reſolution of 1685, that Impeachments begun in one Parliament might be proſecuted in another. And this appears to have been at all times the prevailing opinion of the WHIGS. Upon a general review of theſe facts and precedents, the Speaker gave it as his deliberate and decided judgment, that the Impeachment was ſtill legally pending; and that the reſolution of 1685, paſſed, as there was reaſon to believe, by the corrupt influence of the Court, and in defiance of a ſolemn prior deciſion of both Houſes, and which in no inſtance ſince the Revolution had been formally and avowedly acted upon, was wholly invalid and nugatory."

In this opinion Mr. Pitt, Mr. Fox, and the moſt eminent parliament-

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ary authorities on both ſides concurred. The motion of Mr. Erſkine for a *ſearch* into precedents was negatived by a majority of 143 to 30 voices; and the original motion of Mr. Burke triumphantly carried without a diviſion. After a ſhort interval, Mr. Burke made a third motion, "that the Managers be inſtructed to proceed to no other parts of the Impeachment, excepting ſuch as relate to contracts, penſions, and allowances;" which was carried with trivial oppoſition.

By the reſolution of the 23d of December 1790, the Lords found themſelves reduced to a dilemma not very pleaſant. On a meſſage from the Commons, that they were ready to proceed in their evidence, a Committee was appointed by their Lordſhips to ſearch into precedents, which occaſioned a ſuſpenſion of the buſineſs till nearly the concluſion of the ſeſſion. At length the Report being made, Lord Portcheſter moved, May 16, "that their Lordſhips now proceed in the trial." This was oppoſed by the Lord Chancellor, who recommended the appointment of a ſecond Committee to ſearch for more precedents, and defended by Lord Loughborough, now the oracle of Whiggiſm in the Houſe, in a very able ſpeech, in the courſe of which he warned their Lordſhips "not to act uncautiouſly with regard to the popular part of the Conſtitution. Let them not deny that the people were any thing, leſt they compelled them to think they were every thing. In commenting upon the precedents before the Houſe, he pointed out the fallacies of Sir GEORGE JEFFRIES and other COURT SYCOPHANTS, and reſted his argument on the authority of the great Conſtitutional Lawyers Hale, Holt, and Foſter. His Lordſhip ſaid, he had it in charge from the Lord Preſident, Lord Camden, who was prevented from perſonal attendance, to ſtate that Nobleman's opinion as perfectly co-incident with his own: and the Lord Preſident had left with him an opinion of the famous Selden, that the new Parliament, convened in conſequence of the Duke of Buckingham's Impeachment 1628, were authorized to have called upon their Lordſhips for judgment againſt the Duke." The abatement of the Impeachment was on the other hand maintained by Lord Kenyon, Lord Abingdon, &c. but on the diviſion, the motion of Lord Portcheſter was carried by a great

and

and deciſive majority. And their Lordſhips, with the Reſolution of 1685 ſtill ſtanding in their Journals, acquainted the Houſe of Commons by meſſage, that they were now ready to proceed in the trial. But very little progreſs was made in it during the ſhort remainder of the ſeſſion.

1791. Catholic Toleration Act paſſed.

Soon after the receſs of Parliament (February 21, 1791), Mr. Mitford, a lawyer of eminence in the Houſe, moved, with the previous ſanction and approbation of Government, for a bill to relieve the Engliſh Catholics from the legal penalties ſtill exiſting and in force againſt them. The propoſed Act of Toleration was however confined to ſuch of the Catholics as ſhould ſubſcribe a certain declaration or *proteſt* againſt the aſſumed authority of the Pope, &c. drawn up in terms to which it could ſcarcely be expected that the majority of Catholics could conſcientiouſly aſſent.

Mr. Fox roſe to object to the bill, not for what it did, but for what it did not, contain. He entreated that the bill might be made general. "Let the Statute Book," ſaid this great ſtateſman and advocate of toleration, "be reviſed, and ſtrike out all thoſe laws which attach penalties to mere opinions." And Mr. Burke joined in reprobating the abſurdity and iniquity of thoſe ſtatutes which condemn every man who worſhips GOD in his own way, as guilty of treaſon againſt the State. Mr. Pitt commended theſe ſentiments, but thought it not *prudent* to *act* upon them; and the bill paſſed in its preſent form: in conſequence of which a moſt invidious and miſchievous line of diſtinction was drawn between the proteſting and non-proteſting Catholics, neither of whom were chargeable with, or ſuſpected of, the ſlighteſt tincture of diſloyalty to the State.

Mr. Fox's motion for a bill to aſcertain the rights of Juries.

In the courſe of the ſeſſion, Mr. Fox, ever active in the cauſe of liberty, moved for a bill to aſcertain the rights of Juries in the matter of libel. With reſpect to the pretended diſtinction between law and fact, Mr. Fox obſerved, "that when a man was accuſed of murder, a crime conſiſting of

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of law and fact, the Jury every day found a verdict of guilty: and this was alſo the caſe in felony and every other criminal indictment. Libels were the only exception, the ſingle anomaly. He contended, that if the Jury had no juriſdiction over libels, the Counſel who addreſſed them on either ſide as to the criminality of the publication were guilty of a groſs and inſolent ſarcaſm. Mr. Fox put this matter in a remarkably ſtrong point of view, by adverting to the law of treaſon. It was admitted on all hands, that a writing might be an overt act of treaſon. In this caſe, if the Court of King's Bench were to ſay to the Jury, 'Conſider only whether the criminal publiſhed the paper—do not conſider the nature of it—do not conſider whether it correſpond to the definition of treaſon or not'—would Engliſhmen endure that death ſhould be inflicted without a Jury having had an opportunity of delivering their ſentiments, whether the individual was or was not guilty of the crime with which he was charged? Mr. Fox wiſhed to know, whether the modern doctrine of libels did or did not extend to high treaſon?" On its tranſmiſſion to the Houſe of Lords, the bill was oppoſed on the ſecond reading by the Lord Chancellor, on pretence of its being too late in the ſeſſion to diſcuſs a meaſure of ſuch importance. The principle of the bill was moſt ably defended by the Law Lords Camden and Loughborough, with whom Lord Grenville concurred; but the bill was finally poſtponed.

Mr. Wilberforce's motion for the Abolition of the Slave Trade.

The evidence on the Slave Trade being at length cloſed, Mr. Wilberforce, on the 18th of April 1791, brought forward his long expected motion of Abolition, which he introduced with a copious and maſterly diſplay of the arguments in favor of that meaſure. The crimes and villanies to which this horrid traffic had given riſe, were detailed with a minuteneſs which placed not merely the perſons actually concerned, but human nature itſelf, in a light the moſt degrading and deteſtable. And the mover remarked with all the eloquence of feeling and of truth, that the hiſtory of this commerce was written in characters of blood. "Let us," ſaid he, "turn our eyes for relief from this diſgraceful ſcene to ſome ordinary wickedneſs." No ſuch relief, however, was as yet to be obtained

from the juſtice and humanity of the Houſe; for, on concluding his ſpeech with moving "for a bill to prevent the farther importation of African Negroes into the Britiſh Colonies," it was negatived by a majority of ſeventy-five voices.

Had the ſame motion been made two years before, while the feelings of the Houſe were freſhly awakened, there can ſcarcely exiſt a doubt but that it muſt have ſucceeded. Such is the importance of ſeizing the fortunate and favorable moment of action! To qualify this refuſal, a bill was introduced and paſſed, for chartering a Company for the purpoſe of cultivating Weſt Indian and other tropical products at Sierra Leona on the coaſt of Africa, by the uſe of free negroes; an experiment which is likely to be productive, at no diſtant period, of very important effects.

Bill for eſtabliſhing a Conſtitution in Canada.

It had been long a ſubject of complaint, that the great and extenſive province of Canada continued under a government in the higheſt degree arbitrary and deſpotic. This government was indeed acknowledged to be merely temporary; but excuſes were not wanting to prolong the duration of it. At length Mr. Pitt, in purſuance of an intimation in the Royal Speech, moved for leave to bring in a bill to repeal certain parts of the Act reſpecting the government of Canada paſſed in the 14th year of his Majeſty's reign; and to enact farther proviſions for the better government thereof. By the propoſed bill, the province was divided into two diſtinct governments, by the appellations of Upper and Lower Canada. Councils nominated by the Sovereign, and Houſes of Aſſembly choſen by the People, were eſtabliſhed in each. The Habeas Corpus Act was aſſerted as a fundamental law of their Conſtitution: and by a very important and admirable clauſe the Britiſh Parliament were reſtrained from impoſing any taxes whatever, but ſuch as might be neceſſary for the regulation of trade and commerce; and to guard againſt the abuſe of this power, the produce of ſuch taxes was to be at the diſpoſal of the reſpective Provincial Legiſlatures. Upon the whole, this bill contained a noble charter of liberty, and did honor to the Miniſter who propoſed, and to

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the Aſſembly which adopted it. The clauſes in the bill which militated againſt the general principle of it, were oppoſed by Mr. Fox with extraordinary animation and ability. "The great object of all popular aſſemblies," Mr. Fox ſaid, "was, that the people ſhould be fully and fairly repreſented; but when the aſſembly of one province was to conſiſt of only ſixteen, and the other of thirty perſons, they deluded the people by a mockery of repreſentation. They ſeemed to give them a free Conſtitution, when in fact they withheld it. And he hoped it would never be ſaid, that the Conſtitution of Canada was modelled after that of England. That theſe repreſentatives ſhould be elected for the term of ſeven years, he reprobated as equally inconſiſtent with freedom. Even in England, where the frequent return of elections was attended with ſo much real inconvenience, the propriety of the Septennial Bill was juſtly a ſubject of doubt; but in a country ſo differently circumſtanced as Canada, there could be no plauſible objection to annual or at moſt triennial elections. Another ſtrong ground of objection with Mr. Fox was, that the Legiſlative Councils were unlimited as to numbers by any other reſtriction than the pleaſure of the King; to whom a power was alſo reſerved of annexing to certain honorary and titular diſtinctions an hereditary right of ſitting in Council. As to hereditary honors, or hereditary powers, to ſay they were good or not, as a general propoſition, was difficult—but he ſaw nothing ſo good in them as to warrant their introduction into a country where they were not known. He did not think it wiſe to deſtroy them where they exiſted; but to create them where they did not exiſt, he conſidered as exceedingly unwiſe. He could not account for it, unleſs it was that, Canada having been formerly a French colony, there might be an opportunity of reviving thoſe titles of honor, the extinction of which ſome gentlemen ſo much deplored, and to revive in the Weſt that ſpirit of chivalry which had fallen into ſo much diſgrace in a neighboring country."

Theſe incidental expreſſions awakened the reſentment of Mr. Burke, who on the recommitment of the bill, May 6, roſe, as he ſaid, to ſpeak to its general principle. He enlarged upon "the importance of the act which

which they were now about to perform. The firſt conſideration was, the competency of the Houſe to ſuch an act. A body of rights commonly called the *Rights of Man* had been lately imported from a neighboring kingdom. The principle of this new code was, that all men were by nature free, and equal in reſpect of their rights. If this code therefore were admitted, the power of the Houſe could extend no farther than to call together the inhabitants of Canada to chooſe a Conſtitution for themſelves. The practical effects of this ſyſtem might be ſeen in St. Domingo and the other French Iſlands. They were flouriſhing and happy till they heard of the Rights of Man. As ſoon as this ſyſtem arrived among them, Pandora's box, replete with every mortal evil, ſeemed to fly open, hell itſelf to yawn, and every demon of miſchief to overſpread the face of the country." Mr. Burke continuing to launch out into the moſt violent invectives againſt the Conſtitution and Government of France, he was repeatedly and loudly called to order, and at length compelled to ſit down.

Mr. Fox, when the tumult had ſubſided, with firmneſs defended his former ſentiments relative to the French Revolution; and repeated "that he thought it upon the whole one of the moſt glorious events in the hiſtory of mankind. In this aſſertion however he ſpoke of the *Revolution*, not of the *Conſtitution*, which ſtill remained to be improved by experience and accommodated to circumſtances. The Rights of Man, which his Right Honorable Friend had ridiculed as viſionary, were the baſis of the Britiſh Conſtitution. Our Statute Book recognized 'the original inherent rights of the people as men, which no preſcription could ſuperſede, no accident remove or obliterate.' Theſe had once been the principles of his Right Honorable Friend, from whom he had learned them. His Right Honorable Friend had ſaid with equal energy and emphaſis, 'that he knew not how to draw a bill of indictment againſt a whole people.' Having been taught by him that no revolt of a nation was cauſed without provocation, he could not help rejoicing at the ſucceſs of a Revolution reſting upon the ſame baſis with our own—the immutable and unalienable Rights of Man."

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Mr. Burke roſe again, and in vehement terms inſiſted "that he was perfectly in order; and that the diſcuſſion of the Quebec Bill was a proper opportunity to put the country on its guard againſt thoſe dangerous doctrines which prevailed in France, and which had found ſo many advocates here. He obſerved, that he had differed on many occaſions from Mr. Fox, but there had been no loſs of friendſhip between them. But there was ſomething in the ACCURSED French Conſtitution that envenomed every thing."

Mr. Fox on hearing this interrupted him, ſaying, "there was no loſs of friendſhip." Mr. Burke replied, "THERE WAS—he knew the price of his conduct; he had done his duty, and their friendſhip WAS at an END."

Mr. Fox, on whom the attention of the Houſe was now eagerly fixed, roſe to reply, but his feelings were too powerful for utterance. All the ideas ſo long cheriſhed, of gratitude, eſteem and affection, ruſhed upon his ſuſceptible and generous mind; and involuntary tears were obſerved to ſteal down his cheek. A profound and expreſſive ſilence pervaded the Houſe. At length Mr. Fox, recovering himſelf, ſaid, "that however events might have altered the mind of his Right Honorable Friend, for ſuch he muſt ſtill call him, he could not ſo eaſily conſent to relinquiſh and diſſolve that intimate connection which had for twenty-five years ſubſiſted between them. He hoped that Mr. Burke would think on paſt times; and, whatever expreſſions of his had cauſed the offence, that he would at leaſt believe ſuch was not his intention."

The conceſſions of Mr. Fox made no viſible impreſſion on the haughty and unbending temper of Mr. Burke; and from this day a ſchiſm took place in the politics of the Oppoſition party, which has been productive of very important conſequences.

As the moſt luminous introduction to the principal remaining tranſaction of this ſeſſion of Parliament, it will be proper now to advert to the

actual ſituation of affairs on the Continent. No ſooner had Leopold King of Hungary aſſumed the Auſtrian ſceptre, than he reſolved on terminating the war with Turkey; and under the powerful mediation of England and Pruſſia a convention was concluded Auguſt 1790, at Reichenbach, after a negotiation of ſome months, protracted in the unavailing hope of retaining poſſeſſion of Belgrade, that important fortreſs, which, fifty years before, England had exerted her utmoſt influence to ſecure to the houſe of Auſtria. But now, ſwayed by Pruſſian counſels, and eagerly ſolicitous to advance the intereſts of that upſtart and inſolent power, in contradiſtinction to thoſe of Auſtria, the antient and genuine ally of Britain, ſhe harſhly and peremptorily inſiſted on its reſtitution, in common with all the other Auſtrian conqueſts, to the Ottoman Porte. In return, the Auſtrian Netherlands were guarantied to the houſe of Auſtria, and the poſſeſſion of the Imperial Crown eventually enſured to his Hungarian Majeſty. The Flemings refuſing, notwithſtanding their preſent ſtate of abandonment, to return to the Auſtrian dominion, a great military force was ſent into the country in the autumn of 1790, under the command of Mareſchal Bender, which quickly effected their total reduction; and on the 1ſt of January, 1791, a ſolemn *Te Deum* was ſung at Bruſſels in celebration of that happy event. Sweden alſo, diſappointed in her views and projects of ambition, thought proper to ſign a ſeparate peace with Ruſſia, Auguſt 1790, on the baſis of the former treaties of Abo and Nyſtadt.

Alarming diſpute with Ruſſia.

The Courts of London and Berlin, elated with the ſucceſs of their mediation at Reichenbach, now in high and arrogant language ſignified to the Empreſs of Ruſſia their pleaſure that peace ſhould be reſtored between the Ottoman and Ruſſian Empires, on the terms of a general reſtitution of conqueſts. The Empreſs replied with equal haughtineſs, "that ſhe would make peace and war with whom ſhe pleaſed, without the intervention of any foreign power." Not however chooſing too far to provoke the reſentment of theſe formidable and ſelf-created arbitrators, ſhe ſecretly intimated her willingneſs to conclude a peace with Turkey, on the condition of retaining the country eaſtward of the Neiſter, as a reaſonable

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indemnification for the expences of the war. This was a waſte and deſert tract of territory, valuable only for the ſecurity it afforded to her former acquiſitions, and for including within its limits the ſtrong and important fortreſs of Oczakow. This being peremptorily refuſed, the Empreſs broke off the conference, and determined to proſecute the war.

On the 28th of March, 1791, Mr. Pitt delivered a meſſage to the Houſe of Commons from his Majeſty, importing, "that the endeavors which he had uſed in conjunction with his allies to effect a pacification not having proved ſucceſsful, his Majeſty judged it requiſite, in order to add weight to his repreſentations, to make ſome further augmentation of his naval force." And this meſſage being taken into conſideration, Mr. Pitt enlarged much on the neceſſity of attending to the preſervation of the balance of power in Europe. "The influence of the Turkiſh Empire, he ſaid, was of great effect in the general ſcale. Its preſent ſituation was ſuch as to afford juſt cauſe of apprehenſion to other powers: and to PRUSSIA in particular it muſt be highly injurious, to ſuffer the Turkiſh Empire to be diminiſhed in force and conſequence. He therefore moved an Addreſs, aſſuring his Majeſty that his *faithful Commons* would make good ſuch expences as may be found neceſſary." This Addreſs was oppoſed with the whole ſtrength and energy of the Oppoſition.

Mr. Fox ſaid, "the Right Honorable Mover of the Addreſs had enveloped himſelf in myſtery and importance, but explained nothing. When the balance of power was mentioned as a reaſon for arming, it ought to be ſhewn how it was endangered. We had no quarrel with the Empreſs of Ruſſia: we had no alliance with Turkey. But by the abſurd pride of interfering in the affairs of every Sovereign State, we involved ourſelves in continual expence, and were expoſed to the perpetual hazard of war. It was to ſecond the ambitious policy of Pruſſia, and not for any intereſts of our own, that we were now called upon to arm. The Czarina, it was well known, had offerred to give up all her conqueſts but a barren diſtrict, unprofitable and worthleſs except for a ſingle place contained in it, which

place

place was Oczakow. But would any one ſeriouſly pretend that the balance of Europe depended upon the trivial circumſtance, whether Oczakow ſhould in future belong to the Empire of Ruſſia or of Turkey? That this was even with Miniſters themſelves a novel idea, was plain; for Oczakow had been taken in 1788, and in 1789 his Majeſty had aſſured the Parliament and the Nation, that the ſituation of affairs was ſuch as promiſed us a continuance of peace."—The queſtion was at length carried in favor of the Addreſs by 228 to 135 voices.

The proſpect of a war with Ruſſia, on theſe frivolous grounds, gave more diſſatisfaction to the public at large than any meaſure of Mr. Pitt's adminiſtration. And on the 12th of April Mr. Grey moved, and ſupported with a very extenſive diſplay of knowledge and political ability, a ſeries of reſolutions expreſſive of the impolicy and inexpediency of this meaſure. On the part of the Miniſtry the importance of Oczakow was magnified to a moſt ridiculous exceſs. It was ſtyled the key of Conſtantinople, whence it led to the acquiſition of Alexandria and the Lower Egypt. The ſucceſs of the Miniſtry in former negotiations was oſtentatiouſly dwelt upon, and the confidence of the Houſe challenged in terms unuſually ſtrong and pointed.

Mr. Sheridan with ſarcaſtic keenneſs aſked the Miniſter, "on what baſis this confidence was to reſt. Did he recollect the different proſpect to which we had been directed to turn our eyes in this year? Did he recollect that this was the promiſed millennium, that halcyon year in which we had been flattered, inſtead of freſh burdens, with a reduction of expence, and a clear ſurplus for the extinction of the public debt? The ſyſtem we had adopted in concert with Pruſſia was, he ſaid, a ſyſtem of ambition, of vain glory, and of intrigue, and it had faſtened upon us a concern above all others pernicious—that of Engliſh interference in German politics. As to the doctrine of confidence in Miniſters, he totally abjured it. The more conſtitutional doctrine was that of ſuſpicion and watchfulneſs. The Miniſter had indeed riſen wonderfully in his demands. He recollected the time when he had contented himſelf with aſking only for a guarded

and

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and rational confidence. He then advanced to the pitch of a firm and ſteady confidence; and it was at laſt grown to a blind and implicit confidence. And it appeared that the degree of confidence required roſe in an exact *ratio* to the abſurdity of the meaſure to be adopted." On the diviſion, the effect of the extreme unpopularity of the war without doors, and the ability with which it was expoſed and ridiculed within, ſtrikingly appeared, the numbers being 179 ayes to 259 noes. To enter into a war in the face of ſuch a minority was wholly impoſſible. The point in diſpute was inſtantly and wiſely given up by the Miniſters; Oczakow and its diſtrict remained with Ruſſia; and in the courſe of the enſuing ſummer (Auguſt 1791) peace was concluded between the two empires. The ſeſſion of Parliament terminated June 10, 1791, his Majeſty expreſſing his perfect ſatisfaction at the zeal with which the two Houſes had applied themſelves to the conſideration of the different objects which he had recommended to their attention.

Formidable oppoſition in Parliament, and retractation of Mr. Pitt.

State of affairs in France.

The ſtate of affairs in France, though paſſed over in total and diſcreet ſilence in the ſpeech, was now become very critical. That once popular miniſter M. Necker, finding his meaſures thwarted and oppoſed by the more popular leaders of the Aſſembly, and equally deſtitute of the confidence of the Court, had ſent in his reſignation September 1790, and was ſuffered to retire without one expreſſion of public regret—ſuch is the caprice and inconſtancy of the people! Previous to his reſignation, but certainly not by his advice, a decree had paſſed the Aſſembly, impoſing an oath upon the whole body of the Clergy "to maintain to the utmoſt of their power the new Conſtitution of France, and *particularly* the decrees relative to the civil conſtitution of the Clergy."

By the former decrees of the Aſſembly relative to the Clergy, all connection with the See of Rome, ſpiritual and temporal, was virtually aboliſhed; and the oath was upon other accounts ſo obnoxious, that it could not poſſibly be taken by the majority of the Clergy *ex animo*. It was, in fact, productive of the moſt pernicious conſequences. The Pope by a Bull denounced the ſentence of excommunication againſt thoſe of the

Clergy who took the civic oath: it was refuſed by multitudes in the Church; and thoſe who ſubmitted to it became, in reſentment of the outrage offered to their feelings, far more inimical to the Conſtitution and dangerous to the State than before. A moſt ſevere and unjuſt decree was ſubſequently promulgated, by which the non-juring Clergy were not only deprived of their benefices, but ſubjected to heavy penalties for non-compliance; in conſequence of which numerous emigrations of that unfortunale claſs of men took place.

On the 22d of January, 1791, the King of France communicated to the Aſſembly a letter from Leopold King of Hungary, now advanced to the dignity of Emperor, containing ſtrong proteſtations of amity towards France, but at the ſame time intimating, that to conſolidate that friendſhip the revocation of the decree of Auguſt 4, 1790, will be neceſſary; that all innovations in virtue of that decree be aboliſhed, and matters put upon their antient footing. This was the famous decree which annihilated all feudal and ſeignorial rights, and in the ſcope of which ſeveral of the petty Princes of Germany, poſſeſſing fiefs in Lorraine and Alſace, were comprehended; and ſo far as the right of property was affected by the decree, compenſations had been offered by the Aſſembly, and by ſome of theſe Princes actually accepted. This, however, now ſerved as a pretext and cover for the meaſures in contemplation of the Court of Vienna, which had already ſtationed *cordons* of troops on the Suabian frontier, and northward from the circles of the Rhine to the banks of the Meuſe. The Aſſembly, on this occaſion, voted a large augmentation of military force, regardleſs of the intimation of the King, that the Emperor had, in this inſtance, acted merely officially, in conformity to the decrees of the Diet. The King himſelf did not eſcape the ſuſpicion of entertaining a private and dangerous correſpondence with the Imperial Court; and he was entreated by the Aſſembly, formally and explicitly to announce the Revolution which had taken place to the different Courts of Europe.

The popular jealouſies and diſcontents were ſtill more openly and rudely

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rudely indicated. On the 18th of April, being on the point of ſetting out from Paris to the palace of St. Cloud, to paſs the Eaſter, the royal carriage was ſtopped by an immenſe crowd of perſons, not all of the loweſt rank, under the apprehenſion of an intended eſcape, and conſequently Counter-Revolution. And notwithſtanding the entreaties and proteſtations of M. de la Fayette, Commandant of the National Guard, who attended the King's perſon, and pledged himſelf for his ſecurity, he was finally compelled to deſiſt from his purpoſe, and return to the Tuilleries. On a complaint of this inſult to the Aſſembly, the Preſident made a reſpectful apology to the King; and his Majeſty, *properly attended*, put in execution his deſign of viſiting St. Cloud.

Anxious to regain the ground he had loſt, the King, in compliance with the requeſt of the municipality of Paris, diſmiſſed from his perſon thoſe men who were moſt notoriouſly diſaffected to the Conſtitution. M. de Montmorin was ordered to write, in the name of the Monarch, a circular letter, expreſſed in terms the moſt popular and captivating, to his Ambaſſadors at the different Courts of Europe, "to the end," as it is expreſſed, "that no doubt may remain with regard to his Majeſty's intentions, his acceptance of the free form of government, and his irrevocable oath to maintain it."

In return, the Preſident of the Aſſembly waited on his Majeſty with an addreſs of thanks and felicitation for the freſh proof he had given of his regard for the Conſtitution. "For the firſt time, Sire," ſaid the Preſident, "thoſe ſacred maxims which announce the Rights of Man have made their appearance amidſt the myſteries of diplomatic correſpondence. Strangers ſhall now learn from yourſelf, that it was by your aid the French Conſtitution was regenerated, and that you are its guardian, its defender, and its avenger. Seated on the firſt throne in Chriſtendom, you have given the firſt example of a great Monarch proclaiming the liberties of his people to mankind. A happy calm has now ſucceeded to the ſtormy hopes and fears between which the nation wavered in uncertainty.

You

You have now impoſed ſilence on the detractors of our new Conſtitution. The hydra of faction had a hundred heads, and you have cut off the laſt of them."

To this the King, with deep hypocriſy, replied, "I am charmed beyond expreſſion at the warmth of eſteem which the National Aſſembly is pleaſed to expreſs towards me. If they could but read my heart, they would there ſee ſentiments engraved on it, that would well juſtify the confidence of the nation. All diſtruſt would then be baniſhed from their boſoms, and we ſhould all be happy*." This, however, was but a tranſient and fallacious calm; nor was diſtruſt, for a ſingle moment, really baniſhed from their minds. Unhappily the event but too well juſtified their ſuſpicions.

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* All attempts to vindicate the ſincerity of the King of France, or the reality of his attachment to the Conſtitution, are an inſult to common ſenſe. He finally fell the victim of his own wretched diſſimulation. At the very moment in which he was making theſe proteſtations, a ſecret treaty was negotiating with the Court of Vienna for the re-eſtabliſhment of the ancient deſpotiſm. The articles of this treaty, 21 in number, are detailed by Dr. Moore, in his late publication ſtyled "A View of the Cauſes and Progreſs of the French Revolution." They are very curious. The 19th article declares, "The ſole object which ought at preſent to occupy the minds of the King and Queen, is to neglect nothing which may tend to the diſcredit of the Aſſembly, and to employ all poſſible means to augment their own popularity, in order to make their advantage of it when the people, affrightened at the entrance of the foreign armies into France, ſhall perceive no ſafety but in ſubmiſſion to the authority of their Sovereign." In another article mention is made of the King's Declaration to foreign Courts by his Ambaſſadors, ſaying, "that it had ſhocked many, but had not impoſed on any PERSON of DISCERNMENT, with regard to the King's real ſentiments." The framers of this treaty ſeem to have forgotten that there were perſons of no leſs diſcernment among the opponents than the partiſans of the Court. But though ſimulation is ſtrongly recommended, his Imperial Majeſty in concluſion remarks, "that the ſureſt ſafeguard for their Majeſties is an army of 130,000 men, preceded by MENACING MANIFESTOES." Such were the counſels to which this ill-fated and miſguided Monarch was perſuaded to liſten: and they terminated, as might well be expected, in his deſtruction. While the project for the viſit at St. Cloud was in agitation, a moſt ſpirited expoſtulatory addreſs to the King appeared in the periodical publication ſtyled "L'Orateur du Peuple," of which the following is an extract: "LOUIS XVI. aujourd'hui encore ROI des FRANÇAIS, arrête! Où cours-tu, Monarque abuſé par des conſeils perfides? As-tu bien peſé les ſuites de ce départ, l'ouvrage de ta femme? Le peuple ignore-t-il que de St. Cloud tu te diſ-

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On the night of the 20th of June, the King, Queen, Dauphin, and Princeſs Elizabeth, ſiſter to the King, alſo the Count and Counteſs de Provence, ſuddenly diſappeared. They had, as it was quickly diſcovered, made their eſcape through a ſubterranean paſſage extending from the Tuilleries to the Seine. Monſieur and Madame took the road to Mons; the reſt of the Royal Family that of Montmedi. The King left behind him a paper, in which he formally revoked all his paſt oaths and ſolemn declarations, as the effect of compulſory influence, prohibiting the Miniſters from ſigning any order, and enjoining the Keeper of the Seals to ſend them to him when required in his behalf.

On the firſt emotions of reſentment at the diſcovery of this event, the King's arms and effigies were taken down and broken by the populace of Paris. A proclamation of the Aſſembly, however, ſoon reſtored order. The royal authority was formally ſuſpended by a decree of the Aſſembly, and a Proviſional Executive Council appointed. The National Guard were inſtantly in arms; and deputations from all the different public bodies appeared at the bar of the Aſſembly, with the ſtrongeſt and firmeſt profeſſions of patriotiſm and obedience. Scarcely had the firſt emotions of indignation ſubſided, when it was announced that the King and Queen had been arreſted in their progreſs, at a place called Varennes, near the frontier. They were quickly brought back to Paris, and again quietly conſigned to the palace of the Tuilleries. Their entrance into the metropolis, and their ſlow and mournful proceſſion through the principal ſtreets of the city, expoſed to the ſcornful gaze and bitter taunts of the multitude, formed a ſpectacle which has been pronounced more humiliating to the pride of royalty than any exhibited to the world, ſince the triumph of Paulus Emilius over Perſeus King of Macedon. The Queen, whoſe morning and meridian way through life had been ſtrewed with roſes and myrtles, now appeared to feel the fatal reverſe of her fortune with exquiſite ſenſibility; and, perhaps, with a dark and dreadful foreboding of future and ſtill heavier calamities.

poſes à partir pour Compeigne, et de-là pour la frontière? Ne ſavons-nous pas que la bouche des Rois fut toujours l'antre du menſonge? Une Furie te pouſſe dans le precipice! Eh bien! Si tu pars, nous ne voyons plus en toi que Tarquin chaſſé de Rome."

On

On the 27th of June, Commiſſioners from the Aſſembly waited upon the King, to receive his written declaration reſpecting the late event. His Majeſty aſſerted, "that he had no intention of leaving the kingdom, but meant merely to fix at Montmedi, till the vigor of the government ſhould be reſtored, and the Conſtitution SETTLED." The reſpect due to Majeſty was ſtill preſerved, but confidence was for ever at an end. It was incontrovertibly proved, that the King had long carried on a ſecret correſpondence with M. de Bouillé, Governor of Metz, and Commandant of the forces on the German frontier, who had ſent a detachment to eſcort the King to Montmedi; a poſition to be maintained only by force, and whence, in caſe of neceſſity, he could eaſily retreat to the Auſtrian territory of Luxembourg. The accidental arreſt of the King entirely diſconcerted theſe meaſures; and M. de Bouillé made his eſcape into Germany, where he publiſhed a furious declaration againſt the Aſſembly, calculated only to injure the cauſe he meant to ſerve*.

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* The Emperor Leopold was at Padua when he received the unexpected and unwelcome intelligence of the arreſt of Louis XVI. at Varennes. In conſequence of this event, the following letter was inſtantly diſpatched to all the different Courts of Europe:

CIRCULAR of PADUA, iſſued July 6, 1791.

Before the King's acceptance of the Conſtitution, France preſents to Europe the ſpectacle of a legitimate King compelled by atrocious violence to fly, ſolemnly proteſting againſt the conceſſions which had been extorted from him, and ſoon after arreſted and detained priſoner by the people. His Imperial Majeſty therefore invites the Powers of Europe to declare:

1. That they all regard the cauſe of his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty as their own.

2. They demand that the King and his family may be inſtantly ſet at liberty, and the inviolability and reſpect may be obſerved towards them, which the rights of nature and the inſtitutions of man loudly call for from Subjects towards their Sovereigns.

3. That they will unite for the purpoſe of inflicting dreadful vengeance, in caſe of any future reſtraint being impoſed, or any farther indignity offered to the King or the Royal Family.

4. That they will acknowledge no laws to be eſtabliſhed in France, unleſs ſanctioned by the voluntary conſent of the King in a ſtate of perfect and abſolute freedom.

5. If theſe propoſals are not acceded to by France, that they will employ every means in their power to put an end to the exiſtence of the evil in France, and to prevent its ſpreading into their own dominions.

This CIRCULAR is noticed and acknowledged in the official letter of Prince Kaunitz to M. Blumendorf, Envoy at Paris, dated February 17, 1792, which alſo avows the Conven-

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In consequence of the repeated perfidies of the King, it was proposed by some of the bolder, perhaps the wiser, Members of the Assembly to declare an abdication, and to place the Dauphin on the throne. On the question being agitated in the Assembly, it was asked, what could be done with the King in case of a deposition; to which one of the Members replied, "Let him go and keep school at Corinth." But the milder and more moderate counsels prevailed. The King remained at the Tuilleries, vigilantly guarded, till the fabric of the Constitution was completed.

On the 3d of September, the CONSTITUTIONAL ACT was presented to the King, who signified his acceptance of it in writing, September 13; and on the following day he appeared at the Assembly, introduced by a grand deputation of sixty Members, solemnly to consecrate the assent he had given; concluding with an oath "to be faithful to the Nation and to the Law, and to employ the powers vested in him for the maintenance of the Constitution."

On the 30th of September (1791), the Constituent National Assembly, after an uninterrupted session of two years and four months, terminated its existence by a spontaneous dissolution; leaving behind it, notwithstanding some human errors and frailties, an illustrious and never-dying-fame. Under whatever varying form freedom may subsist in France, the primary establishment of it must doubtless be ascribed to the heroic courage and enlightened patriotism of this Assembly: and in the emphatic words of the Roman orator it may with propriety be asked, "*Quæ enim res unquam, proh sancte Jupiter! in omnibus terris est gesta major, quæ glorioſior, quæ commendatior hominum memoriæ sempiternæ?*"

In England the Anniversary of the Revolution in France was again celebrated, not without a certain mixture of indiscretion, considering the lowering aspect of the political horizon in France, contrasted with the brilliant prospect of last year, and the odium it had incurred in conse-

' tion agreed to between Austria and Prussia, at Pillnitz, August 1791. The manifesto of the Duke of Brunswic has a specific and unequivocal mention likewise both of the Circular Letter and Conventional Treaty.

1791. Church-and-King-riots at Birmingham.

quence of the events which had ſince taken place in both kingdoms. Party ſpirit at this period raged throughout England in a more violent degree than had been known ſince the days of Sacheverel; and in no place more than in the great and opulent town of Birmingham, diſtinguiſhed by the reſidence of the celebrated PRIESTLEY, equally famous in the different capacities of philoſopher and divine. As a theologian he had ſignalized himſelf as the grand reſtorer of the antient Unitarian ſyſtem, maintained at the æra of the Reformation by Socinus and other learned men of the Poliſh or Cracovian ſchool; and which, refuſing divine honors to the Founder of the Chriſtian Religion, acknowledged him merely in the character of a Teacher and Prophet ſent from GOD, and demonſtrating the authenticity of his miſſion by *ſigns and wonders*, which GOD did by him*.

The extraordinary and tranſcendent ability with which this ſimple but obnoxious ſyſtem was vindicated by Dr. Prieſtley, as the genuine unadulterated doctrine of primitive Chriſtianity, had brought over to his opinions numerous converts, and had excited againſt him ſtill more numerous enemies. Regarding civil eſtabliſhments of Chriſtianity as the grand barrier to the propagation of the truth, he had in various publications argued againſt them with great force, inveighing againſt the corruptions to which they had given riſe, though otherwiſe of a diſpoſition mild and beneficent, with extreme bitterneſs and acrimony. He had on all occaſions expreſſed himſelf on the ſubject of government, as an intrepid and zealous defender of the civil and religious rights of mankind; of this he had given a recent proof in a moſt able and maſterly reply to Mr. Burke's famous book on the French Revolution.

* The ſyſtem of Unitarianiſm, previous to its revival by Prieſtley and his learned co-adjutors, Lindſey and Jebb, names of diſtinguiſhed eminence and reſpectability in the Eſtabliſhed Church, was maintained in this country by NEWTON, LOCKE, and LARDNER—the firſt the greateſt of natural, the ſecond of moral philoſophers, and the laſt the moſt profound and illuſtrious theologian which modern ages have produced. If this were a queſtion to be determined by authority, what authorities has Chriſtendom to boaſt, which merit higher reverence than theſe? And how can that country eſcape the imputation of BARBARISM, in which the opinions of ſuch men are ſtill the objects of legal perſecution?

It

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It is ſuperfluous to ſay that he was under theſe circumſtances the object of deteſtation to the bigoted, of wonder to the ignorant, and of dread to the intereſted and the artful. Every poſſible artifice having been put in practice to excite the paſſions of the populace againſt him, the day of the commemoration of Gallic liberty was deemed a fit occaſion to carry the nefarious deſigns previouſly concerted into execution. The friends of liberty, aſſembled for that purpoſe at an hotel in the town, were during the dinner inſulted by a furious mob without, ſhouting, with the occaſional intermixture of horrid imprecations, CHURCH and KING! which words, it may be obſerved, however innocent or venerable in their unconnected ſtate, are when conjoined the ſymbol of all miſchief. At five o'clock the company diſperſed; but the windows of the hotel were nevertheleſs broken by the mob, who ſeemed then inclined to ſeparate.

But this would have been a petty and common revenge. Incited and inflamed anew by their leaders, they bent their courſe to the chapel where Dr. Prieſtley uſually officiated; this they ſet on fire, and afterwards proceeded to the old meeting, which they demoliſhed in the ſame manner. At ten o'clock the mob, now mad with rage and intoxicated with liquor, took the route of Fair-hill, the reſidence of Dr. Prieſtley, about a mile diſtant from the town. Happily the family had notice juſt ſufficient to effect their eſcape; but the houſe, furniture, library, and philoſophical apparatus were ſet on fire, and conſumed in their more than Vandalian rage of deſtruction*. The four following days were employed in the demolition of the elegant houſes and villas in the town and its vicinity, belonging to thoſe perſons who had chiefly diſtinguiſhed themſelves as advocates in the cauſe of Gallic liberty, or by their attachment to the religious principles of the great Hereſiarch Dr. Prieſtley.

During this time the magiſtrates of the place, who were ſuſpected of conniving at the firſt beginning of this tremendous riot, and who had not read or attempted to read the Riot Act, were ſtruck with terror and

* "Excidat illa dies ævo, nec poſtera credant
Sæcula!" STATIUS.

conſternation;

conſternation; nor was any effectual effort made to check theſe infamous and diſgraceful proceedings—far worſe indeed than any diſorders that had as yet occurred in the progreſs of the French Revolution—till the arrival, on the Sunday evening, of three troops of dragoons from Nottingham; in a ſhort time after which, reinforcements daily arriving, order and tranquillity were perfectly reſtored. Many of the rioters were taken into cuſtody and brought to trial, but three only were capitally puniſhed. Such was the ſuperior lenity of the Government on this occaſion, contraſted with the rigors of the Special Commiſſion iſſued for the trial of the London rioters in 1780, on which occaſion thirteen perſons were, under the ſanction of the Lord Preſident Loughborough, included in the ſame indictment!

1792.

Seſſion of Parliament.

The latter months of the year paſſed over in gloomy ſilence. The Parliament was not convened till the 31ſt of January 1792. The King announced in his ſpeech "the marriage of his ſon the Duke of York with the Princeſs Frederica, daughter of his good brother the King of Pruſſia. He informed the two Houſes that a treaty had been concluded, under his mediation and that of his allies, between the Emperor and the Ottoman Porte, and preliminaries agreed upon between the latter of thoſe powers and Ruſſia. The general ſtate of affairs in Europe promiſed a continuance of peace, and he was induced to hope for an immediate reduction of the naval and military eſtabliſhments."

The addreſs of thanks and approbation moved by Mr. Charles Yorke, and ſeconded by Sir James Murray, excited ſome ſevere animadverſions from Mr. Fox, who, in alluſion to the ceſſion of Oczakow to Ruſſia, obſerved, "that it required no moderate ſhare of aſſurance for Miniſters to ſay to gentlemen who had ſupported their meaſures as wiſe and neceſſary, 'That which you laſt ſeſſion contended for as of the utmoſt importance, we have now abandoned as of none. Will you have the goodneſs to move an addreſs approving what we have done?' Mr. Fox thought it extraordinary that, in mentioning the ineſtimable bleſſings of peace and order, no notice was taken of the violent interruption of order which

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which had occurred in the courſe of the ſummer. At the cloſe of the eighteenth century we had ſeen the revival of the ſpirit and practice of the darkeſt ages. It would have been well if his Majeſty had ſpoken of thoſe riots in the terms they merited. They were not riots for bread—they were not riots in the cauſe of liberty, which, however highly to be reprobated, had yet ſome excuſe in their principle; they were riots of men neither aggrieved nor complaining—of men who had ſet on foot an indiſcriminate perſecution of an entire deſcription of their fellow-citizens, including perſons as eminent for their ability, as blameleſs in their conduct, and as faithful in their allegiance, as this or any country could boaſt."

Flouriſhing ſtate of the nation.

Mr. Pitt deprecated with warmth the invidious revival of a ſubject ſo unpleaſant and unprofitable, and wiſhed rather to call the attention of the Houſe to the flouriſhing condition of the commerce and finances of the nation, of which in a ſhort time he propoſed ſubmitting to the Houſe a correct ſtatement. Accordingly, on the 17th of February the Miniſter, in the courſe of a moſt eloquent and animated ſpeech, delineated a picture of national proſperity, more flattering than even the moſt glowing imagination had ventured to ſuggeſt. "The amount of the permanent revenue, with the land and malt duties annexed, from January 1791 to January 1792, he eſtimated at 16,730,000l. being 300,000l. more than the aggregate of the preceding year. The permanent expenditure, including the intereſt of the debt, the annual million applied towards its extinction, the civil liſt, and the military and naval eſtabliſhments, he calculated at 15,810,000l. leaving a clear ſurplus of more than 900,000l. In this ſtate of things he thought himſelf authorized to propoſe the repeal of a part of the more burdenſome taxes, to the amount of about 200,000l. per annum; and at the ſame time to apply the ſum of 400,000l. to the reduction of the national debt, in aid of the annual million appropriated by Parliament. This would ſtill fall far ſhort of his eſtimate of the national ability, and there was good ground to believe that we had not reached by many degrees the ſummit of our proſperity. When the debentures to the American Loyaliſts ſhould be diſcharged, which would happen

happen in about four years, an addition of near 300,000l. would accrue to the revenue. In conſequence of the general improvement of credit, the three per cents would ſoon riſe ſo high as to enable the Parliament to effect a reduction of the four, and, as ſoon as by law redeemable, of the five per cents, which would add the ſum of 700,000l. or little leſs to the ſinking fund. The indefinite additions which might be expected from the increaſing produce of the exiſting taxes, the reſult of our rapidly increaſing commerce, muſt mock all calculation. Our exports had riſen one-third in value ſince the year 1783, i. e. from 14,741,000l. to 20,120,000l. and our internal trade had increaſed in at leaſt an equal proportion. Thus ſhall we be enabled to make a ſwiftly accelerated progreſs in the eſſential work of liquidating the national debt, and in a very ſhort ſpace of time to reach a point which perhaps not long ſince was thought too diſtant for calculation. On the continuance of our preſent proſperity it is indeed impoſſible to count with certainty; but UNQUESTIONABLY there never was a time when, from the ſituation of Europe, we might more reaſonably expect a durable peace than at the preſent moment." After developing with much ability and ſagacity the hidden but operative ſprings of the returning proſperity of the country, the Miniſter concluded with the following memorable words: "From the reſult of the whole I truſt I am entitled to infer, that the ſcene which we are now contemplating is not the tranſient effect of accident, not the ſhort-lived proſperity of a day, but the genuine and natural reſult of regular and permanent cauſes. The ſeaſon of our ſevere trial is at an end; and we are at length relieved, not only from the dejection and gloom which a few years ſince hung over the country, but from the doubt and uncertainty which, even for a conſiderable time after our proſpect had begun to brighten, ſtill mingled with the hopes and expectations of the public. We may yet indeed be ſubject to thoſe fluctuations which often happen in the affairs of a great nation, and which it is impoſſible to calculate or foreſee; but as far as there can be reliance on human ſpeculations, we have the beſt ground from the experience of the paſt to look with ſatisfaction to the preſent, and with confidence to the future. *Nunc demum redit animus, cum non ſpem modo ac votum ſecuritas publica, ſed ipſius voti fiduciam et robur aſſumpſerit.*" Such were the

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brilliant hopes which the nation was at this moment of exultation taught to indulge, and with ſuch dazzling ſplendor roſe the morn of a year deſtined to ſet in darkneſs, calamity, and blood!

The papers relative to the Ruſſian armament being laid on the table, Mr. Grey noticed ſeveral material omiſſions, and an entire chaſm in the correſpondence from October 31, 1790, to May 26, 1791, and moved "that the papers thus withheld be laid before the Houſe." Mr. Pitt affirmed, that the papers called for by Mr. Grey were highly improper to be produced. He did not think it conſiſtent with good policy, to diſcloſe circumſtances which might endanger the ſituation of our public alliances; and again urged the neceſſity of confidence in the Executive Government. Mr. Fox indignantly replied, "that the confidence of the Nation was placed in their Repreſentatives; and if thoſe to whom they had given their confidence ſhould transfer that confidence to the Miniſter, they were *betrayed*, not repreſented. As to this pretended neceſſity of confidence, there need be nothing ſecret where there was nothing wrong; yet pending the negotiation with Ruſſia they were kept in the dark, and, by a climax in confidence, when the negotiation was terminated, they were ſtill denied information." In the courſe of the debate it was forcibly obſerved, in alluſion to the projected war with Ruſſia, "that it would require more eloquence even than that which had been lately employed in deſcribing the proſperity of this country, to juſtify a meaſure which put its proſperity ſo much to the hazard."

Mr. Whitbread's motion of cenſure reſpecting Ruſſia.

On the evidence of the papers actually produced, and the facts publicly aſcertained, Mr. Whitbread on the 27th of February (1792) moved a reſolution of cenſure on the Miniſters, importing, "that Oczakow was not an object of ſufficient importance to juſtify the armed interference of this country." Mr. Whitbread ſaid, "it was the moſt ſelf-evident of all propoſitions, that no arrangement affecting Oczakow could in any way affect the political or commercial intereſts of Great Britain. We exported nothing thither, we imported nothing from it: the oſtenſible cauſe of the diſpute, therefore, could not be the real cauſe. There was ground to believe the exiſtence of a ſecret negotiation, by which Pruſſia

Pruſſia flattered herſelf with the hope of obtaining Dantzic and Thorn as a compenſation for permitting the Empreſs of Ruſſia to retain poſſeſſion of Oczakow. It appeared that the Empreſs had ſo early as December 1789 requeſted the interference of Great Britain to effect a peace, upon the terms of extending her frontier to the Nieſter; and erecting the provinces of Moldavia, Beſſarabia, and Wallachia into an independent principality under a Chriſtian Prince. Theſe terms were refuſed by the Court of London, and the Empreſs was told that no attention would be paid to any terms not reſting upon the baſis of a *ſtatus quo*. At length, after bluſtering, threatening, and arming, came the humiliating Memorial of the 29th of June 1791, which at once conceded all that we had negotiated, threatened, and armed, to obtain."

The motion was ably ſupported by Mr. Grey, who remarked, "that ſince the affair of Holland the Miniſter had become intoxicated with power, and fancied he could parcel out kingdoms and provinces at his pleaſure. He ſeemed as much delighted with this idea as Don Quixote with books of chivalry, and amuſed himſelf with curvetting in this court, prancing in that, menacing here, vaunting there—in a word, out-herod-ing Herod."

Mr. Fox took a comprehenſive view of the queſtion, and dwelt with much energy and effect on the folly of making Oczakow a primary object of negotiation, and the inconſiſtency and diſgrace of its ſubſequent abandonment. "Oczakow (ſaid he) was every thing by itſelf; but when Miniſters added to Oczakow the honor of England, it became nothing. Oczakow and honor weighed nothing in the ſcale. Honor is, in the political arithmetic of Miniſters, a *minus* quantity to be ſubtracted from the value of Oczakow. Againſt the vain theories of men who project fundamental alterations upon grounds of mere ſpeculative objection, the Conſtitution may be eaſily defended; but when they recur to facts, and ſhew me how we may be doomed to all the horrors of war by the caprice of an individual, who will not even condeſcend to explain his reaſons, I can only fly to this houſe, and exhort you to rouſe from your lethargy of confidence, into the active miſtruſt and vigilant control which are your duty and your office." On the diviſion there appeared for the queſtion 116, againſt it 244.

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A motion ſimilar to that of Mr. Whitbread was nearly at the ſame time made by Earl Fitzwilliam in the Upper Houſe. It was oppoſed by the Lords Grenville and Hawkeſbury, the latter of whom threw much light on the real motives of the late interference, by expatiating largely on the *ingratitude* of Ruſſia, and the injurious conduct of that Power during *the late war;* and it evidently appeared by the language of this ſecret adviſer of public meaſures, that the ARMED NEUTRALITY of the Empreſs, although twelve years had paſſed ſince the date of it, was not yet forgotten or forgiven. And Lord Carliſle did not therefore expreſs himſelf with perfect accuracy, when, in reviewing the political objects of the armament, his Lordſhip ſaid "he believed they might ALL be reſolved into the endeavor to obtain for Pruſſia *Dantzic* and *Thorn*." The motion was negatived by a majority of 82 to 19 voices.

On a general review of the whole ſubject, no exiſting ground either of immediate or remote intereſt is perceivable, on which to reſt a rational vindication of the Britiſh Miniſtry in the conduct of this buſineſs. It can never be the intereſt of England to exalt the houſe of Brandenburg in contra-diſtinction to the houſe of Auſtria; for it is the cleareſt of political axioms, that the Imperial power only can oppoſe a firm and permanent barrier on the continent againſt the aſpiring views of France, whether acting under a free or deſpotic form of government—And the policy of Mr. Pitt in 1790 was diametrically oppoſite to that of Sir Robert Walpole in 1740. Alſo ſuppoſing the Empreſs of Ruſſia to have ſucceeded in the ultimate object of her ambition—the ſubverſion of the Ottoman throne in Europe, and the re-eſtabliſhment of the Byzantine Empire in the perſon of her grandſon, Prince Conſtantine; it is impoſſible to diſcern, how the intereſts of the Britiſh Empire, or of the world at large, could be injured by ſuch a Revolution. A prodigious majority of the inhabitants of European, and even of many extenſive provinces of Aſiatic, Turkey are Chriſtians of the Greek communion, who ſtill remain a people as diſtinct from their barbarous conquerors as in the times of the Solymans and the Amuraths. However at preſent on the wane, little more than a century has elapſed ſince the Turkiſh moons were diſplayed before the walls of Vienna; and all Chriſtendom ſeemed in danger of falling a prey

to

to the reſiſtleſs rage of theſe relentleſs invaders. No event in modern ages gave ſo great an alarm as the capture of Conſtantinople by Mahomet II. and the proſpect of wreſting from the oppreſſion of theſe barbarous infidels the beautiful regions which have ſo long groaned under the Ottoman yoke muſt, in an abſtracted view, be regarded as matter of triumph, not of apprehenſion or regret.

Although it appeared by the event of the motion of Mr. Wilberforce in the preceding ſeſſion, that the enthuſiaſm of Parliament on the ſubject of the Slave Trade had greatly ſubſided; that of the public at large was nevertheleſs increaſing, and it had now attained its higheſt pitch. The table of the Houſe of Commons was covered with petitions from all parts of the kingdom, imploring in earneſt language the abolition of that iniquitous and inhuman traffic.

Mr. Wilberforce's ſecond motion of abolition.

On the 2d of April (1791) the Houſe reſolved itſelf into a Committee on the Slave Trade, at the inſtance of Mr. Wilberforce, who moved, at the cloſe of a very able ſpeech, a ſecond time the queſtion of Abolition. Mr. Wilberforce declared, "that from his exertions in this cauſe he had found happineſs, though not hitherto ſucceſs. It enlivened his waking and ſoothed his evening hours, and he could not recollect without ſingular ſatisfaction that he had demanded juſtice for millions who could not aſk it for themſelves—AFRICA! AFRICA!" he exclaimed with paſſionate emotion, "your ſufferings have been the theme that has arreſted and engages my heart. Your ſufferings no tongue can expreſs, nor no language impart." Mr. Wilberforce was powerfully ſupported by many of the moſt reſpectable members of the Houſe; amongſt whom Mr. Whitbread particularly diſtinguiſhed himſelf by the energy and animation of his remarks. "It was the neceſſary quality of deſpotiſm, he ſaid, to corrupt and vitiate the heart: and the moral evils of this ſyſtem were ſtill more to be dreaded than the political. But no mildneſs in practice could make that to be right which was fundamentally wrong. Nothing could make him give his aſſent to the original ſin of delivering man over to the deſpotiſm of man. It was too degrading to ſee, not the produce of human labor, but man himſelf, made the object of trade."

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In conſequence of the ardor diſplayed by the nation at large in this buſineſs, it was at length determined to concede what it was now become difficult, perhaps dangerous, to withhold. Mr. Dundas, advanced to the dignity of Secretary of State by the reſignation of the Duke of Leeds—and the organ of the interior Cabinet in the Houſe of Commons—now therefore, after a plauſible ſpeech recommending to the Houſe the adoption of a middle and moderate plan, ſuch as would reconcile the intereſts of the Weſt India Iſlands with the eventual abolition of the trade, thought proper to move that the word "gradual" might be inſerted before "abolition."

Mr. Pitt, who had invariably ſupported the meaſure of abolition, not as a Miniſter merely, but as a man feeling for all mankind, declared his decided diſapprobation of the amendment propoſed by his Right Honorable Friend; and, in a ſpeech fraught with argument and eloquence, conjured the Houſe not to poſtpone even for an hour the great and neceſſary work of abolition. "Reflect," ſaid Mr. Pitt, "on the 80,000 perſons annually torn from their native land! on the connections which are broken! on the friendſhips, attachments and relationſhips that are burſt aſunder! There is ſomething in the horror of it that ſurpaſſes all the bounds of imagination. How ſhall we repair the miſchiefs we have brought upon that continent? If, knowing the miſeries we have cauſed, we refuſe even now to put a ſtop to them, how greatly aggravated will be the guilt of Britain! Shall we not rather count the days and hours that are ſuffered to intervene, and to delay the accompliſhment of ſuch a work? I truſt we ſhall not think ourſelves too liberal, if we give to Africa the common chance of civilization with the reſt of the world. If we liſten to the voice of reaſon and duty, and purſue this night the line of conduct which they preſcribe, ſome of us may live to ſee a reverſe of that picture from which we now turn our eyes with ſhame and regret. We may live to behold the natives of Africa engaged in the calm occupations of induſtry, in the purſuits of a juſt and legitimate commerce. We may behold the beams of ſcience and philoſophy breaking in upon their land, which, at ſome happy period in ſtill later times, may blaze with full luſtre; and, joining their influence to that of pure religion, may illuminate and invigorate the moſt

moſt diſtant extremities of that immenſe continent. Then may we hope, that even Africa, though laſt of all the quarters of the globe, ſhall enjoy at length in the evening of her days thoſe bleſſings which have deſcended ſo plentifully upon us in a much earlier period of the world—

—— Nos primus equis oriens afflavit anhelis;
Illic ſera rubens accendit lumina veſper.

In this view, as an atonement for our long and cruel injuſtice towards Africa, the meaſure now before the Houſe moſt forcibly recommends itſelf to my mind. The great and happy change to be expected in the ſtate of her inhabitants is, of all the various and important benefits of the abolition, in my eſtimation incomparably the moſt extenſive and important." Thus nobly can Mr. Pitt at times redeem his errors, and deviations from rectitude; and ſtill preſerve a place in the eſteem of the wiſe, and affection of the good. The amendment of Mr. Dundas was nevertheleſs carried on the diviſion by a majority of 68 voices. On which he ſubſequently moved, "that the importation of negroes into the Britiſh colonies ſhould ceaſe on the 1ſt of January 1800." This, on the motion of Lord Mornington, was after great difficulty and debate altered to January 1, 1796. A ſeries of reſolutions founded on this baſis were then agreed to, and ſent up for the concurrence of the Lords.

Infidious conduct of the Houſe of Lords.

But theſe reſolutions were fated to meet with a very cold reception in the Upper Houſe, and from a large proportion of their Lordſhips a moſt determined oppoſition. As this was a favorite meaſure with the nation, and had indeed been ſupported in a peculiar manner by the *voice of the people*, they were highly and juſtly offended to ſee the Duke of Clarence, third ſon of the King, commence his career of public life with a violent declamation againſt the abolition, and invective againſt its advocates; whom he falſely and fooliſhly repreſented as actuated by the ſpirit of political and religious fanaticiſm. With a view to protract, and if poſſible to diſmiſs the buſineſs, the Lord Chancellor moved, "that evidence be heard, not before a ſelect committee, according to the propoſition of Lord Grenville, but at the bar of the Houſe." This was ſeconded by Lord Hawkeſbury, the well-known and inveterate enemy of the abolition; of whom

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whom it has been affirmed with the utmoſt bitterneſs of ſarcaſm, "that, in ſpite of the habitual fraud and falſehood of his character, he is earneſt and ſincere in his contempt of virtue and hatred of freedom." The motion being carried, the Houſe ſlept over the buſineſs during the remainder of the ſeſſion *.

Mr. Fox's motion for a repeal of the penal laws.

Mr. Pitt having, in his ſpeech on the motion for the repeal of the Teſt, avowed in the moſt unequivocal and *unguarded* terms the right of the Diſſenters to a full and complete toleration; Mr. Fox embraced the opportunity of bringing forward in the courſe of this ſeſſion a motion for the repeal of thoſe penal ſtatutes, which, notwithſtanding the exiſtence of the Toleration Act, were ſtill in force againſt thoſe who in any manner impugned the doctrine of the TRINITY. He ſhewed from a ſpecification of authentic facts, that theſe laws were far from being a mere dead letter; not to mention the hatred and opprobrium which they were the means of creating. Such was the wretched bigotry foſtered and cheriſhed by theſe laws, that a Biſhop of the Church (Dr. HORSLEY) had not ſcrupled in a recent publication to declare "that, Unitarianiſm being *hereſy*, even the moral good of the Unitarians was ſin." Mr. Fox expreſſed his ardent wiſh to extirpate hereſy by *fire*—not indeed in the old mode of burning

* The overwhelming influence of the Crown has appeared in no inſtance more palpable, or more offenſive to honeſt minds, than in the *management* of the queſtion relative to the Slave-Trade; thus for ſucceſſive years daringly and artfully mocking the ardent wiſhes of the people, with a view to their ultimate defeat. How juſt the retaliation, could the *Honorable* and *Right Honorable* advocates of this infamous traffic be made to ſuffer experimentally the horrors they have with ſuch worſe than brutal inſenſibility defended! The mind finds no great difficulty in reſiſting the abſtract and metaphyſical arguments which philoſophers have adduced in proof of the attributes of the Deity, and the primary truths of Religion. But when we ſee men upon whom Providence has laviſhed its choiceſt gifts and favors, men who poſſeſs all that the earth, traverſed and ranſacked from pole to pole, can confer to render exiſtence delightful; when we ſee ſuch perſons diſplay an eagerneſs to force millions of their fellow-creatures, wretches whoſe ſouls are lacerated with anguiſh, to drink the cup of miſery to the dregs, and to prevent the infuſion of a ſingle drop of the balm of conſolation; when we ſee, in fine, the deſpair of innocence, and the exultation of guilt, our moral ſenſe is alarmed and ſhocked; the idea of a future ſtate of retribution ruſhes upon the mind; and we are compelled, with hearts oppreſſed with indignation, to exclaim: "Surely there is a GOD who judgeth in the Earth!"

heretics,

heretics, but by burning all thoſe ſtatutes which formed the code of perſecution." Mr. Pitt appeared on this occaſion ſomewhat embarraſſed, and reſted his oppoſition chiefly on the diſuſe and oblivion into which the acts in queſtion had fallen, and the dangerous alarm which might be excited by the repeal—diſclaiming in warm terms the principles and character of a perſecutor. Mr. Fox in reply remarked, that he knew not how to diſtinguiſh between a perſecutor and an advocate for penal laws in matters of religion, which was the preciſe definition of the term. As to the general alarm, of which Mr. Pitt was apprehenſive, it was the bitterest ſatire upon the ſpirit of his own Adminiſtration, to ſuppoſe the temper of the public ſo fatally changed, as not to endure the repeal of laws ſo execrable, and till a recent period ſo generally the ſubject of execration. Mr. Fox's motion was rejected by a majority of 79 voices*.—Nothing indeed could more ſtrikingly demonſtrate the radical change that had now been effected in Mr. Pitt's ſyſtem of thinking and of acting, than the odious part taken by him in this debate. Thoſe who recollected the noble enthuſiaſm diſplayed by Lord Chatham in the cauſe of religious liberty, viewed the conduct of Mr. Pitt with mingled emotions of grief and indignation.

* As a ſtriking hiſtoric contraſt to the ſpirit diſplayed by the Britiſh Government at this period, it may not be improper to ſelect a few paſſages from the Speech of M. Rabaud de St. Etienne, a Proteſtant Clergyman and Member of the National Aſſembly, on moving the 10th Article of the Declaration of Rights, on the ſubject of Religious Toleration, and which was received by the Aſſembly with the higheſt approbation and applauſe.—"Liberty is a common right. All citizens have a right to it, or no one has. He that would deprive others of their liberty, attacks his own, and deſerves to loſe it. Shall in the 18th century the barbarous policy be adhered to of dividing a nation into a favored and a diſgraced *caſte*?—I will not do the nation the injuſtice to ſuppoſe, that it could pronounce the word *Intolerance*. But, Gentlemen, it is not Toleration that I plead for—it is Liberty. Toleration! Sufferance! Pardon! Clemency! What ideas of injuſtice do not theſe words convey, if difference of opinion be indeed no crime? Toleration! For ever be proſcribed the word, which holds us out as Citizens that deſerve pity; which exhibits us as culpable perſons, who require pardon from thoſe whom chance or education leads to think in a manner different from ourſelves! Error, Gentlemen, is not a crime. He who profeſſes it, takes it for truth—it is truth to him—he is obliged to profeſs it, and no man, no ſociety of men has a right to forbid him. And who, Gentlemen, in this mixture of error and truth, who is he that will dare to affirm he has never been deceived—that truth is conſtantly with him, and error with others? I *demand* then, Gentlemen, for the French Proteſtants, for all the Non-Catholics of the kingdom, that they

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indignation. In a letter addreſſed to his friend the celebrated Dr. Price, January 1773, this venerable patriot thus expreſſes himſelf. "In writing to you, it is impoſſible the mind ſhould not go of itſelf to that moſt intereſting of all ſubjects to fallible man—TOLERATION. Be aſſured that on this ſacred and unalienable right of nature, and bulwark of truth, my warm wiſhes will always keep pace with your own. Happy! if the times had allowed us to add HOPES to our wiſhes." Here we ſee the ſentiments of the moſt virtuous of Philoſophers corroborated by thoſe of the moſt illuſtrious of Stateſmen. That ſuperior claſs of men, the firm, diſintereſted, and perpetual advocates of the rights of mankind, and who, in an intellectual ſenſe, conſtitute the higheſt order of the community, now at length univerſally acknowledged that they had been groſsly deceived in the ideas which the flattery of hope, rather than the cool ſuggeſtions of reaſon, had originally led them to form reſpecting the diſpoſition and character of the preſent Miniſter. Educated as Mr. Pitt had been under the auſpices of a parent who would doubtleſs with earneſt and early aſſiduity inſtil into his mind the nobleſt principles of government, no other hypotheſis could adequately account for the deplorable defection of Mr. Pitt from the cauſe of truth and liberty, than his final acquieſcence, from motives moſt injurious to his honor, in the deteſtable ſyſtem of that wretched Junto, through the medium of which

be placed on the ſame footing in every thing, and without any reſerve, with all the other Citizens.—Permit it not, Gentlemen, generous and free Nation! do not allow to be cited as a precedent for you, the example of thoſe nations, who, ſtill intolerant, proſcribe your worſhip amongſt them. You are not deſigned to receive examples, but to give them. Europe, which aſpires to Liberty, expects from you great leſſons, and you are worthy to furniſh them. You are too wiſe, Gentlemen, to be aſtoniſhed that there are men who think differently from you; who worſhip GOD in another manner than you do; and you will not regard the difference of opinion as an injury done to you. Taught by the experience of ages, by the errors and the ſufferings of your anceſtors, you will ſay without doubt, It is time to lay aſide the ſword of perſecution ſo deeply ſtained with the blood of our countrymen. It is time to reſtore to them their too-long-forgotten rights. It is time to break in pieces thoſe unjuſt barriers which ſeparate them from us; and to unite in one common bond of affection theſe oppreſſed and proſcribed Citizens, ſo long eſtranged from the boſom of their country. They will preſent themſelves to you covered with the blood of their fathers, and they will ſhew you the marks of their own chains.—My country is free. Let her ſhew herſelf worthy of Liberty, by equally imparting it to all claſſes of Citizens, without diſtinction of rank, birth, or religion."

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the influence of the Crown has, during the whole courſe of the preſent reign, been exerciſed in conformity to the caprice or pleaſure of the Court. Advanced to the dignity of Miniſter at the premature age of twenty-three, Mr. Pitt had never perhaps *deeply imbibed* the genuine principles of Whiggiſm. Favored by fortune, from the very commencement of his political career, in a manner the moſt extraordinary and unprecedented, he attributed too much to himſelf, and too little to foreign and fortuitous circumſtances. He contracted therefore a dangerous contempt for mankind, and, depending with vain confidence upon his ſuperior ability to vanquiſh thoſe difficulties which might eventually ariſe, he appears not to have ſufficiently ſtudied that greateſt and moſt important of all ſciences to a Stateſman—the PHILOSOPHY of the HUMAN MIND; nor to have attained to a juſt comprehenſion of thoſe grand moral and intellectual axioms upon the diligent obſervance of which the welfare and proſperity of nations depend. Mr. Pitt had now advanced too far in the mazes of political obliquity, to be able ever to recover the ſafe and ſtraight-forward path of truth and virtue. After proceeding certain lengths in this as in other caſes, "returning were more tedious than go o'er;" and every day and every moment increaſed the diſinclination and the difficulty.

Mr. Whitbread's motion of enquiry into the Birmingham riots.

On the 21ſt of May, Mr. Whitbread brought forward a motion of enquiry on the ſubject of the Birmingham riots. He introduced this motion by an excellent ſpeech, containing a copious ſtatement of the facts and circumſtances which led to a ſuſpicion, that the Magiſtrates had been moſt culpably remiſs in their duty on this occaſion; and even that Miniſters had been negligent in their exertions for the ſuppreſſion of thoſe diſorders. Mr. Whitbread referred the Houſe to the proceedings of a former Houſe of Commons, who, on a ſimilar occaſion, A. D. 1716, had addreſſed the King (Geo. I.) in terms expreſſive of the utmoſt indignation and abhorrence of the ſpirit which had incited thoſe atrocious outrages; and requeſting that full compenſation might be made to the ſufferers. Mr. Whitbread inſiſted on the diſgrace which England would incur in the view of Europe, if a man, who had done ſo much honor to his country by his philoſophical and literary talents, as Dr. Prieſtley, ſhould fail to obtain a ſignal reparation for the injuries he had ſuſtained.

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"Should he," ſaid this animated ſpeaker, "by the ſpirit of perſecution be compelled to abandon his native ſoil, there is no nation which would not be ready and eager to afford him an aſylum. He can go to no country where his fame has not gone before him." Mr. Whitbread ſaid, "he knew that toleration was the language in faſhion; but it was very eaſy for men to have toleration on their lips, and perſecution in their hearts." Mr. Secretary Dundas, in reply, vindicated the Government very ſatisfactorily from the ſuſpicion of not having exerted themſelves to the utmoſt in quelling the riots. He ſaid, "that Government did not proſecute the Magiſtrates who were charged with neglect of duty, becauſe the Attorney General was of opinion, that there was no probability of conviction, and an ineffectual proſecution might be attended with very diſagreeable conſequences." Mr. Whitbread's motion was ably ſupported by Mr. Smith and Mr. Windham, but more particularly by Mr. Grey, in an admirable ſpeech, well deſerving deep and permanent attention.

In anſwer to ſome harſh reflections of Mr. Dundas on the recent conduct of the Diſſenters, Mr. Grey thus nobly and eloquently expreſſed himſelf: "I do not, Sir, ſtand here as the profeſſed advocate of the Diſſenters; but whilſt we exclaim againſt the raſh and intemperate language of ſome amongſt the Diſſenters, let us impartially and ſeriouſly aſk ourſelves, if no juſt cauſe has been given to them of diſcontent or of reſentment? It is well known, that the Diſſenters have ever diſtinguiſhed themſelves as the zealous advocates of the glorious Revolution—that they have been always numbered amongſt the moſt firm and ſteady adherents of the Proteſtant ſucceſſion, and of the illuſtrious Houſe of Hanover, when that ſucceſſion was ſuppoſed with reaſon to be in danger; and at a time when the reigning family did not depend upon the CHURCH as its chief bulwark and ſupport. Conſcious of their fidelity and attachment to the government under which they lived—an attachment which the circumſtances of the times afforded them frequent and deciſive occaſions to demonſtrate—exerciſing under the expreſs ſanction of the State their inherent right of private judgment in religion—they at length applied to the Legiſlature to be reſtored to the privileges of citizens, of which they had been ſo long unjuſtly diveſted. When this claim was refuſed with every circumſtance of indignity and

inſult—

inſult—when they were branded as the implacable enemies of the State—when they were reproached, notwithſtanding their uniformly peaceable demeanor, as ſeditious and factious hypocrites—when the ridiculous and obſolete Tory clamor was revived, that the CHURCH *was in* DANGER—when they were told 'that the extent of their loyalty might be meaſured by the blood of a king'—can we wonder that they ſhould diſcover the paſſions and feeling of men?—that anger ſhould beget anger—that in the colliſion of zeal againſt zeal, the voice of reaſon ſhould be overborne and loſt? Are we really deſirous of eſtabliſhing univerſal and permanent content and ſatisfaction? The experience of all ages ſhews, that the only effectual mode is to annihilate all legal oppreſſion. While the ſpirit of intolerance predominates in the counſels of any country, there will neceſſarily be diſcontent, reſentment, and anger. And it is in vain to expect to obviate the evil conſequences of ſuch a ſyſtem, or to re-eſtabliſh the general tranquillity, by adding contumely to oppreſſion, or by an attempt to defend injuſtice by falſehood. We are ourſelves zealouſly attached to the Conſtitution, becauſe we enjoy in their full extent the privileges and immunities derived from it. But what right have we to expect the ſame attachment from thoſe who are excluded from theſe privileges? Though to us the Conſtitution is the object of affection and reverence, to them whom it injures and oppreſſes it is an odious and tyrannic Conſtitution. Wherever political partialities prevail, and political diſtinctions are injuriouſly admitted, there political animoſities will be excited. Such is the nature of man; and of this we may reſt aſſured, that equity is the only ſafe and permanent baſis of policy: and till we determine to regulate our conduct by this principle, diſcontents and animoſities muſt and will prevail. And the diſorders and commotions which we now lament, are the genuine offſpring of that policy to which, unhappily for our peace and ſecurity, we are ſtill reſolved to adhere." The motion was finally negatived by a great and deciſive majority.

Mr. Fox's Libel Bill paſſed into a law.

The Libel Bill introduced in the laſt ſeſſion by Mr. Fox, and which was loſt in the Houſe of Lords, was this ſeſſion triumphantly carried through both Houſes, and paſſed into a law—notwithſtanding the pertinacious oppoſition of the Law Lords Thurlow, Kenyon and Bathurſt.

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The Marquis of Lanſdowne ſarcaſtically obſerved in the debate, that he did not blame Lawyers for making a ſtand againſt the preſent bill. It was well worth a ſtruggle on the part of the profeſſion. It was a proud ambitious profeſſion, deſirous of obtaining power over all. And if the Noble Lord at the head of the King's Bench could overthrow it, as his Lordſhip had ſtudied politics as well as law, he would reign Lord Paramount of England." The Law Lords joined in a proteſt againſt the bill, which will remain as a perpetual monument of the triumph of common ſenſe over legal and profeſſional ſubtilty. Lord Camden particularly diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the debate, by the animation and ability which, in no reſpect diminiſhed by the winter of age, he diſplayed in the vindication and final eſtabliſhment, in times dark and inauſpicious to Liberty, of a doctrine he had early and zealouſly eſpouſed; and this may be regarded as the concluding effort of a long life rendered illuſtrious by the practice of every public and private virtue. More than 20 years previous to this event, that able and upright Senator and Patriot Mr. Dowdeſwell had introduced a Bill into the Houſe of Commons for aſcertaining the rights of Juries, ſubſtantially the ſame with the preſent Bill of Mr. Fox. It was, on a diviſion, thrown out by a prodigious majority. But the friends of Liberty never loſt ſight of this great and intereſting queſtion, and by the moſt unwearied and meritorious perſeverance they at length happily attained their object.

Act for the Relief of the Scottiſh Epiſcopalians.

Another point was alſo gained during this ſeſſion in favor of the general ſyſtem of freedom, by a Bill introduced into the Houſe of Peers by Lord Elgin, for the relief of the Scottiſh Epiſcopalians, who had long been ſubject to heavy penalties on the original ground of notorious diſaffection to the Revolution eſtabliſhment. But, like other *high-flying* and Jacobitical Tories, they were now become moſt conſpicuous for loyalty amongſt the loyal. An objection however was ſtarted by the Lord Chancellor, whether, according to a clauſe in the preſent bill, ſpecifying the deſcription of perſons to be relieved, the State could with propriety recognize the validity of ordination by Biſhops exerciſing their functions independent of the State. And, in his profound knowledge of eccleſiaſtical antiquity, his Lordſhip ventured even to intimate his doubts, whether Biſhops could

could *exiſt* in any Chriſtian country not authoriſed by the State." But his Lordſhip being aſſured by the Biſhop of St. Davids, who ſpoke in favor of this "afflicted part of the Church of Chriſt," that Chriſtian Biſhops *exiſted* three hundred years before the happy alliance between Church and State took place under the auſpices of the Emperor Conſtantine the Great, his Lordſhip was pleaſed to declare himſelf ſatisfied; and the bill paſſed without any farther oppoſition.

Society of the Friends of the People inſtituted.

In conſequence of the ſpirit of diſcontent, and even of diſaffection, by which a conſiderable proportion of the community ſeemed at this period to be animated, and which had given riſe to various political aſſociations of an alarming nature, and in which ideas of government reform were carried to a viſionary and dangerous extreme; it was thought proper by many of the moſt diſtinguiſhed advocates of Conſtitutional Liberty, about this period to inſtitute a ſociety under the name of the "Friends of the People," for the ſole purpoſe of effecting a reform in Parliament, on the principles ſo often ſtated and ſo ably enforced by Mr. Pitt, and other judicious patrons of reform, preſuming that all other neceſſary and beneficial reforms would follow in ſafe and regular gradation. About thirty Members of Parliament entered their names as members of this Aſſociation, which alſo comprehended many of the moſt eminent characters in the kingdom, whether in reſpect of political or literary ability. It is remarkable, that this moſt uſeful and laudable aſſociation, this broad and lofty mound thrown up for the defence of the Conſtitution againſt the rage of republican innovation, ſeemed to excite more the alarm of the Government, than all the other aſſociations united. And when Mr. Grey, himſelf a member of the new ſociety, gave notice of his intention to move, in the courſe of the enſuing ſeſſion, for an enquiry into the ſtate of the repreſentation, Mr. Pitt roſe with unuſual vehemence to declare "his total diſapprobation of introducing, at a period ſo critical and dangerous as the preſent, a diſcuſſion of ſuch difficulty and importance. This he affirmed was not a time for experiments; and if he was called upon either to riſque this, or for ever to abandon all hopes of reform, he would ſay he had no heſitation in preferring the latter alternative. He ſaw with concern the Gentlemen to whom he alluded, virtually united with others who profeſſed

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the reform of abuſes, and meant the ſubverſion of government." The expediency and policy of timely and temperate reform were on the other hand powerfully argued by the friends of the projected motion. "As to the obnoxious allies of the late aſſociators, Mr. Fox ſaid, the objection might be completely retorted by aſking the Miniſter, 'Whom have you for your allies?' On the one part there are infuriated republicans, on the other the ſlaves of deſpotiſm. The firſt are the raſh zealots of liberty, the latter its inveterate and determined foes." The conſternation of the Miniſters evidently appeared by a ROYAL PROCLAMATION almoſt immediately iſſued againſt the public diſperſion of all ſeditious writings, and againſt all illegal correſpondencies—exhorting the Magiſtrates to vigilance, and the People to ſubmiſſion and obedience.

Royal Proclamation for the ſuppreſſion of ſedition.

This Proclamation being laid before the Houſe (May 25), and an addreſs moved of approbation and ſupport, it was oppoſed by Mr. Grey with much warmth, and the Proclamation itſelf condemned in ſevere terms as a meaſure inſidious and pernicious. The "diligent enquiry enjoined by the Proclamation after the authors and diſtributors of *wicked and ſeditious writings*, could only tend to eſtabliſh an odious and arbitrary ſyſtem of ESPIONAGE. This was the ſyſtem which had made the old Government of France ſo much the object of general deteſtation, and it was a ſyſtem unworthy of the Sovereign of a free people to recommend. Mr. Grey ſtrongly intimated his belief, that the real object of the Proclamation was merely to diſcredit the late Aſſociation in the view of the public."

This Mr. Pitt diſclaimed in very explicit terms; and expreſſed his high reſpect for many of the members of the Aſſociation in queſtion, declaring "that he differed from them only in regard to the time and mode which they had adopted for the attainment of their object. The Aſſociation in queſtion, he ſaid, did not come within the ſcope and purview of the Proclamation, which was levelled againſt the daring and ſeditious principles which had been ſo aſſiduouſly propagated amongſt the people, under the plauſible and deluſive appellation of the Rights of Man." The Addreſs was finally carried without a diviſion, and, receiving the concurrence of the Upper Houſe, was preſented in form to the King. It was followed by addreſſes from all parts of the kingdom: and the Miniſtry, finding their ſtrength,

ſtrength, commenced proſecutions againſt a prodigious number of offenders, amongſt whom Thomas Paine ſtood moſt conſpicuous. Notwithſtanding the profeſſional ability of Mr. Erſkine, whom he had engaged as his advocate, he was found guilty of the charge; but foreſeeing the probability of this event, he had previouſly abſconded to France.

Among various other remarkable trials, thoſe of Daniel Holt and William Winterbottom ſeem peculiarly to challenge the ſpecific notice of Hiſtory. The former, a printer at Nottingham, was convicted, and ſentenced to two years' impriſonment, for republiſhing *verbatim* a political tract originally circulated by the Thatched-Houſe Tavern Aſſociation, of which Mr. Pitt and the Duke of Richmond were members. The latter, a Diſſenting Teacher at Plymouth, of virtuous and highly reſpectable character, was convicted of *ſedition*, and ſentenced to four years' impriſonment in the gaol of Newgate, for two ſermons preached in commemoration of the Revolution of 1688. The indictment charges him with affirming, "that his Majeſty was placed upon the throne upon condition of keeping certain laws and rules—and if he does not obſerve them, he has no more right to the crown than the Stuarts had." All the Whigs of the kingdom might doubtleſs have been comprehended in the ſame indictment. And if the doctrine thus affirmed be denied, the monſtrous reverſe of the propoſition follows, that the King is bound by no conditions or laws; and that, though reſiſtance to the tyranny of the Stuarts might be juſtifiable, reſiſtance in the ſame circumſtances to the houſe of Brunſwic is not. This trial, for the circumſtances of cruelty and infamy attending it, has been juſtly compared to that ſo celebrated of Roſewell, in the latter years of Charles II, to which the preſent times exhibit in various reſpects a moſt ſtriking and alarming parallel*.

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* Certain it is, and it would be diſingenuous and deceitful to deny or diſguiſe the fact, that the perpetual miſconduct of Government during the preſent reign—the misfortunes and miſeries by which it has been characteriſed, its follies, its vices, and its crimes, have given occaſion to a new and very ſerious inveſtigation of the principles of the Britiſh Conſtitution; and amongſt men of philoſophic reflection may be diſcerned a great abatement of that enthuſiaſtic ardor with which they once were in the habit of ſpeaking and thinking of a form of government, which has been found, by fatal experience, not incompatible for a long ſeries of years with the groſſeſt neglect or perverſion of thoſe ends for which government is alone

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State of affairs in India.

The attention of Parliament towards the concluſion of the ſeſſion was forcibly drawn to the ſituation of India—for ſome time paſt involved in a general war, the origin and progreſs of which it may be proper conciſely to explain. From the æra of the peace of Mangalore, concluded by the Company with Tippoo Saib in 1784, the power of that Prince had been regarded as very formidable. He was avowedly and devotedly attached to the intereſts of France, to which country he had ſoon after that event ſent a ſplendid embaſſy, and eſtabliſhed an intimate friendſhip and alliance. The period however at length arrived, when, France being occupied with other and greater objects, a ſevere vengeance might be ſafely taken on the TYRANT of MYSORE for all his real or pretended perfidies and oppreſſions. The Dutch Eaſt India Company had in the laſt century conquered from the Portugueſe two forts, ſituated within the territory of Myſore, called Cranganore and Acottah. Theſe they had recently diſpoſed of by purchaſe to the Rajah of Travancore, an ally of the Engliſh Company. Tippoo reſenting the conduct of the Dutch, and affirming that the Rajah had no right to make any ſuch purchaſe within the limits of his territory, marched a conſiderable military force in the ſummer of

inſtituted. And a ſtrong ſpeculative predilection has unqueſtionably ariſen in the minds of many for a republican form of government, in preference to any form of monarchy. But, before any inference is drawn to the prejudice of the Britiſh Conſtitution, that Conſtitution ought to be reſtored to its genuine and original principles: and then there is good ground to believe that by far the greater part of the evils now experienced, and which are ſo juſtly the ſubject of complaint, would inſtantly vaniſh. Among the moſt palpable and pernicious of the exiſting abuſes, muſt undoubtedly be reckoned the enormous and overwhelming influence of the Crown—the inequality of the national repreſentation—the long duration of Parliaments—the rapid and monſtrous increaſe of the national debt, and of the civil and military eſtabliſhments—the oppreſſion, abſurdity, and iniquity connected with the preſent eccleſiaſtical ſyſtem—the municipal tyranny exerciſed over the poor, under cover of the poor laws, originally intended and calculated for their relief and protection—the amazing multiplicity of ſuperfluous places, penſions, ſinecures, and lucrative appointments, by which individuals are aggrandized and enriched at the expence and to the impoveriſhment of the public. When theſe evils are remedied, the Conſtitution of Great Britain will have a fair trial; and the beneficial effects it has in itſelf a tendency to produce, will be fully aſcertained. But till this happy period arrives, all reflections on monarchical government in reference to England can be applicable, not to the genuine and unadulterated Conſtitution of the Country, but to the preſent deformed and deſtructive ſyſtem of Adminiſtrative Government.

1789

1789 againſt Cranganore, with a profeſſed intent to reduce it to his dominion. The conduct of the Rajah in making the purchaſe in queſtion, on ſo precarious and invidious a title, was ſeverely cenſured by the Government of Madras; and Mr. Holland, the Preſident, warned him to deſiſt from his ambitious deſigns.

In conſequence of the powerful mediation thus interpoſed, Tippoo withdrew his troops, ſtill, however, aſſerting his claim to the feudal ſovereignty of the forts, and offering, as it is ſaid, to ſubmit his pretenſions to any impartial arbitration. But on the 1ſt of May, 1790, the Rajah, relying, as it afterwards appeared, on the ſupport of the ſuperior Preſidency of Bengal, made an offenſive attack on the army of Tippoo Sultan; and the war having thus commenced, the Engliſh Government was *bound in honor and juſtice* to defend their ally. This the Company were the better enabled to do, not merely from their knowledge of the ſtate of France, but from the treaties they had actually formed with the Nizam of the Decan, and the Mahratta States, for the expreſs purpoſe of humbling the power of Myſore.

The grand Carnatic army immediately aſſembling, under the command of General Meadows, marched through the ſouthern or Coimbetore country, and, penetrating the *Ghauts* or paſſes of the mountains, advanced towards the city of Seringapatam, the capital of Myſore. On the weſtern ſide, the Bombay army, under General Abercrombie, after reducing Cannanore and ſeveral other places on the coaſt, entered the kingdom of Myſore; which, notwithſtanding the pretended oppreſſion of the Government, exhibited every where the marks of the higheſt cultivation and proſperity.* The Sultan defending himſelf with great

* "When a perſon," ſays a writer of credit and reputation, "travelling through a ſtrange country, finds it well cultivated, populous, with induſtrious inhabitants, cities newly founded, commerce extending, towns increaſing, and every thing flouriſhing, ſo as to indicate happineſs, he will naturally conclude it to be under a form of government congenial to the minds of the people." This is a picture of Tippoo's country, and our concluſion reſpecting it. The ſame author, who himſelf ſerved in the army of Lord Cornwallis, affirms, "that no

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great reſolution, and no mean diſplay of military ſkill, General Meadows found himſelf under the neceſſity of retreating to the vicinity of Madras; where, in the month of December (1790), Lord Cornwallis aſſumed the command of the army in perſon.

The plan of the war was now entirely changed, and a grand effort reſolved on, to force a paſſage to Seringapatam through the country lying directly weſtward of Madras. On the 21ſt of March, 1791, the important town of Bangalore was taken by ſtorm, with little loſs on the part of the Britiſh, but with a dreadful carnage of the unreſiſting garriſon. On the 13th of May, the army, by extraordinary exertions, arrived in ſight of the ſuperb capital of Myſore, defended by the Sultan in perſon: and, on the next day, an action took place, in which Tippoo was ſaid to be defeated; though he does not appear to have ſuſtained any very conſiderable loſs: and the ſwelling of the Cavery (in an iſland formed by branches of which Seringapatam is ſituated), together with the want of proviſions, compelled Lord Cornwallis to begin his retreat to Bangalore, almoſt before his victory could be announced.

General Abercrombie, who had advanced through the *Ghauts* on the oppoſite ſide, with a view to form a junction with Lord Cornwallis, was

complaints or murmurings were heard among the ſubjects of Tippoo, although no time could have been more favorable for their utterance; becauſe the enemies of Tippoo were in power, and would have been gratified by any aſperſion of his character. Nor did they by any means ſeem to regard their conquerors with complacency, as relieving them from an oppreſſive yoke; but, on the contrary, they diſcovered a ſtrong attachment and loyalty to their native ſovereign." Moore's Narrative of Operations in India.—To the ſame purpoſe Major Dirom, another highly reſpectable authority, ſays, "His (i. e. Tippoo's) country was found every where full of inhabitants; and apparently cultivated to the utmoſt extent of which the ſoil was capable.—His government, though ſtrict and arbitrary, was the deſpotiſm of a politic and able ſovereign, who nouriſhes not oppreſſes the ſubjects who are to be the means of his future aggrandizement." It appears then, that this war was not undertaken from the generous and beneficent motive of reſcuing the inhabitants of Canara and Myſore from the oppreſſion and tyranny of their Sovereign, but that it was as much the offſpring of avarice and ambition, as any of the former wars by which the dominion of Great Britain in India was originally acquired, or ſubſequently confirmed and eſtabliſhed.

now

now alſo obliged to lead back his army, fatigued, haraſſed and diſappointed, over the mountains they had ſo lately and with ſuch difficulty paſſed. During theſe tranſactions the troops of the Nizam and the Mahrattas kept diſcreetly aloof, leaving the burden of the war almoſt entirely to the Britiſh.

But the next campaign, for which Lord Cornwallis made unremitted preparations, opened under more favorable auſpices. Early in February, 1792, the eaſtern and weſtern armies, reſuming their former plan of operations, effected, before the end of the month, a junction under the walls of Seringapatam; the forces of the Peiſhwa and of the Nizam encamping alſo at a ſmall diſtance, and furniſhing to the Britiſh army a plentiful ſupply of ſtores and proviſions. On the 7th of February, a general attack was made by moonlight on the lines of the Sultan, which was attended with important effects; Tippoo being compelled to relinquiſh his former advantageous poſition, which covered his capital; and Seringapatam was in conſequence of this defeat cloſely and completely inveſted.

The ſituation of Tippoo being now in the higheſt degree alarming and almoſt hopeleſs, he thought proper to ſend a *Vakeel* to the camp of Lord Cornwallis to ſue for peace; which the Britiſh General granted on the ſevere terms, 1. Of his ceding one half of his dominions to the Allied Powers. 2. Of paying three crores and thirty lacks of rupees, as an indemnification for the expences of the war. 3. The releaſe of all priſoners; and, 4. The delivery of two of his ſons as hoſtages for the due performance of the treaty.

On the 26th of February, the Princes, each mounted on an elephant magnificently capariſoned, proceeded to the Britiſh camp, where they were received by Lord Cornwallis with all poſſible demonſtrations of kindneſs and affection. The eldeſt, Abdul-Kalic, was about ten; the younger, Mirzaud-Deen, about eight years of age. The Princes were attired in white muſlin robes, with red turbans richly adorned with pearls, and they conducted themſelves with a politeneſs and propriety which aſto-

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niſhed the ſpectators. On the 19th of March, the definitive treaty, ſigned by the Sultan, was delivered by the young Princes, with great ſolemnity, into the hands of Lord Cornwallis; but the ſums ſpecified in the ſecond article not being actually paid, the Princes ſtill remained under the ſafe-guard and cuſtody of his Lordſhip.

Though the entire knowledge of theſe tranſactions had not reached England when the affairs of India came under the diſcuſſion of the Houſe of Commons, Mr. Dundas ſtated the general ſituation of the Company to be in the higheſt degree flouriſhing; and, by an intricate deduction of figures, he ſhewed the ſurplus of the Bengal revenue for the preceding year to be no leſs than eleven hundred thouſand pounds. "The flouriſhing ſtate of the revenue was however remarked by Mr. Francis to be not preciſely the ſame thing with the flouriſhing ſtate of the country, which might be ill able to bear the weight of theſe impoſitions. The ſeizures for non-payment of the land revenue were, he ſaid, moſt alarmingly notorious; and he held in his hand, at that moment, two Bengal advertiſements, the one announcing the ſale of ſeventeen villages, the other of forty-two."

This diſcuſſion took place on the 5th of June; and on the 15th the ſeſſion cloſed with a ſpeech from the throne, in which his Majeſty expreſſed to the two Houſes "his great concern at the actual commencement of hoſtilities in different parts of Europe, aſſuring them that his *principal care* would be to preſerve to his people the uninterrupted bleſſings of PEACE."

State of affairs in France.

The ſecond National Aſſembly of France met October 1, 1791. By an act of patriotic diſintereſtedneſs, very indiſcreet in its nature, and pernicious in its conſequences, the late Aſſembly had decreed, that no perſon ſhould be eligible to two ſucceſſive legiſlatures. The preſent Aſſembly, therefore, was neceſſarily deſtitute of the experience, and, according to the general opinion, of the talents likewiſe, of the former. And being choſen at the preciſe period when the national reſentment was at the

the higheſt pitch, they were of a much more anti-monarchical complexion. The opening ſpeech of the King was received nevertheleſs with great applauſe: and the Preſident replied in terms of confidence and reſpect, expreſſing the united wiſh of the Aſſembly to comply with the benevolent and patriotic views of the King. "Such, Sire," ſaid he, "is our duty, ſuch are our hopes, and the gratitude and bleſſings of the people will be our reward." The proſpect, however, was quickly overcaſt. By the King's expreſs deſire, on his acceptance of the Conſtitutional Act, a decree of indemnity had paſſed reſpecting the Emigrants, without any exception whatever, on the condition of their returning to their country within a limited time. But the Agent deputed on this commiſſion to the Princes at Coblentz was not only treated with contempt and inſult, but actually impriſoned, on pretence of his want of paſſport.

In conſequence of this outrage, and of the continuance of the hoſtile preparations of the Emigrants, a decree paſſed the Aſſembly early in November (1791), declaring Prince Louis Staniſlaus Xavier to have forfeited, in caſe he do not return to the kingdom in two months, his eventual claim to the Regency; and, by a ſubſequent decree, the Aſſembly pronounced the French hoſtilely aſſembled on the frontier, guilty of a conſpiracy againſt their country, in caſe they did not return before the 1ſt of January 1792; incurring thereby the forfeiture of their eſtates during their lives, but without prejudice to their children. On the 18th of November a ſevere decree paſſed the Aſſembly againſt the nonjuring Clergy, who were accuſed, with too much reaſon, of ſeditious and *incivic* practices.

To both theſe decrees the King, inſenſible or careleſs of conſequences, oppoſed his royal veto. The Aſſembly, aſtoniſhed at the conduct of the King, addreſſed him to take effectual meaſures to prevent the dangers which menaced the country. The King, in reply, aſſured the Aſſembly, that the Emperor had done all that could be expected from a *faithful ally*, by forbidding and diſperſing all aſſemblages of Emigrants within his ſtates. And he had acquainted the Elector of Treves, that if he did not, before the

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the 15th of January, put a ſtop to all hoſtile diſpoſitions, he ſhould be obliged to conſider him as the enemy of France.

The Aſſembly, however, were not lulled to ſecurity by theſe empty profeſſions. Whatever was done in favor of the Emigrants by the German Princes, was plainly done under the ſanction of the Emperor; and it was now publicly known that the Emperor had, in concert with the King of Pruſſia, ſigned a Convention at Pillnitz in Saxony, Auguſt 1791, in the higheſt degree inimical to France, although no intimation had been given of this tranſaction from the Executive Power to the Aſſembly*.

The ſhort-lived popularity of the King was now vaniſhed, never to return. Addreſſes were preſented to the Aſſembly from every quarter of the kingdom, indicating their diſſatisfaction with the Court, and their confidence in the firmneſs and patriotiſm of the Aſſembly. M. de Montmorin, unable to withſtand the torrent, reſigned his office, and M. de Leſſart ſucceeded.

The republican party, in conſequence of the inceſſant tergiverſations

* On the 24th of Auguſt 1791, the Emperor Leopold, the King of Pruſſia, and the Elector of Saxony, met at the Caſtle of Pillnitz, in Luſatia, belonging to the Elector, where they remained till the 28th. The preciſe articles of the Treaty concluded there have never been authentically divulged, although in ſubſtance perfectly well known. On the 27th of Auguſt, the Emperor delivered to the Count D'Artois, who aſſiſted at the conferences, the following Declaration: "His Majeſty the Emperor, and his Majeſty the King of Pruſſia, having heard the deſires and repreſentations of Monſieur, and of his Royal Highneſs the Count D'Artois, declare jointly that they regard the ſituation in which his Majeſty the King of France actually is, as an object of common intereſt to all the Sovereigns of Europe. They hope that this concern cannot fail to be acknowledged by the Powers whoſe aſſiſtance is claimed; and that, in conſequence, they will not refuſe to employ, jointly with their ſaid Majeſties, the moſt efficacious means, in proportion to their forces, to place the King of France in a ſtate to ſettle in the moſt perfect liberty the foundations of a monarchical government, equally ſuitable to the rights of Sovereigns and the welfare of the French. Then, and in that caſe, their ſaid Majeſties are decided to act quickly, and with one accord, with the forces neceſſary to obtain the common end propoſed. In the mean time they will give ſuitable orders to their troops that they may be ready to put themſelves in motion."——Signed by the Emperor, and the King of Pruſſia.

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of the Monarch, gained great ſtrength; and, forming themſelves into a club or ſociety, aſſembling at the Convent of the Jacobin Friars, recently diſſolved, they acquired the popular, and ſince famous appellation of JACOBINS. The friends of monarchy, on the other hand, had, from a ſimilarity of circumſtances, obtained the name of Feuillans.

* M. Dumourier, in his Memoirs, tells us, that "on the return of the King and Court to Paris after the expedition to Varennes he hoped that they would reflect on their ſituation and the impoſſibility of any longer oppoſing the Conſtitution—that they would remember the ſafety of the King depended on his regaining the confidence of the Nation—that they would contemplate the certainty of his ruin and that of his auguſt houſe—of the Monarchy and of all France, if he relapſed into his former conduct. He was perſuaded that the terrible fault committed by Louis, after having twice perjured himſelf, would ſerve as a leſſon to him; and that his heart would be melted with the generoſity of the French Nation, who had reſtored to him a crown which he had forfeited by the letter and ſpirit of that Conſtitution which he had ſworn to obey.—But ſoon the Court reſumed its former habits, its ſecret correſpondence in foreign countries, and its corruptions, which only laid it at the mercy of the traitors thus corrupted. It recommenced its intrigues, its petty conſpiracies at Paris and in the provinces, its uſeleſs complaints, its ſatirical attacks on the Aſſembly and their labors, which produced incendiary replications on the part of the Jacobins."——During the predominance of that wiſe and popular Adminiſtration of which M. Dumourier formed a part, that Miniſter was ordered to wait upon the Queen on a certain day an hour before the Council met. On being introduced, he found her alone, walking backwards and forwards with haſty ſteps. Advancing towards him at length with an irritated and majeſtic air, ſhe ſpoke as follows, "Sir, you are all-powerful at this moment, but it is through the favor of the people, who ſoon demoliſh their idols. Your ſituation depends upon your conduct. It is ſaid that you poſſeſs great talents. You ought to know that neither the King nor *myſelf* will ſuffer either theſe novelties or the Conſtitution. I declare it frankly to you. Chooſe therefore the part you are to act." Dumourier repreſenting the neceſſity of a cordial concurrence on the part of the King in eſtabliſhing the Conſtitution ſolidly and quietly, the Queen rejoined in a louder and more paſſionate tone of voice: "It will not laſt; therefore take care of yourſelf." Thus blindly and precipitately did this devoted woman preſs forward in the path to deſtruction. —"All the trouble taken by the Miniſters," ſays M. Dumourier, "to recover the love and confidence of the Nation was rendered ineffectual by the activity of the intriguers. It was Penelope's web. The Court undid during the night all the labors of the day." At this period (Spring of 1792) he remarks that the Court of St. James's, notwithſtanding the extreme repugnance of the King of England to the French Nation, conducted itſelf with ſagacity." But ſoon, too ſoon, that ſyſtem of moderation and ſagacity was deſtined to undergo a fatal and dreadful reverſe.

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The designs of Leopold gradually unfolded. On the 21st of December, official notice was given to the French Ambassador at the Court of Vienna, that the Emperor, understanding the Elector of Treves to be under apprehensions from France, had been *constrained* to order Marshal Bender to march to his relief and protection. The King, in communicating this intelligence to the Assembly, affected great surprise at the resolution of the Emperor. "He could not persuade himself that the *good dispositions* of the Emperor were changed; and wished to believe that his Imperial Majesty had been deceived as to the state of facts, and been made to suppose that the Elector had indeed fulfilled all the duties of good neighborhood." About this period M. Louvet, at the head of a grand deputation of the Citizens of Paris, addressed the Assembly in an eloquent speech, urging the Legislative Body to the adoption of vigorous and decisive measures. "Men," says this impassioned and patriotic orator, "who assume the name of Frenchmen, are meditating the ruin of France. They harass us from within—they menace us from without; but soon we trust will the national vengeance, under your direction, display the banners of our armies on the banks of the Rhine.——The Constitution is guarantied by the oaths of the Nation, which can exist only in France. Deign, Gentlemen, to announce this truth to the *Crusaders* of Treves. Tell them that France will never regard as an independent power, or as constituting any part of the French Nation, the assemblage of rebels and vagabonds, who have armed themselves against their country.—Is it not known to the whole world, that, aided by a foreign force, they attempted sacrilegiously to destroy the infant liberty of France? Escaping by an ignominious flight from the rage of the people, they have traversed Europe in order to raise up enemies to France! In return, we issue declarations of pardon—we invite them back into the bosom of their country. They have exerted every effort to reduce us to the condition of slaves—we decree to them the rank and revenue of Princes. In fine, after insulting in every possible mode the majesty of the People, they are at this moment bidding defiance to their power!—We demand then the denunciation of WAR.——Let France arise in arms. Let the myriads of our Citizen Soldiers precipitate themselves upon the demesnes of feudality.

dality. Let them encircle palaces with their bayonets, and depoſit in cottages the declaration of the Rights of Man—that in every clime man, inſtructed and delivered, may reſume the ſentiment of his original dignity.—Then ſhall nations be blended into one; and the grand fraternity of mankind ſhall, upon the altar of Equality, Liberty and Philoſophy, ſwear UNIVERSAL PEACE."

Preparations were now at laſt made for war; but the deſigns of the Emperor not being as yet ripe for execution, the Elector of Treves thought fit on a ſudden to change his tone, and to engage that within eight days the hoſtile aſſemblages within his dominions ſhould be entirely diſperſed.

The public diſcontents and clamors againſt the King riſing very high, and being charged almoſt openly with treachery to the Nation, his Majeſty was pleaſed to write (February 17, 1792) a letter to the Aſſembly, contradicting in very haughty terms theſe injurious reports, propagated by evil-minded people to alarm the public, and calumniate his intentions. "Nothing," he adds, "keeps him at Paris but his WILL; and whenever he has reaſons to leave it, he will not diſguiſe them."

The correſpondence between the Courts of Paris and Vienna being laid before the Aſſembly on the 2d of March, it appeared that the Imperial troops in the Netherlands would ſhortly amount to ninety thouſand men. And the diſpatch of the Prince de Kaunitz (February 17) openly avowed the concert formed with other powers for *preſerving unimpaired* the Monarchy of France; and was throughout expreſſed in terms of menace and hoſtility, which left no doubt as to the ultimate determination of the Imperial Court. The Aſſembly, inflamed with this intelligence, raſhly and precipitately impeached M. de Leſſart for criminal concealment and diſobedience. He was ſucceeded by M. Dumourier.

On the firſt of March (1792) died ſuddenly of a malignant fever, the Emperor Leopold II. He was ſucceeded by his ſon Francis II. under

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the title of the King of Hungary; but he was after a ſhort interval elected Emperor of the Romans. This event made not the leaſt change in the ſyſtem of Auſtrian policy. Scarcely was the new Monarch ſeated on his throne, when he communicated to the Court of Berlin his determination ſtrictly and literally to adhere to the terms of the treaty of Pilnitz. The King of France at this period, in conformity to his weak and wavering policy, made another effort to regain the ground he had loſt, by nominating March 23, after various unpopular diſmiſſions and appointments, M. Roland to the Interior department, M. Claviere to that of Finance, and ſoon after M. Servan to be Miniſter of War—men who poſſeſſed the entire eſteem and confidence of the Nation.

The categorical anſwer of the Court of Vienna at length arrived, inſiſting, "1. on the reſtitution of the feudal rights of the German Princes in Lorraine and Alſace *; 2. the reſtoration of Avignon to the Pope; and 3. upon adequate ſatisfaction that the neighboring powers ſhall have no reaſon for the apprehenſion which aroſe from the preſent weakneſs of the internal Government of France." The firſt two of theſe propoſitions being inadmiſſible, and the laſt unintelligible, war was on the 20th of April declared againſt the King of Hungary.

* All feudal rights having by a decree of the Conſtituent Aſſembly been extinguiſhed throughout France, the German Princes and Prelates who had poſſeſſions in the ceded provinces of Lorraine and Alſace appealed againſt the ſuppreſſion ſo far as it interfered with their claims of ſovereignty. An indemnification was offered by France: and the Dukes of Wirtemberg and Deux-ponts, the Princes of Lowenſtein, Hohenloe, &c. declared themſelves ſatisfied with the propoſed compenſation. Others however, incited by the Court of Vienna, refuſed to liſten to any terms of accommodation; and the pretended injuries done to them were made the chief pretext of reſentment and hoſtility. The articles of the Treaty of Weſtphalia, the abſtract injuſtice of the claims being for argument ſake waved, which relate to the ceſſion of Alſace, are perfectly clear and preciſe. They ſtate that all the rights of the Emperor and the Empire are transferred to France—"ad Coronam Galliæ pertineant cum omnimoda juriſdictione et ſuperioritate ſupremoque dominio—abſque ulla reſervatione." To conſtrue this act of ſovereignty on the part of France as an act of hoſtility againſt Auſtria, ſhews a determination of going to war at all events. With regard to the reſumption of the Territory of Avignon, and the Comtât Venaiſſin, which was ever regarded by the French Nation as a Papal uſurpation, it is evident that the Court of Vienna could have no intereſt or concern in the queſtion.

At

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Amicable overtures of the French Court rejected.

At this criſis a very remarkable letter was written in confidence by the King of France to the King of England, doubtleſs by advice of his preſent popular Miniſters, expreſſing in the moſt flattering terms his obligations to his Britannic Majeſty for his impartial conduct, and making the moſt eager advances to the formation of a treaty of amity and alliance. "Between our two countries," ſays the French Monarch, "new connections ought to take place. I think I ſee the remains of that rivalſhip which has done ſo much miſchief to both, daily wearing away. It becomes two Kings who have diſtinguiſhed their reigns by a conſtant deſire to promote the happineſs of their people, to connect themſelves by ſuch ties as will appear to be durable in proportion as the two nations ſhall have clearer views of their own intereſts. I conſider the ſucceſs of the alliance, in which I wiſh you to concur with as much zeal as I do, as of the higheſt importance. I conſider it as neceſſary to the ſtability of the reſpective conſtitutions, and the internal tranquillity of our two kingdoms; and I will add, that our union ought to COMMAND PEACE to EUROPE."

It was indeed evident that at this period England might have commanded peace upon her own terms. Never did this country appear in a higher and more exalted point of view than at this moment; but from that fatality which has governed almoſt invariably the councils of the preſent reign, ſhe ſuffered the glorious golden opportunity to paſs by unnoticed and unimproved. A diſtant and evaſive anſwer was returned; England, it was affirmed, could not mediate without the aſſent and approbation of both the parties—not recollecting certainly the late armed mediation in favor of the Ottoman Porte. And the patriots of France ſaw clearly from this moment, that the utmoſt they had to expect from the policy of the Engliſh Court was a cold and ſuſpicious neutrality*.

On

* The inimical diſpoſition of the Engliſh Court, with reſpect to the French Revolution, from the very commencement of it, was perfectly well underſtood in France; but it was conſidered as reſtrained and counteracted by the favorable ſentiments of the Engliſh Nation. The King of England is ſtyled by M. Dumourier "the Monarch in Europe the moſt enraged againſt the French Revolution." Amongſt the many petty and puerile indications of this diſpoſition,

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On the commencement of hoſtilities, M. Rochambeau was conſtituted Commander in Chief of the French armies, a ſeparate command being conferred on M. de la Fayette. The war began with an unſucceſsful attack upon the cities of Tournay and Mons. M. Rochambeau, conceiving diſguſt at the conduct of the War Miniſter, reſigned his command to M. Luckner, a veteran officer, by birth a foreigner, and who had acquired great reputation in the German war of 1756—being then in the ſervice of Hanover. The new general did not diſappoint the expectations of the public. On the 18th of June the important town of Courtray ſurrendered to the arms of France; and the example of Courtray was ſoon followed by Menin, Ypres, and St. Ghiſlain: but on a ſudden, to the aſtoniſhment of the world, theſe conqueſts were evacuated, and the French armies retreated to their former ſtations in France. Marſhal Luckner ſubſequently declared, that in this buſineſs he acted in ſtrict conformity to the poſitive orders received from the King, who by this time had again adopted violent and dangerous counſels *. Into this perpetual fluctuation of ſyſtem there enters without doubt at leaſt as much of imbecility as of treachery. Having no clear diſcernment of his own intereſt, and placing no reliance upon his own judgment, he was willing in a ſituation of unparalleled difficulty to make trial of any plan that was recommended to him from any quarter. It was truly ſaid of him, "*La derniere venue avoit preſque toujours raiſon avec lui.*" At the

diſpoſition, the contemptuous inattention of the Engliſh Court to the Decrees of the Aſſembly by which the title of King of France was changed into that of King of the French, as more deſcriptive of the nature of the regal office, and the fooliſh appellation of "Moſt Chriſtian" for ever abrogated, was perhaps the moſt remarkable. Nothing is more difficult to diſguiſe than a rooted ſentiment of affection or hatred. The moſt artful have their unguarded moments, but in this caſe ſcarcely did the Engliſh Court condeſcend to affect concealment.

* On M. Dumouriez's arrival at Douay, July 1792, he learned, "that Marſhal Luckner, after having held a Council of War, though there was no enemy to oppoſe him, had evacuated Courtray and Menin, and was returning to the camp of Valenciennes.—This *ſhameful retreat* evidently proceeded from party ſpirit, in conſequence of ſome GREAT PROJECT broached by La Fayette's faction, of which Luckner, beſet by his own ſtaff-officers, was at once the inſtrument and the dupe." *Memoirs of Dumourier.*

preſent

preſent criſis his characteriſtic weakneſs ſeemed to approach the limits of abſolute infatuation.

On the 6th of June a decree paſſed the Aſſembly, on the ſuggeſtion of the Military Committee, for forming a camp of twenty thouſand men in the vicinity of Paris. To this the King refuſed his ſanction. The decree againſt the refractory clergy, which with ſome variations had a ſecond time paſſed the Aſſembly, was alſo rendered ineffectual by the royal veto; and, to crown all, the King on the 12th of June announced in perſon to the Aſſembly the diſmiſſion of the popular Miniſters Roland, Servan, and Clavicre: and in a ſhort time M. Dumourier alſo reſigned his office. Previous to this event M. Roland wrote that celebrated letter to the King, which, had it not been written otherwiſe in the rolls of Fate or Providence, might have ſaved the Monarch and the Monarchy. "The fermentation is extreme," ſays this firm and virtuous patriot, "in the various parts of the empire; it will burſt upon us with a DREADFUL EXPLOSION, unleſs it be calmed by a well-founded confidence in your Majeſty's intentions: but this confidence will not be eſtabliſhed by mere promiſes and proteſtations—it can reſt upon facts only. The French Nation know their Conſtitution can ſuſtain itſelf; that Government will have all neceſſary aid whenever your Majeſty, wiſhing well to the Conſtitution, ſhall ſupport the Legiſlative Body by cauſing their decrees to be executed, and remove every pretext for popular diſſatisfaction, and every hope of the malcontents. The Revolution is eſtabliſhed in the public mind; it will be completed by the effuſion of blood, if wiſdom do not guard againſt evils which can YET be prevented. If force were recurred to, all France would riſe with indignation; and, diſtracted by the horrors of a civil war, ſhe would diſplay that gloomy energy, the parent of virtues and of crimes, ever fatal to thoſe who provoke it. Public ſafety and your Majeſty's individual happineſs are cloſely linked—no power can divide them. Diſtreſſes and certain misfortune will gather round your throne, if it do not reſt, through yourſelf, on the baſis of the Conſtitution.—Good Heaven!" exclaims this too prophetic monitor, impreſſed no doubt with the mournful idea, that this warning voice would be

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be uttered in vain—"are the Powers of the earth ſtricken with blindneſs, and will they never attend to any counſels but ſuch as lead them on to ruin? I am aware how unwelcome is the language of truth in Courts; but, as a Miniſter honored with your Majeſty's confidence, or inveſted with functions that imply it, no motive can prevent me from fulfilling a duty which I feel to be incumbent upon me."—After this fatal ſtep, a ſucceſſion of Miniſters, or phantoms of Miniſters, paſſed rapidly over the ſtage; the general ſtate of things verged towards anarchy, the pillars of the State ſeemed to bow, and the fabric of Government tottered to its fall.

On the 20th of June an immenſe crowd aſſembled in the gardens of the Tuilleries, and, the gates of the Palace being thrown open, the populace entered into the apartment of the King. One of their leaders, more daring than the reſt, producing a red cap, the ſymbol of Liberty, deſired the King to put it on. He complied; and, in anſwer to the inceſſant and clamorous demands of the mob, he repeatedly declared, "that it was his firm intention to preſerve the Conſtitution inviolate." Though the inſults which the unfortunate Monarch was compelled to endure were grievous, no further injury was ſuſtained, and at the approach of night the people were perſuaded to diſperſe. The King made a formal complaint of this outrage to the Aſſembly; but, in the preſent ſituation of things, they could as eaſily calm the ſtorms of the ocean as the tumults of the people.

At this criſis M. de Fayette, quitting his army without leave or propriety, preſented himſelf unexpectedly at the bar of the Aſſembly, beſeeching, or rather demanding, of them "to ſave their country from ruin, by diſſolving the factious clubs, and inflicting exemplary puniſhment on the late diſturbers of the public peace." By this moſt imprudent and unwarrantable ſtep that General entirely loſt the confidence of the Nation, and incurred for this dangerous and unconſtitutional interference the ſevere cenſure of the Aſſembly; and he returned in a ſhort time full of reſentment and chagrin to his poſt in the army.

On the 1ſt of July it was proclaimed by the Aſſembly, "that the country was in danger." "Your Conſtitution, citizens," ſay they, "reſtores the principles of eternal juſtice; a league of Kings is formed to deſtroy it—their battalions are advancing." The political horizon in France exhibited the deepeſt gloom. On the 14th of July the third anniverſary of the Revolution was celebrated; but inſtead of the animating ſhout of *Vive le Roi!* nothing was heard but the clamorous vociferations of *Vivent les Jacobins! A bas le* VETO.

It was in a ſhort time after this ceremony announced, that the combined armies of Auſtria and Pruſſia had entered France under the Duke of Brunſwic, who had on the 25th of July iſſued a proclamation which ſeemed purpoſely calculated to complete the ruin of the King. In this famous Manifeſto the moſt dreadful vengeance is denounced againſt the French nation. Such of them as are found in arms againſt the troops of the allied powers, are threatened to be puniſhed as REBELS to their King, and deſtroyers of the public tranquillity; and the city of Paris, in caſe the King, Queen, and Royal Family are not immediately *ſet at liberty*, is to be delivered up to the horrors of military execution *.

Depoſition of the King of France.

This filled up the meaſure of the popular fury. It was not doubted but the King had authorized the uſe thus made of his name, and matters were almoſt immediately brought to a criſis. A letter addreſſed to the

* In the Manifeſto of the Duke of Brunſwic the Firſt National Aſſembly is called a "criminal Aſſembly." In another place it is ſaid that "the Monarchy was overturned by a mad and tumultuous Aſſembly." Speaking of the arreſt at Varennes, the Manifeſto declares, "that the King was obliged to return to Paris, there to be ſuſpended from his authority by a decree of the Uſurping Aſſembly; as if any power on earth had a power of paſſing ſo infamous and odious a ſentence. To regain his power, the King ſigned an acceptance of the Conſtitution; but his hand was in chains, and the act which he performed was invalid. All Powers, filled with indignation at this horrid ſpectacle, had already concerted meaſures for avenging the honor of the diadem. His late Imperial Majeſty Leopold II. by his CIRCULAR LETTER written from Padua invited all the Powers of Europe to form a confederation for this purpoſe. The CONVENTION of PILNITZ determined thoſe circumſtances which made their Imperial and Pruſſian Majeſties have recourſe to arms."

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Aſſembly, in the uſual ſtyle of the royal declarations, containing the ſtrongeſt proteſtations of attachment to the Conſtitution, and an abſolute diſavowal of the ſentiments contained in the manifeſto, was treated by the Legiſlative Body with the utmoſt contempt. A motion for ſending it to the 83 departments was negatived. It was ſtyled in debate, without reſerve, a maſs of falſehood and inſincerity; and it was affirmed, that in the preſent moment of danger, far from confiding in the King, his duplicity and treachery ought to be made known to the whole nation *. On the 3d of Auguſt M. Petion, at the head of the ſections of Paris, appeared at the bar of the National Aſſembly, to demand the DECHÉANCE of the King. A petition of the ſame tenor was preſented by a countleſs multitude on the 6th, and the Aſſembly had appointed the 10th of Auguſt to decide upon this grand queſtion; but the diſcuſſion was

* The treachery of the King might *at this time* without heſitation be inferred from the general tenor of his conduct ſince the period of his acceptance of the Conſtitution; from his ſyſtematic abuſe of the VETO; from the defenceleſs ſtate of the Kingdom, and more eſpecially of the principal fortreſſes on the German frontier, at the commencement of the War—from the recall of Marſhal Luckner, and the myſterious military movements of M. Fayette, now in cloſe and intimate union with the Court. But it is now no longer a queſtion. For a ſhort time after the appointment of the patriotic Miniſters Roland, Claviere and Servan, as Madame Roland informs us, they ſeemed perſuaded of the King's ſincerity. He appeared ſo anxious to inſpire them with confidence, that Roland declared "if the King was not an honeſt man, he was the moſt arrant cheat in the Kingdom"—adding—"Diſſimulation can hardly go ſo far." But they were ſoon convinced that they were in a fatal error. At times indeed they thought that the King appeared impreſſed with the force of their reaſonings; but at the ſubſequent meeting of Council he was hardened into reſiſtance, and the ſame round of argument was urged with ceaſeleſs and unavailing ſolicitude. Servan had the boldneſs to declare to the King "that his weakneſs was criminal, and would never be a ſhield againſt the indignation of the People." No regiſter of the tranſactions and deliberations of the Council was permitted by the King, nor any Secretary allowed, although expreſsly enjoined by the Conſtitution and repeatedly inſiſted on by the Miniſters. "Want of ability," ſays the celebrated and illuſtrious Woman already cited, "had diſabled him from preventing the eſtabliſhment of the new Government, but honeſty alone would have been ſufficient to have ſaved him, if he had been ſincere in executing when he had accepted the Conſtitution. Unhappily for himſelf, with one hand to ſupport what he was overthrowing with the other was his crooked policy; and this perfidious conduct firſt excited miſtruſt, and then finiſhed by kindling general indignation."

dreadfully

dreadfully anticipated. Early on the morning of the 10th the palace of the Tuilleries was attacked by the Pariſian populace; and being reſolutely defended by the Swiſs Guards, a moſt bloody conflict took place, which terminated in the total defeat and deſtruction of the Guards, and the complete triumph of the Pariſians. The King at the commencement of the engagement had—not certainly in the ſpirit of Henry IV.—made his retreat acroſs the gardens of the Tuilleries, with the Queen, to the Hall of the Aſſembly, who continued their ſitting in the midſt of this unexampled ſcene of terror and confuſion, and the inceſſant noiſe of muſquetry and cannon. All freedom of deliberation was now at an end. A decree paſſed without debate, declaring the Executive Power ſuſpended, and ſummoning a National Convention to meet on the 20th of September. The King and Queen meanwhile were committed cloſe priſoners to the Temple. A moſt ſpirited juſtificatory declaration of the meaſure of ſuſpenſion was publiſhed by the Aſſembly, concluding with theſe words: "We have diſcharged our duty in ſeizing with courage on the only means of preſerving liberty that occurred to our conſideration; we ſhall be ſpared remorſe at leaſt, nor ſhall we have to reproach ourſelves with having ſeen a means of ſaving our country and not having embraced it."

On the following day a new Proviſional Executive Council was appointed, conſiſting of the popular Miniſters Roland, Servan, and Claviere, diſmiſſed by the King; to whom was added M. Le Brun, as Miniſter of Foreign Affairs. M. Luckner, M. Dumourier, now acting in the capacity of General in the Army, and the other commanders, ſubmitted with readineſs to the authority of the Aſſembly. M. Fayette alone attempted reſiſtance; but finding himſelf wholly unſupported by his troops, he was obliged to make a precipitate eſcape. Being intercepted in his flight, and delivered up to the Pruſſians, he was committed cloſe priſoner to the fortreſs of Spandau, where he has been treated with a ſeverity not to be wholly aſcribed to the part taken by him in the *late* Revolution. The combined armies of Auſtria and Pruſſia in the mean time made a rapid and alarming progreſs. The town of Longwy ſurrendered on the 21ſt of

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Auguſt, and in a few days afterwards that of Verdun; yet even in theſe circumſtances the National Aſſembly had the magnanimity to declare war againſt the King of Sardinia, who had given repeated and flagrant proofs of his hoſtile diſpoſition towards France.

Since the depoſition of the King the priſons had been filled with perſons accuſed or ſuſpected of diſaffection to the exiſting Government; and a ſort of phrenſy ſeizing the populace on the expected approach of the Duke, the priſons were forced open on the night of the 2d of September, and a moſt horrid and indiſcriminate maſſacre of the priſoners took place. It is ſaid that, application being made on this occaſion to M. Danton, Miniſter of JUSTICE, to interpoſe his authority in order to put a ſtop to theſe deteſtable enormities, he replied, "When the people have done their part, I will perform mine."

On the 20th of September the National Convention met at Paris, and a decree immediately paſſed by acclamation for the eternal abolition of royalty in France. Such had been the inſidious negligence of the Court, that the country was wholly unprepared for its defence; and M. Dumourier, to whom the deſtiny of France was now entruſted, could ſcarcely oppoſe thirty thouſand men to the army of the Duke of Brunſwic, conſiſting of eighty thouſand. With this ſmall force he determined to make his ſtand at the Foreſt of Argonne, the paſſes of which, after repeated attempts, the Duke found himſelf unable to force. The French army receiving continual reinforcements, and the Pruſſians ſuffering under the united evils of ſickneſs and famine, he was compelled to the humiliating neceſſity of commencing his retreat on the 1ſt of October, and by the 18th the Auſtrian and Pruſſian armies had completely evacuated France *. By this time the French arms were triumphant in every quarter.

General

* The unanimous opinion of a Council of War, convened by General Dumourier on the progreſs of the Pruſſian army, as the General himſelf informs us, was to retire behind the Marne. Of this, on the breaking up of the Council, he declared to his friend General Thouvenot his decided diſapprobation; then, pointing to the Foreſt of Argonne, in the map, "Behold," ſaid he, "the Thermopylæ of France!" The Foreſt of Argonne, extending in length 13 leagues

General Monteſquiou, entering Savoy on the 20th of September, was received with joyful acclamation at Chamberri the capital, and the whole country ſubmitted almoſt without reſiſtance. On the other ſide, the

leagues from Sedan eaſt to St. Menehould weſt, ſeparates the Biſhoprics, i. e. Metz, Toul, and Verdun—a very rich and fertile country—from Champagne Pouilleuſe, the moſt frightful deſert in all France. Of the five paſſes of the foreſt, thoſe of Croix-aux-Bois, and Chêne Populeux, to the eaſtward, were forced by General Clairfait; on which General Dumourier abandoned the important defile of Grand-Pré to avoid being incloſed, and retreated to the ſtrong Camp of St. Menehould. The paſſes of Chalade and Iſlettes, on the great road from Verdun, were heroically defended by General Dillon. On the 16th of September the Pruſſians entered Grand-Pré, and took poſt on the heights of La-Lune. But the poſition of the French army being adjudged, after much deliberation, impregnable; and the attempt to proceed to Paris, defended by her myriads of ſoldier-citizens, leaving a force now increaſed to 60,000 men in the rear, appearing in the higheſt degree raſh and romantic; no alternative remained but the mortifying meaſure of retreat. Inſtead of parading before the Camp of St. Menehould, the Duke of Brunſwic would have exhibited, ſays M. Dumourier, a deciſive ſtroke of genius, had he advanced with his whole army by a rapid march to Chalons, where the French had eſtabliſhed their magazines. M. Dumourier muſt, in that caſe, have relinquiſhed the ſtrong Camp of St. Menehould, and, croſſing the Marne, have endeavored by great celerity of movement to gain the banks of the Seine. The Duke of Brunſwic is charged, by his ardent and active opponent, with being "too ſlow and methodical." Theſe details cannot be unintereſting to thoſe whoſe boſoms glow with the ſacred flame of Liberty, and who reflect that on the iſſue of this ever memorable campaign depended the fate of France, of Europe, and of the whole civilized world. The noble Ode of Buchanan on the retreat of the Emperor Charles V. from Metz, addreſſed to Henry II. King of France, is admirably applicable to the retreat of Brunſwic, and the triumph of Dumourier.

"Tu bellicoſæ dux bone Galliæ
Sperare promptam cuncta ſuperbiam
Compeſcuiſti; tu dediſti
Indomito laqueos furori.

Quis vultus illi? qui dolor intimis
Arſit medullis? Spiritus impotens
Cum clauſtra ſpectaret Moſellæ
Et juvenum intrepidam coronam.

Sic unda rupes ſævit in obvias;
Clauſus caminis ignis inæſtuat:
Hyrcana ſic tigris cruento
Dente ſuas furit in catenas."

fortreſs

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fortreſs of Montalban and the entire county of Nice were conquered by General Anſelm. On the banks of the Rhine General Cuſtine diſtinguiſhed himſelf by the moſt brilliant ſucceſſes—reducing ſucceſſively the cities of Worms, Spire, Mentz, and Frankfort.

Early in November General Dumourier entered the Auſtrian Netherlands; and on the 5th of November, a day ſacred to Liberty, attacking the Auſtrian entrenchments at Jemappe near Mons, he gained a moſt complete and ſignal victory, the conſequences of which were deciſive as to the fate of the Netherlands. Mons inſtantly ſurrendered. Tournay, Oſtend, Ghent, and Antwerp ſoon followed; and on the 14th the French General made his triumphal entry into Bruſſels. And before the end of the year, the whole of the Auſtrian Low Countries, Luxembourg only excepted, together with the city and territory of Liege, were ſubjected by the victorious arms of France. Such were the aſtoniſhing effects of that glorious enthuſiaſm, which can only be inſpired by the love of FREEDOM *!

* Long had the Giant-form on Gallia's plains
Inglorious ſlept, unconſcious of his chains;
Round his large limbs were wound a thouſand ſtrings,
By the weak hands of Confeſſors and Kings;
O'er his cloſed eyes a triple veil was bound,
And ſteely rivets locked him to the ground:
While ſtern Baſtille with iron cage inthralls
His folded limbs, and hems in marble walls.
—Touch'd by the patriot flame, he rent amaz'd
The flimſy bonds, and round and round him gaz'd;
Starts up from earth, above the admiring throng
Lifts his coloſſal form, and towers along:
High o'er his foes his hundred arms he rears,
Ploughſhares his ſwords, and pruning-hooks his ſpears;
Calls to the good and brave with voice that rolls
Like Heaven's own thunder round the echoing poles;
Gives to the winds his banner broad unfurl'd,
And gathers in its ſhade the living WORLD.

DARWIN'S BOTANIC GARDEN.

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1792. Injurious decree of the French Convention.

In the midſt of the exultation occaſioned by this unexampled ſeries of triumphs, a decree was paſſed by acclamation in the Aſſembly, November 19, 1792, in the following terms:—"The National Convention declare, in the name of the French Nation, that they will grant fraternity and aſſiſtance to all thoſe people who wiſh to procure liberty. And they charge the Executive Power to ſend orders to the Generals to give aſſiſtance to ſuch people; and to defend citizens who have ſuffered and are now ſuffering in the cauſe of Liberty." This famous decree, which deſerved to be conſidered in no other light than as a magnificent and empty vaunt, was productive of very ſtrange and ſerious conſequences. Two other decrees of the Aſſembly alſo demand a ſpecific notice: the one erecting the duchy of Savoy into an 84th department of the French Republic, contrary to a fundamental article of the Conſtitution, by which ſhe renounced all foreign conqueſt: the other, on the capture of Antwerp, declaratory of the freedom of navigation on the river Scheldt.

Before we revert to the affairs of Great Britain, it may be proper tranſiently to notice the ſituation of the different Powers of Europe not actually engaged in the *cruſade* againſt France.

Great pains had been taken by the Courts of Vienna and St. Peterſburg to engage the Republic of Poland in the laſt war againſt Turkey; and the King of Poland had been perſonally preſent at the memorable interview of Cherſon. But the ſervile dependency on Ruſſia, in which the Republic had been held ſince the acceſſion of Staniſlaus, was odious to the Poles; and a new intereſt—that of PRUSSIA—had lately gained the aſcendency in the Diet, under the favorable auſpices of which Poland ſeemed for a time to recover ſome ſhare of importance in the European ſcale of power. The propoſition of war was rejected; and a treaty of amity and defenſive alliance concluded with Pruſſia February 1790. In the Diet held at Warſaw May 1791, a new conſtitutional code was announced and promulgated, to the great joy of the nation, deeply ſenſible of the evils reſulting from her former inefficient and defective

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defective form of government. By the new *formula* the crown of Poland was declared to be hereditary, and the executive power veſted ſolely in the Monarch. The privileges of the ariſtocracy were circumſcribed within narrower limits, and the bleſſings of liberty in ſome degree extended to the maſs of the people. The King of Pruſſia, by his Ambaſſador at Warſaw, formally congratulated the King and the Republic of Poland on this happy event. "After the lively intereſt," ſays this Monarch in his letter to the Count de Goltz, "which I have always taken in the happineſs of the Republic, and the confirmation of her new Conſtitution, I perfectly applaud the deciſive ſtep which the Nation has juſt taken, and which I regard as infinitely ſuited to the conſolidation of her happineſs. I charge you to teſtify in the moſt expreſſive manner my moſt SINCERE FELICITATIONS to the King and Marſhals of the Diet, and to all thoſe who have contributed to this great work." But ſoon the ſcene totally changed. The Empreſs of Ruſſia declared her entire diſapprobation of the late Revolution, and, as the guarantee of the former Conſtitution, ordered an army of one hundred thouſand men to enter the territories of the Republic.

Infamous invaſion of Poland by the Ruſſians.

Finding no force ſufficient to ſtop, or ſcarcely to impede, their progreſs, the Ruſſian Generals proceeded to Warſaw; and the whole country being now in their hands, the new Conſtitution was forcibly and totally annulled at the enſuing Diet of Grodno. By the 6th article of the Treaty of Alliance between Poland and Pruſſia, his Pruſſian Majeſty expreſsly ſtipulated, that if any foreign Power ſhould aſſume the right of interfering in the internal affairs of the Republic, he would firſt employ in its behalf his moſt efficacious good offices, and if theſe ſhould fail of effect, and hoſtilities againſt Poland be the conſequence, he would aſſiſt the Republic with his forces in the form and manner ſpecified in the treaty." But far from interpoſing in their favor as a friend or ally, this Monarch, with unbluſhing and unexampled perfidy, embraced eagerly the opportunity of profiting by their diſtreſs, and concluded with the Empreſs a ſecond partition treaty, by which the provinces of Volhinia, Podolia, and the Ukraine, with the half of Lithuania which remained

Deteſtable perfidy of the King of Pruſſia.

remained to Poland on the former diviſion, were aſſigned to Ruſſia. And nearly the whole of Great Poland, with the cities of Dantzic and Thorn, was allotted to the King of Pruſſia, from whom this new acquiſition of territory received the appellation of South Pruſſia. The Manifeſto of the Court of Berlin publiſhed on this occaſion, and in vindication of theſe proceedings, declared with effrontery unparalleled, "that the Poles, miſled by deſigning men, had eſtabliſhed a government ſubverſive of all order in ſociety, and deſtructive of all happineſs amongſt individuals*. All theſe outrages and uſurpations the Diet of Grodno, reduced to the loweſt ſtate of national humiliation, was ultimately compelled to ratify. The declaration (dated September 1793) of the King and Diet of Poland on this mournful occaſion, containing at once the act of ceſſion required by the Courts of Peterſburg and Berlin, and the proteſt of the Aſſembly againſt the validity of their own act, is, to hearts that beat high with the love of virtue and of liberty, unſpeakably intereſting and affecting.—"Threatened," as they ſay, "with univerſal deſolation and deſtruction; with inſults heaped upon their heads; ſurrounded by foreign troops; their perſonal freedom violated by the arreſt of their members dragged ignominiouſly from the midſt of them," thus they at length conclude:—"I, therefore, the King of Poland, enervated by age, and ſinking under the accumulated weight of ſo many vexations and ſuch multiplied oppreſſions—and we, alſo, the Members of the Diet, declare, that, being unable, even by the ſacrifice of our lives, to relieve our country from the yoke of its oppreſſors, we CONSIGN it to POSTERITY, truſting that means may then be found to reſcue it from oppreſſion and ſlavery. Such means are unhappily not in our power. Other countries

* Yet has this *bourreau couronné*, this ſceptred perjured villain, been for a ſeries of years the favorite ally of the Court of Great Britain: and, in divers of His Majeſty's moſt gracious ſpeeches from the throne, he has been complimented with the appellation of "MY GOOD BROTHER!" This alliance and friendſhip has at lengh terminated as might well be expected. The King of Pruſſia, after draining the Engliſh Nation of immenſe ſums under the name of *ſubſidies*, has treacherouſly deſerted the cauſe in which he was jointly with Great Britain engaged. But it has been the fate of the Cabinet of St. James's for a long time paſt to be the bully of half the Courts in Europe, and the dupe of the other half.

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neglect us. While they reprobate the violations which one country is alleged to have committed againſt liberty, they can ſee not only with apathy but with approbation the outrages which have been committed againſt Poland. We have done. We accede, for the reaſons above mentioned, to the treaty laid before us, though it is contrary to our wiſhes, our ſentiments, and our rights." It is difficult to reſtrain within the dignified limits of hiſtoric decorum the feelings of indignation which ariſe on the contemplation of this moſt infamous of all political tranſactions. If on the one hand the wild licentiouſneſs of democracy never diſplayed itſelf in a form ſo dreadful as at the preſent period—on the other, the pride and perfidy, the tyranny and treachery of Courts and Kings have never appeared in a light ſo deſtructive and deteſtable; and certain it is, that the tide of political and philoſophical opinion, ſuch as is the uſual precurſor of great changes, has ſet ſtrongly and alarmingly againſt them.

The affairs of Sweden, ſince the termination of the war with Ruſſia, remained in a perplexed and critical ſituation. The King of Sweden ſummoned, in the beginning of 1792, a Diet to meet at Gefle, a ſolitary and obſcure place on the borders of the Bothnic Gulf, 70 miles from Stockholm. During the ſitting of the Diet the town was filled with troops. Notwithſtanding theſe precautions, the demands and expectations of the King were by no means anſwered; and the Diet was finally diſſolved in anger. On his return to Stockholm he was aſſaſſinated at a maſquerade by an officer of the name of Engerſtrom, actuated by the enthuſiaſm of public and the rancor of perſonal revenge. He was ſucceeded by his ſon Guſtavus IV. a youth of fourteen years of age: and the Regency was veſted in the hands of the Duke of Sudermania, brother to the late King, who has conducted himſelf in his high office with ſingular prudence and propriety. It was generally underſtood that Guſtavus III. had acceded to the CONSPIRACY of SOVEREIGNS againſt France, and had even propoſed to take the command of the combined armies in perſon; but the Regent maintained a ſtrict and ſcrupulous neutrality. The ſame wiſe plan was alſo ſteadily purſued

King of Sweden aſſaſſinated.

by

by Denmark, under the excellent and admirable adminiſtration of Count Bernſtorff. The Italian and Helvetic Republics adopted the ſame ſafe and ſalutary ſyſtem. Spain alone appeared wavering and indeciſive, agitated by the alternate fluctuations of policy and paſſion *.

In

* Of the eleven Monarchies of Europe, nine have either in the earlier or later ſtages of the Gallic Revolution declared their decided hoſtility to it—Denmark and Poland only having maintained a ſtrict and unvarying neutrality. The celebrated Governments of Venice and Berne have, by adopting the ſame policy, furniſhed an additional proof of the juſtneſs of that maxim which aſcribes wiſdom to ariſtocracy as its eſſential characteriſtic.——The Revolution of France being the greateſt event which has happened in Europe for ſeveral centuries, it is not wonderful that many religiouſly diſpoſed ſhould have found or fancied expreſs predictions relating to it in the myſtical books of Scripture. In the eleventh chapter of the celebrated prophecy of the Revelations we read of a "great voice heard from heaven, and that at the ſame hour there was a great *earthquake;* by which in prophetic language, as the commentators inform us, is always underſtood a political convulſion—And that the tenth part of the city—i. e. Chriſtendom, fell; and in the earthquake were ſlain of men—or, more literally, of the names of men, i. e. of titular and honorary diſtinctions, 7000—and the remnant were affrighted, and gave glory to the God of Heaven." It is ſingular that this paſſage ſhould have been long ago interpreted, by Archbiſhop Uſher and other learned theologians, of the kingdom of France: and the time in which this great event was to take place has even been referred with a ſtrangely fortunate preciſion to the end of the 18th century. Others of a different caſt, *profane perſons*, ludicrouſly pretended to find the Houſe of Hanover, which has taken the lead in what many conſider as a deteſtable conſpiracy againſt the rights of man, and the armorial bearing of which is a *White Horſe*, typified in another part of the prophecy, where it is ſaid, "I looked, and behold a pale Horſe, and his name that ſat on him was Death; and Hell followed with him—and power was given unto them over the fourth part of the Earth to kill with the ſword and with hunger"——alluding *no doubt* to the infernal attempt to maſſacre or ſtarve the French Nation into unconditional ſubmiſſion, and the unqualified reſtoration of deſpotiſm. But, excluſive of the aid of ſupernatural information, and notwithſtanding the abject ſtate of political degradation to which France under the antient Government was reduced, there exiſted ſymptoms which indicated to men of deep ſagacity, living at very diſtant periods, the probability of her ultimately throwing off the yoke of deſpotiſm by ſome grand and deciſive effort. The prediction of Voltaire has been cited in another part of this work. There is in the Oceana of Harrington a paſſage no leſs remarkable; and, allowing for the quaintneſs of expreſſion, well deſerving of attention and admiration. "Although the people of the world," ſays this philoſopher, "in the dregs of the Gothic Empire be yet tumbling and toſſing upon the bed of ſickneſs, they CANNOT DIE. Nor is there any means of recovery for them but by antient prudence, whence by neceſſity it muſt come to paſs that this dreg be better known.——If France, Italy, and Spain were not all

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1792. English Ambaſſador recalled from France.

In conſequence of the tranſactions of the 10th of Auguſt, and the virtual depoſition of the French Monarch, Lord Gower, the Engliſh Ambaſſador at Paris, received orders from the Court of London to quit the kingdom, on the ſlight and frivolous pretext, that, the functions of royalty being ſuſpended, his miſſion was at an end. This recall was conſidered by the leading men in France, as a certain and very ominous indication of the enmity of the Britiſh Court: nevertheleſs, as a demonſtration of their moderation, and ſolicitude for peace, M. Chauvelin the French Ambaſſador ſtill remained in London, though from this period unacknowledged in any public or authoriſed capacity. The recall of the

ſick, all corrupted together, there would be none of them ſo: for the ſick would not be able to withſtand the ſound, nor the ſound to preſerve their health without curing of the ſick. The firſt of theſe Nations (which, if you ſtay her leiſure, will in my mind be FRANCE) that recovers the health of antient prudence ſhall certainly *govern the world*. For what did Italy when ſhe had it? And as you were in that, ſo ſhall you in the like caſe be reduced to a province. I do not ſpeak at random." Harrington's Oceana, p. 188, quarto edition. Certainly this penetrating obſerver did not expect what he ſtyles "the health of antient prudence" to be reſtored without the moſt violent previous convulſions. But dreadful as the exceſſes to which this Revolution has given birth appear to us, who are co-temporaries and almoſt ſpectators of the ſcene; when ages of happineſs and of freedom ſhall have rolled away, future Livys and Salluſts will doubtleſs by the magic of their pencil ſo ſoften and meliorate the dark and gloomy tints of the picture, as rather to heighten than diminiſh the grandeur and intereſt of the general effect. It is a great miſtake to ſuppoſe that the hiſtory of the world exhibits nothing equal to the atrocities committed during the revolutionary criſis in France. Can we forget the horrid proſcriptions of Marius and Sylla?—or thoſe ſtill more ſanguinary of the infamous Triumvirs? To ſay nothing of the barbarous trophies of Aſiatic conquerors, their bleeding hecatombs and pyramids of heads—have we not read in European Annals of the Sicilian Veſpers and the Maſſacre of St. Bartholomew; of the 70,000 murders of an Alva; of the expulſion of the Moriſcoes and the *dragonades* of the Huguenots?—or, to approach nearer to our own times, of the unutterable horrors perpetrated by the command of a modern Catherine of Medicis, at Oczakow, at Iſmail and WARSAW? Human nature has ſurely appeared during the progreſs of the Revolution in France in no worſe a form than it hath done in times paſt, in other ages and countries, on occaſions equally calculated to excite and inflame the tempeſt of the paſſions. And there remains this conſolation in the preſent inſtance, that the crimes committed in preſſing forward to the attainment of the great and glorious object of this national conflict are comparatively the crimes of a few; and that the happineſs ultimately reſulting from it will probably exceed beyond all power of calculation the miſery through which and by which it is to be purchaſed.

Engliſh

Engliſh Ambaſſador at this critical moment, on the ground ſtated by the Engliſh Court, ſeemed to imply, that appointments of this nature are a mere matter of form and compliment between Sovereigns; but if Ambaſſadors are conſidered in a higher and juſter light, as the neceſſary means of intercourſe between nation and nation, never could the recall of an Ambaſſador take place at a period when his preſence and ſervices were more indiſpenſable.

Unſolicited offer of aſſiſtance to the States General.

On the ſucceſs of the French arms in Flanders, the Court of London gave a ſtill farther proof of their inimical diſpoſition, by making an eager, officious, and unſolicited offer of aſſiſtance to the States General in caſe of need. But their High Mightineſſes declared themſelves under no apprehenſion of attack. Alſo, in direct violation of the Commercial Treaty, an excluſive embargo was laid on veſſels freighted with corn for France.

Embargo on corn veſſels freighted for France.

The cauſes of the depoſition of the French Monarch, and the nature of the provocations and injuries which preceded and produced that event, not being ſufficiently underſtood in England, it made an impreſſion very unfavorable upon the minds of the generality of the people, already biaſſed and perverted by the inflammatory declamations of Mr. Burke and his partiſans. And the horrid maſſacres of September completely alienated their minds from the Revolution, although theſe deteſtable enormities could not in any rational ſenſe be ſaid to originate in the Revolution, but merely and ſolely in the oppoſition made to its eſtabliſhment. The nation was on a ſudden ſtruck with terror at the idea of any political innovation of any kind; and the very name of REFORM became the ſubject of violent and indiſcriminate reprobation.

Terrors of innovation.

Under the impreſſion of this prevailing prepoſſeſſion, an aſſociation openly countenanced by Government was formed in London for the protection of liberty and property againſt Republicans and Levellers; and an innumerable multitude of pamphlets, in the popular form of letters, dialogues and narratives, were circulated by this means throughout

Aſſociations formed.

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out the kingdom, inculcating an unreſerved ſubmiſſion to Government, and the old exploded principles of Toryiſm and High Churchiſm. In one of the moſt notorious of theſe tracts it was urged in favor of Monarchy, "that the King is in Scripture called the LORD'S ANOINTED; but who," ſay theſe profound politicians, "ever heard of an ANOINTED REPUBLIC*?"

The rage of aſſociating ſpread rapidly through the kingdom; and in every county, and almoſt every town, reſolutions were ſubſcribed ſtrongly expreſſive of loyalty and attachment to the King and Conſtitution, and abhorrence of all levelling and republican doctrines. The populace entering with violence into theſe ſentiments, and their paſſions being by the methods now put in practice dangerouſly excited, the cry of CHURCH and KING was vociferated with tremendous clamors from the Tamar to the Tweed; from the Cliffs of Dover to the Hills of Cheviot †.

Previous

* In another of theſe Government libels, it is aſſerted with an incomparable mixture of impudence and abſurdity, that the PRESBYTERIANS had been the cauſe of the diſturbances in America; that by them the expences of the AMERICAN WAR had been incurred!" It is melancholy to ſee a great nation become the victim of deceit and deluſion. But when the governors of a country, inſtead of endeavoring to diſpel the clouds and darkneſs which obſcure the political horizon, are ſolicitous only to excite and inflame the paſſions of the people, and convert them to their own ſiniſter purpoſes, what miſery and calamity may not be expected to enſue!—One Reeves, a creature of Government and Law Clerk in Lord Hawkeſbury's Office, being at the head of this Aſſociation, the members of it acquired the appellation of *Reevites*; and the nation ſeemed for a time, as the wits on the oppoſite ſide remarked, nearly *bereeved* of its ſenſes.

† "INNOVATION," ſays Lord Bacon with his uſual ſagacity, "is not more turbulent than a froward retention of cuſtom.—Surely every medicine is an innovation; and he that will not apply new remedies muſt expect new evils; for TIME is the greateſt innovator: and if time of courſe alter things to the worſe, and wiſdom and counſel ſhall not alter them to the better, what ſhall be the end?" "There is," as Helvetius obſerves, "a deſcription of men with hearts incapable of virtuous emotion, furiouſly enraged againſt every one who wiſhes to convulſe the empire of Impoſture—who aim againſt him the very paſſions themſelves deſpiſe, and terrify weak minds by inceſſant harangues on the dangers of novelty or innovation.—As if truth muſt neceſſarily baniſh virtue out of the world; as if every thing partaking of its nature was ſo productive of vice that no one can be virtuous who is not unenlightened; as if the very eſſential qualities of morality demonſtrated this idea, and conſequently that the ſtudy

Previous to this extraordinary diſplay of loyalty, it had been not unuſual for the violent zealots of Republicaniſm in England to tranſmit addreſſes to the Convention, declaratory in high-flown terms of their applauſe and admiration. The moſt remarkable of theſe, entitled "An Addreſs from ſeveral Patriotic Societies in England," was preſented November 7, at the bar of the Convention, containing, in addition to the accuſtomed complimentary expreſſions, the moſt indecent and indefenſible reflections upon the Government and Conſtitution of their own country. "Whilſt foreign plunderers ravage your territories (ſay theſe Addreſſers), an *oppreſſed part of mankind*, forgetting their own evils, are ſenſible only of yours, and addreſs their fervent prayers to the GOD of the univerſe that he may be favorable to your cauſe, with *which theirs is ſo intimately connected*.—Degraded by an oppreſſive ſyſtem of inquiſition, the inſenſible but continual encroachments of which quickly deprived this nation of its boaſted liberty, and reduced it almoſt to that abject ſtate of ſlavery from which you have ſo glorioufly emancipated yourſelves—FIVE THOUSAND Engliſh citizens, fired with indignation, have the courage to ſtep forward to reſcue their country from that opprobrium which has been thrown on it by the baſe conduct of thoſe who are inveſted with power.—We ſee with concern that the Elector of Hanover unites his troops to thoſe of traitors and robbers: but the King of England will do well to remember that England is not Hanover. *Should* HE forget this, WE will not forget it." The Preſident of the Convention, in his anſwer to this daring and inſolent Addreſs, had the extreme indiſcretion to uſe expreſſions full of reſpect and complacency. "The ſentiments of five thouſand Britons," ſaid he, "devoted openly to the cauſe of mankind, exiſt *without doubt* in the hearts of all the freemen in England." And what is ſtill more ſurpriſing, copies of the Addreſs were ordered to be ſent to all the armies and departments of the Republic.

of this ſcience was prejudicial to ſociety; they wiſh to make the people venerate received and eſtabliſhed prejudices, in the ſame manner as the Egyptians of old were kept proſtrate before the ſacred crocodile of Memphis."

The

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The true key to this moſt impolitic, raſh, and inſulting conduct of the Convention, ſo far as the acts of a democratic aſſembly, too oft proceeding from the impulſe of the moment, can be traced to ſyſtem, is, that, in conſequence of the number of oſtentatious but really inſignificant addreſſes preſented at their bar, they were moſt egregiouſly deceived with reſpect to the ſentiments of the people of England at this period; and they fancied that, by gratifying their reſentment againſt the Court, they ſhould at the ſame time recommend themſelves to the Nation at large, with whom it is certain that they ardently wiſhed to cultivate a good underſtanding *.

The decree of the 19th of November filled up the meaſure of their iniquity in the view of the Court of London; and in combination with the obnoxious addreſſes, it was regarded as little leſs than an act of open aggreſſion. Certainly the Engliſh Government had juſt cauſe of reſent-

* "During the whole of our journey," ſays an intelligent traveller (December 1792), "we remarked that the apprehenſion of a war with England was peculiarly painful to the French. Though fluſhed with their late ſucceſſes, and confident againſt a world in arms, it was evident there was nothing they dreaded more than ſuch an event; not merely on account of the miſchief that might enſue, but becauſe it would force them to regard as enemies the only nation in Europe they conſidered as their friends.—All along the road they anxiouſly aſked us what we thought would be the conſequence of the armament in England? We frankly told them we preſumed it would be war; and generally obſerved a moment of ſilence and dejection follow the delivery of our opinion. The imminence of hoſtilities, however, in no degree diminiſhed the reſpect they ſhewed us as Engliſhmen: and not only we did not meet with any thing like an inſult in the whole of our tour, but, on the contrary, we experienced every where particular kindneſs and attention. They ſeemed eager to court our good opinion; and frequently begged us not to aſcribe to a whole nation the faults of individuals, and not to charge their Government with diſorders its preſent ſtate of vacillation rendered it incompetent to repreſs.—I confeſs I ſhould never have ſuſpected that I was travelling among a nation of ſavages, madmen, and aſſaſſins—I ſhould rather have wiſhed, with SHAKESPEARE,

——— That theſe contending kingdoms,
England and France, whoſe very ſhores look pale
With envy of each other's happineſs,
May loſe their hatred."

Vide Tour through the Theatre of War 1792.

ment,

ment, and an undoubted right to adequate reparation. Unhappily the Court of London, inflamed with indignation, ſought not reparation merely, but revenge. Her meaſures being now determined on, a Royal Proclamation was iſſued December 1, 1792, announcing the alarming intelligence, "that, notwithſtanding the late proclamation of the 21ſt of May, the utmoſt induſtry was ſtill employed by evil-diſpoſed perſons within the kingdom, acting in concert with perſons in foreign parts, with a view to ſubvert the Laws and Conſtitution; and that a ſpirit of tumult and diſorder, *thereby excited*, had lately ſhewn itſelf in acts of riot and INSURRECTION—And that, theſe cauſes moving him thereto, his Majeſty had reſolved forthwith to embody part of the militia of the kingdom."

1792. Royal Proclamation.

Militia embodied.

On the ſame day another proclamation was iſſued for convening the Parliament (which ſtood prorogued to the 3d of January, 1793) on the 13th of December; the law requiring, that if the militia be drawn out during the receſs of Parliament, and this it can only be in caſe of invaſion or actual *inſurrection*, Parliament ſhall be aſſembled within the ſpace of fourteen days.

Parliament convened.

The public alarm cauſed by theſe proceedings was inexpreſſible. Every one was convinced of the exiſtence of a PLOT, which was ſo much the more terrible, from its being inviſible and incomprehenſible. The Miniſter did not diſdain to heighten the general conſternation by the palpable artifices of marching troops to the metropolis, of doubling the guard at the Bank, and of repairing the fortifications of the Tower.

Plot in diſguiſe.

On the meeting of Parliament on the day appointed, the expreſſions of the firſt proclamation were repeated in his Majeſty's Speech; towards the concluſion of which the real views of the Court became ſufficiently manifeſt. "I have," ſaid his Majeſty, "carefully obſerved a ſtrict neutrality in the preſent war on the Continent, and have uniformly abſtained from any interference with reſpect to the internal government of France; but it is impoſſible for me to ſee without the moſt ſerious uneaſineſs the

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ſtrong and increaſing indications which have appeared there, of an intention to excite diſturbances in other countries, to diſregard the rights of neutral nations, and purſue views of conqueſt and aggrandizement, as well as to adopt towards my allies the States General meaſures which were neither conformable to the law of nations nor to the poſitive ſtipulations of exiſting treaties. Under theſe circumſtances his Majeſty thought it right to have recourſe to thoſe means of prevention and internal defence with which he was entruſted by law, and to make ſome augmentation of his naval and military force."

On moving the Addreſs in anſwer to the Speech, a memorable debate aroſe. Never did the ſtrength and ſuperiority of Mr. Fox's genius appear perhaps ſo conſpicuous as in this moment of national infatuation. "This," ſaid Mr. Fox, "is the moſt momentous criſis, not only that I have ever known, but that I have ever read of in the hiſtory of this country—a criſis not merely intereſting to ourſelves, but to all nations; and on the conduct of Parliament depends the fate of the Britiſh Conſtitution—perhaps the future happineſs of mankind. His Majeſty's Speech contains a variety of aſſertions of the moſt extraordinary nature. We are told there exiſts at this moment an inſurrection in this kingdom.—An INSURRECTION!—Where is it? Where has it reared its head? Although this inſurrection has exiſted fourteen days, Miniſters have given us no light whatever, no clue, no information where to find it. There have been, as I underſtand, and as every one muſt have heard, ſome ſlight riots in different parts; but I aſk, Were the various pretexts of theſe different tumults falſe, and uſed only to cover an attempt to deſtroy our happy Conſtitution? I have heard of a tumult at Shields, of another at Leith, of ſomething of the ſame nature at Yarmouth and Dundee. But were the ſailors who demanded an increaſe of their wages actuated by a deſign of overthrowing the Conſtitution? Is there a man in England who is credulous enough to believe it?—The Addreſs now moved ſays modeſtly, 'We are ſorry to hear there is an inſurrection.' Of the tumults in the ſea-ports we had ſome previous knowledge, but the inſurrection we learn from his Majeſty's Speech. It has been alleged as a proof of diſaffection,

diſaffection, that the countenances of many wore the face of joy when the intelligence arrived of the Duke of Brunſwic's retreat. What! is it a ſufficient demonſtration of republicaniſm, that men ſhould rejoice in the diſcomfiture of the armies of Deſpotiſm combating againſt Liberty? Could any man who loves the Conſtitution of this country wiſh ſucceſs to the Duke of Brunſwic, after reading a Manifeſto which violated every principle of juſtice, humanity, freedom, and true government?—Who will dare to defend that ſyſtem of tyranny and coercion, which inſiſts that Engliſhmen ſhall not indulge any genuine feelings of their own—which tells them that they muſt not think but by permiſſion—that they muſt rejoice and grieve as it ſuits the caprice or the pleaſure of the Miniſters? Are we to arraign a man for his ſecret and ſuppoſed deſigns, and arrogate to ourſelves at once the province and the power of the Deity?—What innocence can be ſafe from this more than inquiſitorial oppreſſion?—Doubtleſs there are ſpeculative perſons in this country who diſapprove of the ſyſtem of our Government: and there muſt be ſuch men as long as the land is free, for it is of the very eſſence of freedom for men to differ upon ſpeculative points. From the inſtant that opinion ſhall be held dependent upon the will of the Miniſter or the Magiſtrate, I date the extinction of our liberties as a people."

In paſſing to that part of the King's Speech which related to France, Mr. Fox aſſerted "that there never was a period when this country had ſo much reaſon to wiſh for peace. Never was there a period leſs favorable to a ſyſtem of hoſtility. How frequently have wars been prevented by negotiation! Why then diſdain to negotiate now?—Becauſe we had no Miniſter at Paris. And why have we no Miniſter?—Becauſe France is a Republic. For this punctilio then it is that the blood and treaſure of the kingdom are to be expended!—As to the free navigation of the Scheldt, I will not believe that a war can in reality be undertaken for an object ſo trivial, or that Holland itſelf would deſire or approve it. What was the conduct of France under her former depraved government, when the Emperor menaced the opening of the Scheldt in 1786? Was war declared in order to prevent it? No; they opened a negotiation, and carried

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the point by amicable interpoſition. Is not the ultimate object of republicans and levellers aided by plunging the nation in a war without due and previous enquiry? I conjure Parliament to avoid involving the people in ſo dreadful a calamity, without coolly reflecting on its neceſſity."

Mr. Fox concluded with moving an amendment, ſimply pledging the Houſe "that enquiry ſhould be made into the facts ſtated in his Majeſty's Speech." After a debate of many hours, the Houſe divided, for the amendment 50, againſt it 290!

In the Houſe of Lords the Addreſs was carried without a diviſion; but not without a powerful oppoſition from the Duke of Norfolk, and the Lords Lanſdowne, Rawdon, and Stanhope.

Defection of the Alarmiſts.

In conſequence of the late alarms, the Oppoſition, or Whig Party, had, as it now appeared, ſuffered a great and melancholy defection. At the head of the ſeceders in the Upper Houſe, were the Prince of Wales, the Duke of Portland, and Lords Fitzwilliam, Spencer, and LOUGHBOROUGH, who on the *reſignation* of Lord Thurlow * at this period was advanced to the Chancellorſhip; and in the Lower Houſe, Mr. Burke, Mr. Windham, Sir Gilbert Elliot, Mr. Anſtruther, &c. who acquired by this means the popular appellation of ALARMISTS. On the bringing up the report, on

* The real cauſe of the reluctant reſignation of Lord Thurlow was the irreconcileable diſcord ſubſiſting between him and the Miniſter—Mr. Pitt declaring, it is ſaid, "the Chancellor to be a man who oppoſed every thing and propoſed nothing—and that he neither could nor would act with him any longer." It is notorious, that in various inſtances the meaſures of the Miniſter, far from being ſupported in the Upper Houſe, were vehemently and virulently attacked by the Chancellor—and in particular a very favorite and indeed very excellent Bill, introduced by Mr. Pitt during the laſt ſeſſion, in aid of the Sinking Fund Bill, providing, with great political prudence, that in all future caſes of public loans, excluſive of the intereſt, a ſurpluſage of one per cent. ſhould be appropriated by Parliament for the eventual extinction of the capital. This the Chancellor, whoſe ignorance of financial topics was extremely groſs, moſt perverſely reprehended as "an arrogant and inſolent encroachment on the prerogative and independency of future Parliaments; and he ſcrupled not to pronounce the folly

on the ſucceeding day, the debate was reſumed with freſh vehemence. Mr. Fox moſt ſeverely cenſured the Miniſters for not having interpoſed the mediation of Great Britain, in order to preſerve the peace of Europe. Had we proteſted againſt the project concerted at Pilnitz, and armed to prevent the execution of it, England muſt have acquired ſuch an aſcendency in the Councils of France as would have completely obviated all the ſubſequent cauſes of diſſatisfaction. "If," ſaid Mr. Fox, "there exiſts a diſcontented or diſaffected party in the kingdom, what can ſo much add to their numbers, or their influence, as a war, which, by increaſing the public burdens till they become intolerable, will give proportionable weight to their complaints? He wiſhed therefore that war ſhould be avoided, if poſſible—that negotiation ſhould precede hoſtility. He was fully aware of the arrogant notions of Miniſters, who perhaps would not condeſcend to receive a Miniſter from the French Republic. If this were the caſe, let Miniſters fairly avow it—that the people of England might know how far the eſſential intereſts of the nation were ſacrificed to a *punctilio*. Gentlemen ſhould recollect that it was once faſhionable to talk of 'a vagrant Congreſs,' of 'one Hancock' and 'one Adams' and 'their Crew.' But ſurely the folly of this language had been ſufficiently proved." He then moved an amendment, "beſeeching his Majeſty to employ every means of honorable negotiation, for the purpoſe of preventing a war with France." The motion was oppoſed by Mr. Burke in a frantic ſpeech, in which he affirmed, "that to ſend an Ambaſſador to France would be the prelude to the murder of our Sovereign." Mr. Pitt was at this time not a Member of the Houſe, having vacated his ſeat

Mr. Fox's motion for a negotiation with France negatived.

folly of the meaſure to be unequalled, except by the vanity of making the attempt." The Great Seal was in Commiſſion from June 1792 to January 1793; Lord Chief Baron Eyre being Firſt Commiſſioner. The King, who felt inexpreſſible regret at the loſs of ſo *loyal and faithful* a ſervant, as a mark of his peculiar eſteem and regard, conferred upon him a new patent of peerage with remainder to his nephews, Edward and Thomas Thurlow, ſons to the late Biſhop of Durham. The temporary difficulty to which the Court was reduced as to the diſpoſal of the Chancellorſhip, recalls to recollection the anecdote related of King James I. who, on receiving the Great Seal from Lord Bacon, was overheard to ſay, "Now, by my ſoul! I am pained to the heart where to beſtow this, for as to my LAWYERS they be all KNAVES."

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by the acceptance of the lucrative ſinecure of the Cinque Ports, void by the death of the Earl of Guildford, once ſo famous under the title of Lord North.

Mr. Dundas's rath and confident prediction.

In the abſence of the Miniſter, Mr. Secretary Dundas entered into a long and elaborate vindication of the meaſures of Adminiſtration; and he concluded with a confident prediction, that "*if we were forced into a war, it* MUST *prove* SUCCESSFUL *and* GLORIOUS." This declaration would no doubt have amazed ſo *ſhallow* a politician as the Cardinal Richelieu, who formed a very different judgment of the immenſe ſtrength and reſources of the Gallic Empire, when he affirmed, as the Abbé Brotier informs us, "that France was able to raiſe 600,000 foot, and 150,000 horſe, and to go to war with them in a fortnight." The amendment was negatived without a diviſion.

Not diſcouraged at the ill ſucceſs of theſe attempts, Mr. Fox on the 15th of December moved, at the cloſe of a ſpeech which only ſerved to demonſtrate how incompetent are the utmoſt efforts of human wiſdom to work conviction in minds diſtempered by prejudice and paſſion, "that a Miniſter be ſent to Paris to treat with thoſe perſons who exerciſe provi-ſionally the executive government of France *. "This," he ſaid, "implied

* Human nature, as exhibited in the writings of the celebrated Hiſtorians of antiquity, preſents to us an exact and faithful picture of what it now is and ever ſhall be. Immediately previous to the commencement of the Peloponneſian war, ſo famous and ſo fatal in the Annals of Greece, it was debated, as Thucydides informs us, in the Spartan Councils, whether meaſures of conciliation and pacification ſhould not firſt be tried in reſpect to the Athenians, who had by their reſtleſs ambition and arrogance given juſt and general cauſe of offence to the neighboring States. Archidamus King of Sparta, who united long experience to profound wiſdom, made uſe on this occaſion of arguments ſtrikingly analogous to thoſe urged in the Britiſh Parliament by Mr. Fox, to diſſuade the Lacedæmonians from precipitately involving themſelves in a quarrel ſo deſperate and dreadful. "People of Lacedæmon," ſaid he, "I have been witneſs of many wars, as have alſo ſeveral amongſt you; and am for that very reaſon but the more diſpoſed to fear for the event of that you are about to undertake—You are going to attack a country formidable from the number of its ſoldiers and its ſhips, and rich in its productions and reſources.—What is to inſpire you with this confidence?—Is it

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plied neither approbation nor diſapprobation of the conduct of the exiſting French Government. It was the policy and the practice of every nation to treat with the exiſting Government of every other nation with which it had relative intereſts, without enquiring how that Government was conſtituted, or by what means it acquired poſſeſſion of power. Was the exiſting Government of Morocco more reſpectable than that of France? Yet we had more than once ſent embaſſies thither, to men reeking from the blood through which they had waded to their thrones. We

the project of ravaging the plains of Attica and of terminating this mighty quarrel in one campaign? Alas, how much do I dread that we ſhall be compelled to leave this war as a wretched inheritance to our children! The hoſtilities of cities and individuals are tranſient; but when war is once enkindled between two powerful States, it is as difficult to foreſee the conſequences as to extricate ourſelves with honor.—I am not of opinion that we ſhould abandon our allies to oppreſſion. I only ſay, that, previous to our taking arms, we ſhould ſend ambaſſadors to the Athenians and open a negotiation. They have juſt propoſed to us this mode, and it were injuſtice to refuſe it. The ſlowneſs imputed to the Lacedæmonians has always conſtituted our ſecurity. Never have praiſes or reproaches excited us to raſh enterpriſes. We have not the ability by *eloquent harangues* to depreciate the power of our enemies. To enable us to conquer, we muſt guard againſt their prudence as well as their valor, and reckon leſs upon their errors than on the wiſdom of our own precautions. We maintain the equality of men, and that he only can be regarded as ſuperior who on critical exigencies conducts himſelf with the moſt prudence and wiſdom.—Let us not now deviate from the maxims we have received from our fathers, and which have hitherto preſerved this State.—Deliberate at leiſure. Let not a *ſingle moment* decide on your properties, your glory, the blood of ſo many citizens and the deſtiny of ſo many nations." This ſpeech produced, as we are told, a ſenſible effect upon the Aſſembly; when one of the Ephori, by name Sthenelaidas—the BURKE, we may preſume, of his age and nation—immediately roſe and pronounced a vehement rhapſody in favor of an inſtant declaration of war. Diſdainfully rejecting all advances to negotiation, he declared, "that the queſtion was not concerning ſpeeches and diſcuſſions; for," ſaid he, "it is not by words that our allies have been injured. The moſt ſpeedy vengeance alone can now befit the *dignity* of Sparta. And let it not be ſaid that we ſhould deliberate after receiving an INSULT: our enemies ſhould have deliberated before they inſulted us. Give your voices then for WAR, Oh Lacedæmonians! and at length preſcribe ſome limits to the injuſtice and ambition of the Athenians. Let us march, ſecure of the protection of the GODS, againſt theſe invaders of liberty." The opinion of the King was ſupported by a minority of the Aſſembly, but the plurality of voices decided peremptorily for war. And thus it is that in all ages and all countries the dictates of wiſdom and moderation are overborne; and the peace and happineſs of nations ſacrificed to the ſuggeſtions of paſſion or caprice, the fumes of enthuſiaſm, or the artifices of ambition.

had

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had Miniſters at the German Courts, at the time of the infamous partition of Poland. We had a Miniſter at Verſailles when Corſica was bought and enſlaved. But in none of theſe inſtances was any ſanction given directly or indirectly by Great Britain to theſe nefarious tranſactions."

Mr. Francis, in a very excellent ſpeech, remonſtrated and proteſted againſt the manner in which the debate had been conducted on the part of the Miniſterialiſts. "How," ſaid he, "has this awful queſtion been agitated? By appeals to our underſtanding? No—by exciting our paſſions, by agitating our feelings, by preſenting perpetually to our imagination ſcenes of horror. Thus do the Houſe in fact deprive themſelves of all capacity to debate—of all power to judge. They liſten with rapture to invectives, and echo them back in ſhouts and clamors. Is this a Britiſh Houſe of Commons? Or am I ſuddenly tranſplanted by ſome enchantment into that Convention againſt which the perpetual theme of reproach is, that they deliberate in paſſion, and reſolve by acclamation?"

In anſwer to the abſurd and puerile objection, that, if we agreed to a negotiation, we ſhould not know with whom to negotiate, Mr. Whitbread aſked with energetic animation, "if we knew with whom we were going to make war? If there was no difficulty in deciding upon that point, how could we pretend to be at a loſs to know with whom we were to make peace? Doubtleſs with that Aſſembly, truly deſcribed by his Majeſty as exerciſing the powers of government in France."

Mr. Courtenay animadverted with poignant ſeverity upon the rhapſodical extravagancies which had fallen from Mr. Burke; and he read to the Houſe a paſſage from the famous pamphlet publiſhed by him, which he ſaid he conſidered as the prelude to the Duke of Brunſwic's diſgraceful Maniſeſto. Mr. Courtenay ſaid, that "Mr. Burke was the dupe of his imagination. His imagination was a magic lanthorn, preſenting a rapid

rapid and exhauſtleſs ſucceſſion of phantaſms. There were chivalry—the Duke of Brunſwic—Petion faction—National Convention—King of Armenia—Senate of Rome—Marat—Aſſaſſinations—Corinthian capitals—Tom Paine—and many other things, making a complete raree-ſhow, for the entertainment of the admirers of that gentleman *. Mr. Courtenay acknowledged that he had never felt ſo much pleaſure, as when the Pruſſians, who had entered France not as ſoldiers but as ruffians, had been driven back in ſhame and confuſion. He had participated in the triumph when M. Dumourier made his *joyeuſe entrée* into Brabant."

Mr. Windham had laid it down as an axiom of policy, "that, to be *juſtified* in negotiating with France, it ſhould be a matter of neceſſity, not of choice."

"Happy, dignified opportunity to treat!" exclaimed Mr. Sheridan, "when neceſſity, a neceſſity ariſing from defeat and diſcomfiture, from ſhame and diſgrace, ſhall compel us to negotiate on terms which would leave us completely at their mercy! How conſolatory, to be able to boaſt that we are at the ſame time *juſtified* and UNDONE!—But we are told," continued Mr. Sheridan, "that to treat with France would give offence to the Allied Powers, with whom we are eventually to co-operate. Are we then prepared to make a common cauſe on the principles and for the purpoſes for which thoſe deſpots have aſſociated? Are the freemen of England ready to ſubſcribe to the Manifeſto of the Duke of Brunſwic?

* At length this famous patriot and orator, who, at different periods of his political career, hath exhibited a contraſt of character, "ſo abject, ſo auguſt," has retired for ever from public life. It would be ungenerous to inſult over fallen and departed greatneſs. Become the object of ſcorn or of pity, "bowed down in body and in mind," and oppreſſed with the weight of domeſtic calamity, well may he adopt in his preſent circumſtances the moving declaration of Samſon in the Agoniſtes:

> ———I feel my genial ſpirits droop,
> My hopes all flat. Nature within me ſeems
> In all her functions weary of herſelf:
> My RACE of GLORY run, and RACE of SHAME;
> And I ſhall ſhortly be with them that reſt.

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that deteſtable outrage on the rights and feelings of human nature! that impotent and wretched tiſſue of pride, folly and cruelty, which had ſteeled the heart and maddened the brain of all France! The queſtion is not merely, whether we ſhould go to war or not? but, on what principle ſhould it be conducted, and to what end directed? To reſtore the antient deſpotiſm of France? Impoſſible! Diſputes and cauſes of complaint exiſting, how were they to be terminated, but by ſome ſort of negotiation? But we were told, that the dignity of the nation forbade a public and avowed communication with the preſent ruling powers in France. Was the dignity of the nation better conſulted by the mean ſubterfuge of an indirect and underhand intercourſe? Was it ſacrificed by a magnanimous frankneſs, and ſuſtained only by dark and inſidious diſguiſe? Far from recalling the Ambaſſador of England from Paris at the late perilous criſis, a *Stateſman-like Adminiſtration* would have regarded the poſt of Miniſter at Paris, as the ſituation which demanded the firſt and ableſt talents of the country. It was a ſituation which afforded ſcope and intereſt for the nobleſt mind that ever warmed a human boſom. The French had been uniformly partial, and even prejudiced, in favor of the Engliſh. What manly ſenſe, and generous feeling, and, above all, what fair truth and plain dealing might have effected, it was difficult to calculate. But the policy which diſcarded theſe, and which ſubſtituted in their ſtead a HOLLOW NEUTRALITY, was an error fatal in its conſequences, and for ever to be lamented." The motion was in the end negatived without a diviſion.

Mr. Grey, Mr. Erſkine, and Mr. Adam diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the courſe of theſe debates by very able and eloquent ſpeeches on the part of the Oppoſition. And the deſertion of their *friends*, far from diſpiriting the faithful few who remained, ſeemed to animate them to ſtill higher and more ardent exertions of patriotic zeal. The popular odium incurred by the Leaders of Oppoſition, and in particular by Mr. Fox, in conſequence of their generous endeavors to reſcue their country from the gulf of ruin into which it was with ſuch blind and raſh precipitancy about to plunge, will appear to poſterity ſcarcely credible. Neither profeſſing a contempt for

the public judgment, nor on the other hand yielding for a moment to the tide of popular opinion, Mr. Fox publiſhed at this period a very animated and dignified Addreſs to his Conſtituents, the Electors of Weſtminſter, ſtating, with admirable force and perſpicuity of argument, his reaſons for his late parliamentary conduct. The concluſion of this juſtly celebrated Addreſs is peculiarly ſtriking. "Let us not," ſays he, "attempt to deceive ourſelves. Whatever poſſibility, or even probability, there may be of a Counter-Revolution from internal agitation and diſcord, the means of producing ſuch an event by external force can be no other than the conqueſt of France.—The CONQUEST of FRANCE! O calumniated cruſaders, how rational and moderate were your objects! O much-injured Louis XIV. upon what ſlight grounds have you been accuſed of reſtleſs and immoderate ambition! O tame and feeble Cervantes, with what a timid pencil and faint colors have you painted the portrait of a diſordered imagination!"

There are ſituations in which minds of ſtrong penetration are privileged to foreſee and foretell, with almoſt prophetic certainty, events which will reſult from cauſes actually exiſting—ſituations in which the tendencies of things are perceived to be irreſiſtible, and the cataſtrophe, morally ſpeaking, to be inevitable. Such were the predictions of a Chatham and a Franklin reſpecting the conteſt with America—and ſuch the anticipations of a Fox in relation to the iſſue of the MAD CRUSADE now, in the ſame ſpirit of deluſion, pride, paſſion and revenge, projecting againſt France *.

Although

* The war now determined upon was not only almoſt univerſally applauded as *juſt and neceſſary*, conformably to the language of the Court, but conſecrated as *religious and holy*. It was repreſented as a war againſt French IMPIETY and ATHEISM. Religion, ſo long diſcountenanced and neglected—not to ſay ridiculed and deſpiſed—was again taken into PLAY. It was amuſing to the truly ſober and ſerious part of mankind, to hear ſuch men as the Lords Thurlow and Loughborough declare themſelves *alarmed* at the progreſs of profaneneſs, irreligion and infidelity, and invoke the protection and bleſſing of Providence in the proſecution of a cauſe which was aſſerted to be the cauſe of God and Heaven. That vain and preſumptuous confidence in the divine favor expreſſed in the ſucceſſive ſpeeches from the throne during the Ameri-

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1792. Ineffectual efforts of the Executive Council of France to avert the war.

Although the determination of the Engliſh Court was from the firſt ſufficiently manifeſt, the Government of France left no means uneſſayed to accompliſh an accommodation. On the 17th of December a memorial was preſented by M. Chauvelin to Lord Grenville, in which he informs his Lordſhip, that the Executive Council of the French Republic, thinking it a duty which they owe to the French Nation, not to leave it in the ſtate of ſuſpenſe into which it has been thrown by the late meaſures of the Britiſh Government, have authoriſed him to demand with openneſs, whether France ought to conſider England as a neutral or hoſtile Power; at the ſame time being ſolicitous that not the ſmalleſt doubt ſhould exiſt reſpecting the diſpoſition of France towards England, and of its deſire to remain in peace. In alluſion to the decree of the 19th of November, M. Chauvelin ſays, "that the French Nation abſolutely reject the idea of that falſe interpretation, by which it might be ſuppoſed that the French

can war, notwithſtanding the final confuſion of thoſe arrogant hopes, was now revived in all the oſtentation of humility. But Kings have long claimed the lofty prerogatives appertaining to the vice-gerents of Heaven. Three centuries ago, Edward IV. having in contemplation a war with France, and alleging as a ground of hoſtility the violation of engagements on the part of his adverſary Louis XI. in the ſame ſpirit of princely pride and pious zeal thus addreſſed his Parliament: "This contumely I am reſolved to puniſh—*and I cannot doubt ſucceſs*. Almighty God ſtill ſtrengthens his arm who undertakes a war for juſtice.——Beſides all that right which led Edward III. our glorious anceſtor, and Henry V. our glorious predeceſſor, We ſeem to have a DEPUTYSHIP from HEAVEN to execute the office of the Supreme Judge in CHASTISING the IMPIOUS." Oh Inhabitants of the Earth, how have ye been in all ages injured, inſulted, and deluded!

How long ſhall it be thus? Say, REASON, ſay,
When ſhall thy long minority expire?
When ſhall thy dilatory kingdom come?
Haſte, royal infant, to thy manhood ſpring,
Almighty, when mature, to rule mankind!
Thine is the majeſty, the victory thine,
For thee reſerv'd———'Tis thine,
To end the tall and Titan crimes that lift
Their heads to heaven, and laugh at laws—To thee
All might belongs—Haſte, reach thy ripened years,
Mount thine immortal throne, and ſway the world!"

Republic

Republic ſhould favor inſurrections, or excite diſturbance, in any neutral or friendly country whatever. In particular, they declare in the moſt ſolemn manner, that France will not attack Holland ſo long as that Power adheres to the principles of her neutrality. As to the navigation of the Scheldt, M. Chauvelin affirms it to be a queſtion of too little importance to be made the ſole cauſe of a war; and that it could only be uſed as a pretext for a premeditated aggreſſion. On this fatal ſuppoſition (he ſays) the French Nation will accept war: but SUCH a war would be the war not of the Britiſh Nation, but of the Britiſh Miniſtry, againſt the French Republic; and of this he conjures them well to conſider the TERRIBLE RESPONSIBILITY." To this communication Lord Grenville returned a moſt arrogant and provoking anſwer. His Lordſhip acknowledged the receipt of a *Note* from M. Chauvelin, *ſtyling himſelf* Miniſter Plenipotentiary of France. He reminds him that the King, ſince the unhappy events of the 10th of Auguſt, had ſuſpended all *official* communication with France; and informs him, that he cannot be treated with in the quality and under the form ſtated in his *Note*. Nevertheleſs, "under a form neither regular nor official," his Lordſhip condeſcends to reply—but in a mode which could only tend to inflame the differences ſubſiſting between the two Nations; and which, far from accepting the conceſſions and explanations made by France, ſought only to diſcover new pretences of cavil and quarrel. In a tone of the moſt decided and lofty ſuperiority, his Lordſhip ſays, "If France is really deſirous of maintaining friendſhip and peace with England, ſhe muſt ſhew herſelf diſpoſed to renounce her views of aggreſſion and aggrandizement, and *to confine herſelf within her own territory*, without inſulting other Governments, without diſturbing their tranquillity, without violating their rights." The relinquiſhment of her recent conqueſts being thus haughtily demanded of France as a preliminary of peace, it might well be ſuppoſed that negotiation was at an end. But the Government of France, in the midſt of their triumphs, diſcovered a degree of temper and moderation in their intercourſe with England as ſurpriſing as it was laudable. In anſwer to the letter of Lord Grenville, a memorial was tranſmitted from M. Le Brun, Miniſter of Foreign Affairs, in the name of the

Executive

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Executive Council, dated January 4, 1793, framed in terms of ſingular wiſdom and ability, and forming a ſtriking contraſt to the pride, petulance, and folly diſplayed in the communications of the Engliſh Miniſter. They begin with repeating "the aſſurances of their ſincere deſire to maintain peace and harmony between France and England. It is with great reluctance (ſay they) that the Republic would ſee itſelf forced to a rupture much more contrary to its inclination than its intereſt."

In reference to Lord Grenville's refuſal to acknowledge M. Chauvelin in his diplomatic capacity, the Council remark, "that in the negotiations now carrying on at Madrid, the principal Miniſter of his Catholic Majeſty did not heſitate to addreſs M. Bourgoign, the Ambaſſador of the Republic at that Court, by the title of Miniſter Plenipotentiary of France. But that a defect in point of form might not impede a negotiation, on the ſucceſs of which depended the tranquillity of two great nations, they had ſent credential letters to M. Chauvelin, to enable him to treat according to the ſeverity of diplomatic forms. The Council repeat, that the decree of the 19th of November had been miſunderſtood; and that it was far from being intended to favor ſedition—being merely applicable to the ſingle caſe where the general will of a nation, clearly and unequivocally expreſſed, ſhould call for the aſſiſtance and fraternity of the French Nation. Sedition can never exiſt in an expreſſion of the general will. The Dutch were certainly not ſeditious when they formed the generous reſolution of throwing off the Spaniſh yoke—nor was it accounted as a crime to Henry IV. or to Queen Elizabeth, that they liſtened to their ſolicitations of aſſiſtance. As to the right of navigation on the Scheldt, the Council affirm, that it is a queſtion of abſolute indifference to England, little intereſting even to Holland, but of great importance to the Belgians, who were not parties to the treaty of Weſtphalia, by which they were diveſted of that right; but when that nation ſhall find itſelf in full poſſeſſion of its liberty, and from *any motive whatever* ſhall conſent to deprive themſelves of the navigation of the Scheldt, *France will not oppoſe it.* With reſpect to the charge of aggrandizement, France, they ſay, has renounced and ſtill renounces all conqueſt; and

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its occupying the Netherlands will CONTINUE NO LONGER THAN THE WAR.—If theſe explanations appear inſufficient, after having done every thing in our power to maintain peace, we will prepare for war. We ſhall combat with regret the Engliſh, whom we eſteem, but we ſhall combat them without fear."

The reply of Lord Grenville to this memorial was couched in terms ſtill more extraordinary and irritating than the firſt. His Lordſhip declares, "that he finds nothing ſatisfactory in the reſult of it. Inſtead of reparation and retractation, his Lordſhip complains, that nothing more is offered than an *illuſory negotiation*"—as if England had a right to expect that France ſhould give up every point in diſpute previous to any negotiation; or as if the offer of evacuating the Netherlands at the termination of the war, and of leaving the Belgians to *ſettle the queſtion* relative to the Scheldt, together with the poſitive diſavowal of the offenſive meaning aſcribed to the decree of November 19, did not form a proper and ſufficient baſis of negotiation. In fact, by theſe great conceſſions, every rational object of negotiation was accompliſhed before the negotiation itſelf had formally commenced. "Under this form of *extra-official* communication, nevertheleſs, Lord Grenville goes on to ſay, that theſe explanations are not conſidered ſufficient, and that ALL the MOTIVES which gave riſe to the preparations STILL CONTINUE. If however, under the ſame *extra-official* form, you have any farther explanations (ſays his Lordſhip) to give, I ſhall willingly attend to them *." In a ſeparate

* A political writer in the confidence of Government—Mr. Miles—and who has attempted the arduous taſk of vindicating the proceedings of Adminiſtration in the whole of this momentous tranſaction, ſays: "The propoſitions which the Executive Council had authorized M. Maret to offer, and which would have been offered if M. Chauvelin had not left London, *but which I am not at liberty to reveal*, were ſo different from the imperious language which M. Le Brun had lately aſſumed, and the conceſſions were ſo much greater than it was reaſonable to ſuppoſe would have been made after what had paſſed, that I doubted the ſincerity of them at the time." Whether the language of M. Le Brun or of Lord Grenville were beſt characterized by the epithet imperious, the world will judge. But the thing chiefly obſervable, is the ſtrange and ſtubborn perverſeneſs of the Engliſh Court. While general overtures only

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ſeparate Note his Lordſhip informs M. Chauvelin, that his Majeſty will not receive his new letters of credence from the French Republic. M. Chauvelin then requeſted a perſonal interview with his Lordſhip, which was alſo refuſed.

only of amicable negotiation were made, they were ſtigmatized as vague and illuſory: when followed by ſpecific offers of reparation and redreſs, they were branded as deceitful and inſincere. Thus hath every door of reconciliation been ſhut, every chance of accommodation diligently and ſyſtematically evaded. Yet has it been moſt falſely and prepoſterouſly aſſerted that England was forced into the preſent war, and that it originated ſolely in the unprovoked and premeditated aggreſſion of France. The events which have reſulted from this moſt impolitic and dangerous conteſt, might well draw repentant tears from its authors; but, alas! according to the Arabian proverb, "repentance comes too late when the city of Baſra lies in aſhes!"—M. Briſſot, in his famous Report from the Committee of Safety to the Convention, of December 31, 1792, after mentioning the reiterated proteſtations of the Engliſh reſpecting their reſolution of obſerving a ſtrict neutrality, ſays: "The ſuſpenſion of the King of the French on a ſudden changed the apparent diſpoſition of the Engliſh Court. On the 17th of Auguſt ſhe recalled her Ambaſſador, under the futile pretext that his letters of credence were addreſſed only to the Monarch: as if new letters of credence could not have been expedited. The Miniſter Dundas added, that this recall was perfectly conformable to the principles of neutrality adopted by the Engliſh Court, and her firm reſolution not to interfere in the internal government of France. Nevertheleſs the Ambaſſador was recalled upon the ground of the Revolution of the 10th of Auguſt. Was not this an interference in the interior concerns of France; ſince it involved in it a public diſapprobation of its operations? If the Cabinet of England had entertained a juſt reſpect for the independence of the Gallic Nation, an Ambaſſador would at leaſt have been ſent at the opening of the Convention: for when ALL the Departments had named Deputies to this Convention, it was evident that a formal ſanction was given to the preceding meaſures of the National Aſſembly; and conſequently to the ſuſpenſion of the King. Did the Cabinet of St. James's found its refuſal upon the abolition of royalty pronounced by this Convention at the commencement of its ſittings? We anſwer, that the Convention was inveſted with unlimited powers; and that it had a right to aboliſh royalty and to ſubſtitute a republican government in its place. The Cabinet of St. James's could not refuſe to correſpond with the new Executive Power eſtabliſhed in France, without violating the principle which ſhe had herſelf proclaimed reſpecting the independence of nations—without declaring her determination to interfere with the internal concerns of France. Diſdaining nevertheleſs theſe frivolous diplomatic chicaneries, and conceiving that the repoſe of nations ought not to be ſacrificed to the miſerable diſputes of *etiquette*, hoping all things from time, reaſon and victory, the French Republic ordered her Ambaſſador in London ſtill to exerciſe his functions." Poſterity certainly will not find it difficult to decide, which of the two Nations is moſt juſtly chargeable with acts of wanton and unprovoked aggreſſion!

At

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1793. French Ambaſſador ordered to depart the kingdom.

At length this extraordinary buſineſs was brought to a criſis, by a letter from Lord Grenville, dated January 24, 1793, in which his Lordſhip ſays, "I am charged to notify to you, Sir, that the character with which you had been inveſted at this Court, and the functions of which have been ſo long ſuſpended, being now entirely terminated by the fatal death of his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, you have no longer any public character here; and his Majeſty has thought fit to order that you ſhould retire from this kingdom within the term of eight days."—At this very time M. Maret, a confidential agent of M. Le Brun, was on his way to England with freſh diſpatches from the Executive Council, and, as there is good ground to believe, freſh conceſſions of the higheſt importance. But on his arrival in London, being informed of the compulſive diſmiſſion of M. Chauvelin, he did not think himſelf authorized to open his commiſſion. He therefore merely announced his arrival to Lord Grenville, but no advances were made to him on the part of the Engliſh Court *.

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* Fifty years previous to this period, Sir Robert Walpole, to whoſe wiſe and able conduct as a Miniſter the world is beginning to do juſtice, was violently aſſailed by the Parliamentary Patriots of that day, for his zealous endeavors to preſerve to the Nation the bleſſings of peace. Far from practiſing artifices to delude and inveigle the country into a war, he oppoſed their frantic and eager deſire to involve themſelves in a calamity ſo dreadful, by arguments the moſt cogent and deciſive. His ſpeech on the famous debate relative to the Convention of the Pardo occupies a diſtinguiſhed place in a former volume of this Hiſtory; but there are parts of it which no one ought to think it loſt labour to re-tranſcribe or to re-peruſe. In reference to the offers of ſatisfaction made by Spain, to which the explanations and conceſſions of the Executive Council of France afford a ſtriking parallel, this Miniſter ſays, "Surely then the Adminiſtration of Great Britain muſt have been MAD, had they deſperately plunged their country into a war, while it was in their power to conclude a peace, of which this great, this deciſive conceſſion was to ſerve as the foundation. Was it for Great Britain to reſolve to reject all conceſſions, and to hear of no other method of terminating this difference than that of the ſword?—It requires no great art, no great ability, in a Miniſter to purſue ſuch meaſures as might make a war inevitable. But as events depend ſo much on fortune, it is the part of a wiſe Miniſter to leave as little as poſſible to fortune. And the ſucceſs which any former Miniſter has met with from the favor of fortune, is no reaſon why a ſucceeding one ſhould tread the ſame dangerous and uncertain paths, when the ſame ends can be compaſſed in a way more ſafe and certain."—In concluſion, he ſhews how much ſtronger ground the Oppoſition would have taken, had the contrary or warlike ſyſtem been adopted.

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The death of the French Monarch was indeed a diſaſtrous and mournful event. It is well known that the Executive Council, and a great majority of the Conventional Aſſembly, were eagerly deſirous to have averted this fatal cataſtrophe; but the violence of the Jacobin faction, and the ſavage rage of the populace, rendered it impoſſible. "We may," ſaid M. Le Brun to a confidential friend, "ſacrifice ourſelves, without being able to ſave the life of the King." It was not that the moderate party entertained any doubt of the veracity of the leading charges brought againſt the King; for, on this point, there was never any difference of opinion in France: but they diſcerned innumerable circumſtances of palliation, which formed an irreſiſtible claim to compaſſion and mercy. In England no one attempted to juſtify the deed; "nor," ſays an animated writer of that time, "is it the ſeaſon for *extenuation*, now that the ſtream of prejudice flows ſtrong, and the phantaſm of a murdered King ſtalks before our affrightened imagination."

The laſt eventful years of the reign of this unfortunate Monarch brought his character into full and perfect view. It was conſpicuouſly marked by imbecility and duplicity—by inconſtancy, with ſtrange alternations of obſtinacy—by temerity ſuddenly ſubſiding into fear—by a perpetual diſtruſt of his own judgment, and a tranſient and limited confidence in that of others. So ſtrongly was the idea impreſſed upon the public mind of the want of genius, and even of common underſtanding,

"Fair and equitable terms," they would have exclaimed, "have been offered. Spain has propoſed an amicable meeting to adjuſt all points in difference. Yet our Miniſters, far from liſtening to advances ſo reaſonable, have *blundered* us into an unjuſt, expenſive, and hazardous war. This I confeſs would have been *blundering*; and for the firſt time, perhaps, in the courſe of ſuch an oppoſition, the term would have been rightly applied." Moſt unhappily, in all ages the wiſdom of a Walpole has been compelled to veil to the folly of a Grenville. Of this nobleman, who derives his hiſtoric conſequence merely from the high and reſponſible ſituation which he occupies, it may be affirmed, that he inherits all the political vices and virtues of his father the famous George Grenville. Weak, raſh, obſtinate, conceited, ſelf-ſufficient, he ſeems incapable of attaining, in the longeſt progreſſion of years, to years of diſcretion. It muſt nevertheleſs be acknowledged, that his decorous manners, his ſerenity of temper, and probity of morals, accompanied by a certain fluency of ſpeech, and facility in conducting the *routine* of buſineſs, have raiſed him in the public eſtimation conſiderably above contempt as a Miniſter.

in

in the King, that a general emotion of ſurpriſe was created by the calmneſs and propriety of the anſwers given by him to the interrogatories of the Convention during his trial: and they have been unavailingly urged as proofs of capacity, which the whole tenor of his conduct demonſtrates that he did not poſſeſs. Good-nature bordering upon weakneſs, humanity allied to indolence, piety tinctured with ſuperſtition, and a deſire feeble and inefficient to diffuſe happineſs, were the virtues which muſt be oppoſed to his moral and mental defects: and had not the unexampled malignity of his deſtiny forbidden, they would have unqueſtionably ſufficed to have carried him through life with the reputation of a beneficent and virtuous Monarch. His laſt moments were ennobled by the calmneſs of reſignation and an unaffected diſplay of firmneſs and fortitude. We are told of him, that he was highly offended at the freedom with which the famous work of the Abbé Raynal was written. The Republic of Geneva was ſolicited to prohibit the publication—the Parliament of Paris received an injunction to fulminate their judicial, and the Sorbonne their theological, cenſures againſt it. Raynal's work, nevertheleſs, ſtill exiſts to inform and enlighten the world—but the Parliament, the Sorbonne, and Louis XVI. are no more!"

Inſults and injuries offered to France.

As, by an expreſs proviſion of the treaty of 1786, the diſmiſſion of an Ambaſſador was in future to be regarded as a virtual declaration of war, it is almoſt ſuperfluous to mention the inferior cauſes of offence given to France immediately prior to that event, 1. by the ALIEN BILL, empowering the King, in direct contravention of the treaty of 1786, which ſtipulates the peaceful and undiſturbed reſidence of the ſubjects of each power in the dominions of the other, to order, at his diſcretion, all foreigners to depart the kingdom: 2. by the bill prohibiting the circulation of aſſignats, or other paper ſecurities iſſued under the authority of the French Government; a meaſure rather of inſult than of injury: 3. by a bill of a more ſerious nature, reſtraining the exportation of naval ſtores, arms and ammunition, including by a ſpecific mention the article of ſalt-petre, of which it was well known that the French were in great need.

BOOK XVIII.

1793.

Immediately on the departure of M. Chauvelin, a Memorial was preſented by Lord Auckland, Ambaſſador at the Hague, to the States General; in which his Lordſhip affirms to their High Mightineſſes, in language which ſets all ideas of decorum at defiance, that "not four years ago, ſome WRETCHES, aſſuming the title of Philoſophers, had the preſumption to think themſelves capable of eſtabliſhing a new ſyſtem of civil ſociety. In order to realize that dream of their vanity, they found it neceſſary to overthrow and deſtroy all received notions of ſubordination, manners, and religion, which have hitherto formed all the ſecurity, happineſs, and conſolation of the human race. Their deſtructive projects have but too well ſucceeded. But the effects of the new ſyſtem which they endeavored to introduce, ſerved only to ſhew the imbecility and villany of its authors. The events which ſo rapidly followed each other ſince that epoch, ſurpaſs in atrocity all which have ever polluted the pages of hiſtory. Property, liberty, ſecurity, even life itſelf, have been deemed playthings in the hands of infamous men, who are the ſlaves of the moſt licentious paſſions of rapine, enmity, and ambition."

Engliſh Government at length propoſes to negotiate.

SUCH were the terms in which the wiſdom of the Engliſh Court thought it becoming to ſpeak of the exiſting Government of France! If any thing could add to the aſtoniſhment excited by this conduct, it would be, that a Commiſſion was at the ſame time ſent over to the ſame Ambaſſador to ſet on foot a negotiation with M. Dumourier, Commander of the armies of the Government thus publicly vilified, in order to effect an accommodation of differences. Whether this overture was really ſerious, or whether, according to the declared opinion of M. Dumourier himſelf, it was merely amuſive and inſidious, ſuch a *prelude* muſt be equally the ſubject of admiration. In either caſe, it came too late to anſwer the purpoſe. The Convention had taken their ultimate reſolution; and on the 1ſt of February 1793 a decree unanimouſly paſſed that Aſſembly, declaring the REPUBLIC of FRANCE at WAR with the KING of GREAT BRITAIN, and the STADTHOLDER of HOLLAND.

War declared by France againſt Holland and England.

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APPENDIX.

DURING the printing of the preſent edition, a ſecond pamphlet has appeared from the pen of Major Scott, attacking in terms of ſtill more vehemence and aſperity than the former, though in a mode leſs vague and deſultory, the narrative given in the hiſtory of Britiſh tranſactions in the Eaſt Indies, and more eſpecially of thoſe which took place under the adminiſtration of Mr. Haſtings. Conſidering the intimate and confidential connection ſubſiſting between Major Scott and Mr. Haſtings, I cannot think myſelf at liberty to treat with neglect or diſregard a vindication, in which Mr. Haſtings himſelf may perhaps be deemed, not merely a perſon intereſted, but a party concerned. Deſcending therefore, however contrary to my intention and inclination, into the *arena* of controverſy, I paſs over without difficulty the paſſionate ſallies of a writer, who, under the impreſſions which have taken ſuch entire poſſeſſion of his mind, muſt conceive great injuſtice to be done to a friend whom he evidently views with enthuſiaſtic admiration. To be able, nevertheleſs, to adopt in their full and perhaps romantic extent the lofty and elevated ſentiments of the poet on the ſubject of friendſhip, is itſelf proof of a mind raiſed far above the vulgar level—

> "A generous friendſhip no cold medium knows;
> Burns with one love, with one reſentment glows:
> One ſhould our intereſts and our paſſions be;
> My friend muſt hate the man that injures me."

That Mr. Haſtings has been able to attract in ſo eminent a degree the eſteem of the eſtimable, is demonſtration that he muſt poſſeſs qualities

of

of no mean rate or value. Unfortunately, in the opinion of many, political morality ſtands on a foundation very different from that which is perſonal and private: ſo that the private and perſonal virtues of the Man are no ſecurity againſt the political ambition and rapacity of the Stateſman. After reading with attention all that Major Scott has written in vindication of the late Governor General of India, I feel no diſpoſition to retract any eſſential part of the various allegations I have in the capacity of Hiſtorian laid to his charge. But *were* I convinced, in however rude a mode, that I had done involuntary injuſtice to the conduct or character of Mr. Haſtings, I would, to uſe the ingenuous and noble language of a celebrated writer, on a very different occaſion, "publiſh my retractation to-morrow, or, if I could, TO-DAY."

I ſhall now, without farther preface or apology, enter upon my reply to the animadverſions of Major Scott—and, by the avoidance of all petty and perſonal conſiderations, endeavor to render it as conciſe as the nature of the caſe will admit.

I am charged with falſely aſcribing to the pernicious monopoly of ſalt, &c. in conjunction with the plan of reletting the lands in Bengal, the miſeries and calamities which enſued; and particularly the famine of 1770, which Major Scott affirms was occaſioned *ſolely* by a failure of the periodical rains at the accuſtomed ſeaſon. It is true, that the Hiſtory does aſcribe to the general operation of the ſyſtem eſtabliſhed by the ſervants of the Company in Bengal, the national diſtreſs and deſolation which enſued, and which, aided by the effects of an unuſual drought, attained to its *acmé* in the year 1770. But this opinion I hold in common, not with "intereſted partiſans," or "abandoned ſcribblers," but with many of the wiſeſt and moſt enlightened patriots whom the preſent age can boaſt. If, alas! for believing the ſyſtem reprobated in the Hiſtory to be moſt deteſtable in its nature, and ruinous in its conſequences, I am doomed to be numbered with thoſe "who have faith enough to believe the Koran to be written with a pen plucked from the wing of the angel Gabriel;" it is ſome conſolation to reflect, that the Supreme Council of Bengal, the

Court of India Directors, and five ſucceſſive Houſes of Commons, have manifeſted a diſpoſition as groſsly and diſgracefully credulous as myſelf. Sir George Saville, a name never to be mentioned without reverence, on the appointment of the Select Committee in April 1772, peremptorily declined acting as a member of it, profeſſing himſelf adverſe to the whole ſyſtem of Indian affairs. He looked, he ſaid, upon the trade to be in a national view deſtructive, as a mart of luxury and venality; and he proteſted againſt the territorial acquiſitions as public robberies. "Never," ſaid Sir William Meredith, "did ſuch a ſyſtem exiſt as this, in which mercantile avarice is the only principle of government, and force the only means of carrying it into effect. Compariſons of other tyrannies give no idea of Engliſh tyranny in Bengal. How we came by this territory, may God forgive! But poſſeſſions acquired by ſhedding of blood and the oppreſſion of the innocent, can never be expected to proſper." "When we had gotten the country entirely in our power," ſays a moſt reſpectable writer *, "the few articles which were there among the neceſſaries of life were taken under our management. The people who raiſed or made thoſe articles were only allowed to ſell them to us. The inhabitants could only buy of thoſe we appointed to ſell. They had no choice but to do without them, or to comply with our terms: and we gave them examples of public ſeverity to ſuch as did not, that terror might produce the effect that was deſired. The people of the country were diſpirited, and all induſtry appeared to be hopeleſs labor. Our wars and oppreſſions were then followed by ſcarcity. This brought the natural plenty of the country within the reach of other monopolies. A famine enſued—the total number ſaid to be deſtroyed by our wars, driven away from their country by the dread of us, and ſtarved under our management, is three millions; the eſtimated number of all the people of North America before the war began." Lord Clive himſelf, in a public letter to the Directors, tells them, "Every ſpring of this Government is ſmeared with corruption. Principles of rapacity and oppreſſion univerſally prevail. Every ſpark of public ſentiment and public virtue is loſt and extinguiſhed in the

* *Vide* Parker's Evidence of Tranſactions in the Eaſt Indies.

unbounded luſt of unmerited wealth." In his famous vindicatory ſpeech of 1773, impreſſed with the ſame irreſiſtible conviction, he thus expreſſes himſelf: "Human nature is frail; and the deſire of wealth is as ſtrong a paſſion as ambition. Where then is the wonder that men ſhould ſink under the temptations to which they are here expoſed? Fleſh and blood cannot reſiſt them."

Mr. Vanſittart affirms, that "the eſtabliſhed rule of ſelling, is to take as much as they pleaſe; and the rule by which they buy, is to pay as little as they pleaſe." The Nabob of Bengal Syef ul Dowla complains of this monſtrous ſtate of things in the following terms: "The poor of this country always uſed to deal in ſalt, betel-nut and tobacco; but now they are deprived of their *daily bread* by the trade of the Europeans." The Directors, in one of their diſpatches, ſpeak of the "barrier of the Country Government as entirely broken down—and declare every Engliſhman throughout the country to be armed with an authority that owned no ſuperior—exerciſing his power to the oppreſſion of the helpleſs native." In their diſpatch of January 31ſt, 1766, the Select Committee of Council write to the Court of Directors as follows: "Our proceedings point out to you the increaſe of your rents iſſuing from the Calcutta lands, and the proſpect we have of rating them ſtill higher. It evidently appears to us, that great frauds were *formerly* committed in theſe collections; with a view of correcting which, we have now determined that the leaſes granted to the preſent farmers *ſhall expire* on the 1ſt of September next." Thus, becauſe at a former period frauds were ſuppoſed to have been practiſed in particular inſtances, theſe mercantile ſtateſmen thought themſelves authoriſed to reſort to the enormous expedient of a general reſumption *. In a ſubſequent part of the letter they ſay, "To us it evidently appears there remained but the alternative, to advance as we have done and graſp at the whole power, or ſhrink back into our primitive condition of ſimple merchants—to abandon our

* Major Scott ſays poſitively, "Where Mr. Belſham picked up his information I cannot conceive. It is abſolutely fabulous. No leaſes were reſumed!"

poſſeſſions,

poſſeſſions, diſband our forces, and reſt our future hopes on the clemency of princes who will not eaſily forget or forgive the *ſuperiority* we have ſo long maintained. In a word, this laſt meaſure was in itſelf impracticable; for we muſt obſerve, although with much regret, that the miſconduct of individuals hath rendered the Engliſh name ſo ODIOUS, that we are no longer ſecure than while our hands are armed for the defence of our lives and properties." But Major Scott inſinuates (p. xxiii. Preface), that the writer of the Hiſtory ought to have diſguiſed or palliated theſe enormities—and that he takes a malignant pleaſure in calumniating his country, and depreciating the merit of his countrymen. If the whole tenor of the Hiſtory does not ſufficiently refute this *calumny*, it is in vain for the Hiſtorian, by his bare aſſertion, to attempt to repel it. But I appeal with confidence to every reader, without diſtinction of parties or exception of names, whether I have not with eagerneſs embraced every fair opportunity of applauding the valor, the generoſity, the humanity of the Britiſh nation. But, when vile and atrocious acts are perpetrated by men bearing the name of Engliſhmen, I ſhall ever think the honor of my country moſt effectually vindicated by expoſing and reprobating them in the ſevereſt terms which language can furniſh—thus expreſſing, as I am firmly perſuaded, the feelings and ſentiments of a great majority of thoſe who have been by any means made acquainted with the true nature of theſe criminal and diſgraceful tranſactions.

On the complicated and important ſubject of the adminiſtration of Mr. Haſtings, the vindication of which is the grand object of Major Scott's publication, I am charged with groſs miſrepreſentations relative to the following leading points: The Revenues; The Rohilla war; The ſale of Corah and Illahabad; The ſuppreſſion of the Mogul's tribute; The receipt of preſents; The conduct of the Governor General reſpecting Nund-comar and Mahomed Reza Khan; The Mahratta war; The expulſion of Cheyt Sing—and, laſtly, The affairs of Oude. To each of theſe I ſhall ſay a few words in their proper order.

Having expreſſed myſelf in the firſt edition of this work ſomewhat

equivocally, I thought it an act of juſtice to Mr. Haſtings, when called upon by Major Scott in his former pamphlet, to acknowledge explicitly that the ſyſtem of farming the lands from year to year did not originate with Mr. Haſtings. The nature of the allegation is ſimply, that Mr. Haſtings abuſed the power veſted in him, relative to the letting of the lands, to the purpoſes of oppreſſion. It is not *my* language, but the language of the Court of Directors, "that flagrant corruptions and great oppreſſions had been committed." Did Mr. Haſtings attempt to carry the orders of the Directors into effect, for proſecuting the members of the Committee of Circuit? Did he not, by every artifice of evaſion, diſcourage, and at length extinguiſh, the proſecution? Did he not permit his own black ſteward or Banyan, Cantoo Baboo, to hold farms in different Pergunnahs, to a vaſt amount, contrary to an expreſs regulation of the Board of Council? And did he not grant to the ſame Cantoo Baboo the Zemindary of Baharbund, on a perpetual leaſe, on terms prodigiouſly below the real and acknowledged value? In the ſketch which I have drawn of the adminiſtration of Mr. Haſtings, I could attempt nothing farther than ſlightly to touch upon theſe matters; and to have given upon every head of mal-adminiſtration the charge and defence at full length, as Major Scott ſeems to have expected, would have been utterly inconſiſtent with the genius of general hiſtory, and have ſwelled the octavos of the work into folios. I have, upon all occaſions, ſtated what appeared to me to be the chief and prominent facts, accompanying them, according to the beſt of my judgment, with conciſe and appoſite reflections. In the ſuccinct account of Indian tranſactions contained in the Memoirs, which does not exceed the number of pages compriſed in a common political pamphlet, I have corroborated the narrative by more than an hundred quotations from original authorities—"garbled and mutilated," no doubt—becauſe it was impoſſible to inſert volumes of letters and diſpatches at full length—but, ſo far as I was able to diſcern, fairly and impartially ſelected.

On the ſubject of the Revenues of Bengal, I have little to add to the little which I have ſaid in the Hiſtory. If the province of Burdwan eminently flouriſhed, as Major Scott pretends, under the wiſe and beneficent

ſyſtem

ſyſtem of letting the lands in farm to the higheſt bidder, how can it be accounted for, that the Company ſhould at length reſolve totally to relinquiſh this ſyſtem, and to leaſe all the lands of the kingdom of Bengal in perpetuity? Major Scott accuſes me of inconſiſtency in affirming the inhabitants of Bengal to be reduced to the *loweſt ſtate of wretchedneſs* previous to the acceſſion of Mr. Haſtings to the government—in which ſtate of things, he ſays, any alteration made by him muſt have been for the better. But in the two years that had elapſed from the famine in 1770 to the arrival of Mr. Haſtings in 1772, ſo fertile a country as Bengal had time to recover itſelf in a conſiderable degree from the miſeries it had ſuffered: and the charge againſt Mr. Haſtings is, that, inſtead of applying lenient and remedial meaſures to the exiſting grievances, he inflicted upon the inhabitants, yet in a ſtate of great political debility and languor, new ſufferings and new oppreſſions. On the departure of Mr. Francis from India, early in 1781, I have barely remarked that the Provincial Councils were immediately aboliſhed by Mr. Haſtings, and a Committee of Revenue ſubſtituted; in which the plan of letting the lands to farm from year to year was reſumed, in the moſt direct contradiction to a former opinion officially given by Mr. Haſtings; and have ſatisfied myſelf with ſtating in general terms the miſchiefs reſulting from this wretched ſyſtem, adminiſtered as it was by Gunga Govind Sing, whom I muſt ſtill conſider, notwithſtanding the ingenious palliations of Major Scott, as a man infamous in the records of Britain and in the annals of India—a man who diſdained to pay to virtue even the homage of hypocriſy, and who regarded havock, ſpoil and ruin as his gain *. By this arbitrary and alarming innovation, Mr. Haſtings virtually deprived the Supreme Council

* Mr. Haſtings has thus publicly expreſſed himſelf on the ſubject of Gunga Govind Sing: "I have very good reaſon to believe that Gunga Govind Sing by no means merits the character which has been reported of him to Mr. Francis: he had many enemies, when he was propoſed to be employed in the Company's ſervice, and not *one* advocate among the natives who had immediate acceſs to myſelf. I think therefore, if his character had been ſuch as deſcribed, the knowledge of it could hardly have failed to have been aſcertained to me by ſpecific facts. I have heard him loaded, as I have heard many others, with general reproaches; but have never heard any one expreſs a doubt of his abilities." Thus we ſee that Mr. Haſtings, from an amiable exceſs of candor, infers from the univerſality of reproach under which the

Council of the general management and cognizance of revenue buſineſs —veſting it in four perſons, appointed by himſelf, who were to report only ſuch extraordinary occurrences as might claim the ſpecial order of the Board. If the members of the Committee differed in opinion, it was expreſsly provided that the diſſentient opinions of the minority ſhould not, as a matter of obligation, be recorded; nor ſhould the determinations of the majority be ſtayed in conſequence of ſuch diſſent, unleſs it ſhould be ſo agreed by the majority: i. e. the meaſure ſhall be firſt executed, and then referred. Such were the powers by which, the Commons of Great Britain affirm in the Articles of Impeachment voted by them againſt Mr. Haſtings, the provinces ſubject to the dominion of Great Britain were haraſſed and afflicted "with continued innovations and exactions againſt their rights, and to the vexation, oppreſſion, and deſtruction of the inhabitants."

Major Scott labors much to prove that the Zemindars have no hereditary or permanent property in the land; but that they are mere collectors of the Government revenues; whereas Mr. Haſtings, who may upon moſt occaſions be cited as deciſive authority againſt himſelf and his advocates, tells us in his Minutes of Defence, "that there is no ſuch thing in India as diſ-inheritance. This," ſays he, ſpeaking of the affair of Benares, "proves that Bulwant Sing was not the Zemindar; for in that caſe it *muſt* have gone to him by inheritance. As Zemindar, his ſon *muſt* have ſucceeded. It would have been a clear intailed hereditary eſtate." Admitting however that Mr. Haſtings has here a little exaggerated to ſerve a preſent purpoſe, it ſeems upon the whole extremely evident, that

the character of Govind Sing lay, that there was no foundation for any ſpecific charges. That he enquired for them, does not indeed appear. His abilities were aſcertained, and that ſeems to have ſufficed. Mr. Anſtruther, one of the Managers, put the following queſtion to Mr. Anderſon, ſtanding as a witneſs at the bar in Weſtminſter Hall: "Whether this character of Gunga Govind Sing be a true one or not; that at the time he was propoſed to be employed in the Company's ſervice he had many enemies, and *not one* advocate among the natives? Anſwer: I do not think it is." On Lord Thurlow's expreſſing his ſurpriſe at the queſtion, Mr. Anſtruther replied, "My Lord, they are Mr. Haſtings's own words."

the Zemindar is a real landholder, though of a peculiar deſcription not definable by any ſingle term in our language. The fourth report of the Committee of Secrecy, quoted by Major Scott, repreſents the Zemindars as "having *a ſort* of hereditary right, or at leaſt a right of preference, to leaſe the revenues." It is ſufficiently aſcertained, that the famous aſſeſſment of the Emperor Akber, known by the name of the Auſſil Jumma, had not been *materially* infringed previous to the irruption of the Perſians in 1740; after which period, to the acquiſition of the Dewannee by the Eaſt India Company in the year 1765, various innovations were made; particularly by Meer Jaffier in 1757, in order to ſatisfy the rapacious demands of the Engliſh. But when the Zemindar, thinking at any time the terms too high, was diſpoſſeſſed of his lands, or more properly relinquiſhed them, and they were in conſequence transferred to a farmer, he had, according to invariable practice, his *moſhaira* for his ſubſiſtence; i. e. a clear ſtipend iſſuing from the rents, and amounting to one tenth of their groſs produce. And at the next regular ſettlement with Government, at the annual ceremony called the Puneah, the Zemindar, on acceding to the terms propoſed, might again enter into actual poſſeſſion of his land *. But for ſuch a general and violent reſumption as that which took place under the Committee of Circuit, there appears to have been no ſhadow of precedent; nor had the Zemindars diſpoſſeſſed at that period, ſo far as I can trace the hiſtory of theſe tranſactions, the eſtabliſhed cuſtomary allowance of the *moſhaira* for the maintenance of themſelves and families. We are told that Lord Cornwallis conceived it to be of the utmoſt importance, that the principal landholders ſhould be *reſtored* to ſuch circumſtances as would enable them to ſupport their families with decency, and that the regular gradation of ranks in Bengal

* The Jalookdars, ſo far as I can yet attain to the import of the term, are merely Zemindars of an inferior claſs—differing from the ſuperior order rather in point of rank than of privilege. The term Polygar, improperly uſed in the Hiſtory as analogous to that of Jalookdar, was, as Major Scott informs us, never heard of in Bengal. "Polygars are armed freebooters, inhabiting the pollams or thick woods in the wild part of the Carnatic and the Northern Circars. They are tributary chiefs, acknowledging the Nabob and the Company as ſovereigns, and holding under a ſort of feudal tenure."

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was wholly broken and deſtroyed. On this head I ſhould be happy, if in error, to have my ignorance enlightened by the ſuperior knowledge of Major Scott. It is a matter of triumph to the Major, that what I have ſtyled an equitable valuation of the land, when granted in perpetuity by Lord Cornwallis, amounts to the preciſe average ſum aſſeſſed upon the land under the tyrannical adminiſtration of Mr. Haſtings. I ſay in anſwer, that the ſum aſſeſſed on the land is probably no more than the land will very well bear; but the oppreſſion felt under Mr. Haſtings conſiſted in the unfair, unequal and capricious aſſeſſment of this ſum. If Cantoo Baboo paid no more than 82,000 rupees for what was really worth 350,000; others, in order to raiſe the ſum in queſtion, muſt of neceſſity be heavily and cruelly oppreſſed. I have ſtyled, and the expreſſion has given much offence to the delicacy, and even to the piety, of Major Scott, "a territorial revenue extorted in any mode from India by England, to be, in the view of Eternal Juſtice, an ACCURSED THING." He at firſt calmly, or rather ſullenly, ſays, "It may be ſo:" but as he proceeds in his argument, and riſes in his indignation, he affirms poſitively that "it is not ſo; and that the word of the Almighty has *declared it to be lawful.* AN ACCURSED THING!" exclaims the Major—"Who is Mr. Belſham, that he ſhould denounce *ex cathedra* ſuch a ſentence?" His medium of proof is curious and amuſing. The Phariſees, on producing a Roman denarius to Chriſt, demanded "if it were lawful to pay tribute to Cæſar, or not?" "Did our bleſſed Saviour," ſays Major Scott, "reply, that a territorial revenue extorted by Rome from Judea was AN ACCURSED THING? No: in expreſs terms he confirmed the right, and enjoined their ſubmiſſion to it." But, if I recollect aright, the anſwer of Chriſt, when informed whoſe *image* and *ſuperſcription* it bore, was only, "Give unto Cæſar the things that are Cæſar's, and unto GOD the things that are GOD's"—thus wiſely and happily avoiding any diſcuſſion of the queſtion of civil or political right; for his heavenly miſſion was directed to far different objects. I have never affirmed the ſubmiſſion of the natives of Bengal to the lawleſs and unjuſt claims of the Engliſh Government to be in itſelf unlawful. The anathema belongs not to the helpleſs victim, but to the lordly and unfeeling oppreſſor. As a matter of prudential

prudential expediency, both the Jew and the Gentile are moſt ſurely pardonable, in the ſight of God and man, in their ſubmiſſion to ſuperior power thus tyrannically exerciſed. Major Scott himſelf, in his former publication, has theſe expreſs words in confirmation of the opinion which I have given: "If Mr. Belſham means to ſay that the *principle* under which we draw ſuch reſources from Bengal, is repugnant to juſtice, I agree with him heartily." And elſewhere he aſſerts, "that the common ſenſe of mankind, reaſoning in the abſtract, muſt be ſhocked at the idea of a few ſtrangers in the temperate governing with abſolute power twenty millions of people in the torrid zone." If ſo, the obvious concluſion, from which Major Scott cannot withhold his aſſent, is, that the moral ſenſe of juſtice, and the common ſenſe of mankind, would be equally gratified by the extermination of the few who perpetrate, and the emancipation of the many who ſuffer, the injuſtice.

After all, who are the perſons benefited by this ſyſtem of national rapine and extortion? by this enormous overflow of treaſure thus poured by the nations of the Eaſt into the lap of Britain? Are the poor of the land—is the huſbandman and the artiſan, who receive ſcarcely daily bread for their daily labor, the richer for this abundance? No: it is the indolent ſtockholder, it is the opulent merchant, it is the princely director, who ſhare amongſt them the guilty plunder. The general operation of the ſyſtem is moſt pernicious and deadly. This perpetual influx of wealth has a perpetual and irreſiſtible tendency to lower the value of money, and to raiſe the price of the neceſſaries of life. It produces at once the extremes of luxury and poverty. And, as affording an additional revenue or reſource to the Government, it encourages the Miniſters of the Crown in the proſecution of their ruinous, wicked and frantic ſchemes of ambition and revenge. Let thoſe who have viſited with bleeding hearts thoſe wretched abodes where want and miſery, where ſickneſs and ſorrow reſide, declare the emotions they have felt, when compelled indignantly to liſten to the annual romance of national felicity and proſperity!

Major Scott complains that I have urged the evidence of Lord Cornwallis, as decisive of the general tenor and result of the government of Mr. Hastings in India, without contrasting it with that of Sir John Shore, the present Governor General, a man of high reputation and respectability, and which appears to have been greatly in his favor. But to this it is enough to say, that I have not merely admitted, but asserted, the evidence of the majority of the English returning from India to have been highly favorable to Mr. Hastings: and I saw no necessity for separating from the aggregate mass of opinions the particular evidence of Sir John Shore. To demonstrate nevertheless that it is as distant from my wish as from my power to suppress this testimony, on which so great stress is laid, I shall embrace the opportunity which now offers to relate, that Sir John Shore, when questioned in Westminster Hall relative to the alarming assertions of Lord Cornwallis, said, "that if the third of Bengal was in the year 1789 a jungle inhabited by wild beasts, he was convinced that a much greater part of the country had been a jungle when the English government commenced; since he was fully convinced that Bengal had been in a progressive state of improvement under the British administration—with respect to agriculture, population, and commerce;" adding, with all the confidence which conviction inspired, that "property had been more secure, and individuals less oppressed, than under the Mahommedan government."

Whether this account or that of Lord Cornwallis is most consonant to the real state of things, must be left to every one to determine from the evidence of facts, and the representations of the parties interested. It is remarkable that, in lieu of the general and peremptory restoration of the dispossessed Zemindars, ordered by Mr. Fox's second or supplementary India Bill, "that farrago," as Major Scott is pleased to style it, "of folly and absurdity," Mr. Pitt's Act coldly directs an ENQUIRY merely into the subject of their complaints; and Major Scott informs us, that not a single Zemindar was re-instated in consequence of the enquiry thus instituted. Whence he infers, by an *irrefragable conclusion*, that not a single Zemindar was unjustly dispossessed—the English government in India being, according

cording to Major Scott's repreſentation of it, though, abſtractedly conſidered, contrary to common juſtice and common ſenſe, in practice the moſt immaculate that ever exiſted; while the author of the Hiſtory has, to uſe Major Scott's favorite phraſeology, "diſgraced and expoſed himſelf," by aſſerting, "that of ſuch a ſyſtem oppreſſion will ceaſe to be the reſult when the Ganges ſhall ceaſe to flow."

The next ſubject of Major Scott's inveſtigation reſpects the merits of the Rohilla war. On this famous tranſaction, ſo deciſive of the ſpirit and tenor of the adminiſtration of Mr. Haſtings, I adhere firmly to the opinion given in the Hiſtory; and the principles on which it is defended by Mr. Haſtings himſelf are ſuch as to preclude all controverſial detail, unleſs it were deemed neceſſary, after all that has been ſo ably and demonſtrably written in paſt and preſent times, to revert to the nature and foundation of government, and the primary axioms of political juſtice. On this head, therefore, I know not how to addreſs Major Scott in other language than that which the famous Duc de la Rochefoucault was accuſtomed to hold, when oppoſed on any point which appeared to him too clear for diſcuſſion. "This, then, Sir, is your opinion, and the contrary is mine." Not to diſappoint him, nevertheleſs, altogether, I ſhall beſtow a few words upon it. Major Scott maintains both the juſtice and policy of the war. With reſpect to both, I am not reluctant to make certain conceſſions, in my judgment not in the ſlighteſt degree affecting the ſubſtance of the queſtion. On conſidering with deliberate and reſpectful attention the evidence of Sir Robert Barker, conjoined with that of Mr. Hamilton, &c. I now, waving all objections, and paſſing over the counter evidence, am willing to *concede*, that the Rohillas were chargeable with a violation of the treaty with the Vizier. And I alſo admit, that the policy of Mr. Haſtings, abſtractedly conſidered, and as a point of curious ſpeculation affecting the balance of power in India, was more juſt than that of his predeceſſors in office, and of the Company. The jealouſy entertained by them of the aſcendency of Sujah Dowla, their ancient rival, was, I agree with Mr. Haſtings and Major Scott, not well founded. The power of the Company was ſo decidedly ſuperior to that of the Vizier, that he

was in fact reduced to a ſtate of habitual and ſyſtematic dependency: and an addition of territory ſo convenient as that of Rohilcund, ſerved only to render the Vizieriate of Oude a ſafer and more impregnable barrier againſt the attempts of the enemies of the Company on that ſide of India. But the conduct of Mr. Haſtings in this buſineſs was truly and altogether Machiavelian. Wars can only be vindicated on two grounds: 1. On that of ſelf-defence; a plea not only moſt unexceptionable, but highly meritorious and honorable. Or, 2dly, War is juſtifiable when carried on for the purpoſe of enforcing an equitable and valuable claim; excluſive of which, the injured party is entitled to a reaſonable indemnity for the blood and treaſure expended in the courſe of the war. But was the conduct of Mr. Haſtings influenced by a regard to theſe obvious and primary principles? It appears that the Rohillas, previous to the fatal battle of St. George, were willing to grant both ſatisfaction and indemnity to the Vizier, and were anxious to refer the whole cauſe of diſpute to the arbitration of the Engliſh. It appears that the Vizier was inclined to receive their overtures favorably, and to accommodate the difference amicably. And it is equally evident, that Mr. Haſtings urged, threatened, and with the moſt refined artifice, at length, by the "allurements" he held out, inveigled the Vizier into this nefarious undertaking, in order to derive from it certain pecuniary and political advantages for the Company. It was, viewing it in the moſt favorable light, a war carried on for the recovery of 40 lacks of rupees unjuſtly withheld. But did ſucceſs in ſuch a war confer any right or title to extirpate the nation, or any part of the nation, the rulers of which were chargeable with this injuſtice, or to reduce the country to the dominion of the conquerors? SPAIN withheld from England the ſum promiſed for the Manilla ranſom: but did that violation of faith give a right to England, had ſhe poſſeſſed the power, to reduce Spain to a province of her dominion, and to extirpate any claſs of the inhabitants? Does not the naked ſtatement of ſuch a caſe ſuperſede all argument? "To treat this as a war merely for the recovery of 40 lacks of rupees," Major Scott tells us, "is in the higheſt degree abſurd. The breach of faith manifeſted in the refuſal to pay that ſum was the cauſe and juſtification of the war; the OBJECT of it was to give ſecurity to

to the Vizier in future, by annexing Rohilcund to Oude." What is this, but to ſay in very plain language, that the recovery of the 40 lacks of rupees was only the *pretext* for the war? When the offence was once committed, no poſſibility of atonement remained. Forty lacks or forty ſhillings made not the leaſt difference; for the OBJECT of Mr. Haſtings was to conquer the country for Sujah Dowla, and to obtain an addition of revenue for the Proprietors of Eaſt India Stock. "Was there any thing in this proceeding," exclaims Major Scott, "repugnant to the ſtricteſt laws of political morality?" I anſwer, No; on the ſuppoſition that you ſtudy morality in the Florentine ſchool of politics. But it might not perhaps be quite ſo eaſy to reconcile it with the principles of Grotius, Locke, and Monteſquieu, names once of ſome repute and eſtimation in the Iſle of Britain. That the extermination or extirpation, projected by Mr. Haſtings in concert with the Vizier, was deſigned to extend only to the Afghan Tartars in poſſeſſion of the Rohilla country, as diſtinguiſhed from the native Hindoos, I readily believe; and I have conſequently paſſed wholly unnoticed the rhetorical exaggerations of Mr. Burke on this head, in ſpeaking of the parliamentary inveſtigation of this buſineſs. I therefore think it ſtrange to be charged with artifice and miſrepreſentation, in not ſpecifying the points in which Mr. Pitt differed from Mr. Burke; and I am confident that Mr. Pitt himſelf, if the account given of his ſpeech in the Hiſtory ſhould happen to reach his knowledge, will acquit me of any ſuch diſhonorable intention. With reſpect to the ſeverities, or more properly the barbarities, practiſed in the courſe of the war, and ſubſequent to its termination, the authority of Colonel Champion is in my eſtimation incomparably ſuperior to that of Mr. Hamilton *, who was, nevertheleſs, I doubt not, a young man of merit and talents, but in politics too evidently devoted to Mr. Haſtings.

Major Scott is civil enough to ſuppoſe that I have confounded Hafiz Rhamet the chief of the Rohillas, with Hafiz the celebrated poet of Schiraz, merely becauſe I have ſaid "he was renowned throughout the Eaſt for the ſuperiority of his intellectual talents and perſonal accompliſh-

* Author of the Hiſtory of the Rohilla Afghans.

ments." But I moſt humbly beſeech the Major to believe, that I am not chargeable with ſo egregious a blunder. Long previous to any parliamentary diſcuſſion of the Rohilla war, I had *been informed* that the charming Ode given by the late Sir William Jones to the world, before he relinquiſhed for the more ſerious purſuits of life the "Muſes' ſacred ſhades," was tranſlated from a poet of Perſia, not an Afghan Tartar. Never did my youthful fancy, in the wildeſt wanderings of thoſe fairy days, picture to itſelf in the remote and unknown regions of Rohilcund "a ſtream ſo clear as ROCNABAD, a bower ſo ſweet as MOSELLAY *." Relying in this trivial inſtance on the frail and treacherous ſupport of Mr. Burke's authority, I believe I have repreſented the character of Hafiz Rhamet, though a man of great abilities and heroic valor, in a light too flattering, and bordering upon romance. And if Major Scott will deign

* I ſhall hope for pardon at leaſt, if, to relieve the tedium of political diſcuſſion, I venture to tranſcribe, in the privileged form of a note, a few ſtanzas of this poetical *morçeau*—the only ſpecimen, I believe, in the Engliſh language, and an exquiſite one it is, of the admired productions of the poet of Schiraz.

SWEET Maid, if thou wouldſt charm my ſight,
And bid theſe arms thy neck infold;
That roſy cheek, that lily hand,
Would give thy poet more delight
Than all Bocara's vaunted gold,
Than all the gems of Samarcand.

Boy, let yon liquid ruby flow,
And bid thy penſive heart be glad:
Whate'er the frowning zealots ſay,
Tell them, their Eden cannot ſhow
A ſtream ſo clear as Rocnabad,
A bower ſo ſweet as Moſellay.

Speak not of fate:—ah change the theme!
And talk of odours, talk of wine;
Talk of the flowers that round us bloom:
'Tis all a cloud, 'tis all a dream;
To love and joy thy thoughts confine,
Nor hope to pierce the ſacred gloom.

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to be ſatisfied, Hafiz Rhamet ſhall, ſo far as depends upon me, ceaſe from this time to be applauded and renowned throughout the Eaſt beyond his real and intrinſic merits.——Laſtly, I am reproached with deriving my information reſpecting the Rohilla war *ſolely* from an anonymous pamphlet. If ſo, I am indeed what Major Scott frequently ſtyles me, "the moſt careleſs of hiſtorians;" for it is certain that more has been ſaid and written on this than on any other queſtion relative to India. The pamphlet alluded to, though in the vulgar acceptation of the term *anonymous*, was well known to many, and is confeſſed by Major Scott himſelf to be the production of a man high in office in India, and, as he might have added, ſtill higher in reputation. I willingly acknowledge my obligations to it. From this pamphlet I derived my firſt clear ideas of the nature and policy of the ſyſtem adopted by Mr. Haſtings: and the virulence complained of by Major Scott, appears to me only the juſt expreſſion of virtuous ſenſibility and indignation.

The remarks which follow p. 66, on the ceſſion of the provinces of Corah and Illahabad to the Nabob of Oude, the detention of the Mogul's tribute, and the withdrawment of the allowance appropriated to the Nabob of Bengal, are too vague and unimportant to demand a ſpecific anſwer. As an act of policy, Mr. Haſtings, in his Defence, has ſatisfactorily vindicated the transfer of the provinces in queſtion to the Vizier; and the juſtice of the tranſaction it would be ideotic to diſcuſs. The detention of the tribute is only a branch of the general ſyſtem—a very beneficial one indeed; though, as a flagrant violation of public faith, it would undoubtedly, according to the political morality of Major Scott, fully juſtify the Emperor of Hindoſtan in reducing Great Britain, whenever a favorable opportunity ſhall occur, to the ſtate and condition of a province of the Mogul empire; and in extirpating, if not all the inhabitants of the iſland, at leaſt the Proprietors of India Stock, including the Board of Control and the four-and-twenty Members of the Honorable Court of Directors.

The negotiations carried on at the Court of Dehli during the latter period of Mr. Haſtings's adminiſtration, and the war in contemplation againſt the Seiks, whoſe deſtruction was planned "becauſe they might

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one day become formidable," are events which wear a very dark complexion, and too evidently exhibit Mr. Haſtings as a man, who, when motives of intereſt and policy prompted, would not heſitate to do "ſuch black and bitter buſineſs as the day would quake to look on." Major Scott has ſaid little or nothing in palliation of this moſt ſerious allegation; but chooſes to draw off our attention by referring us to ſome regulations of the Governor General reſpecting the monopolies of ſalt, opium, &c. which indeed appear to have been very judicious and beneficial.

With regard to the Article of Preſents, charged by the Commons of Great Britain upon the Governor General as illegally and criminally received, I am accuſed of groſs ignorance, or wilful and malignant miſrepreſentation—ſo far as I can perceive, merely for ſtating a few of the leading circumſtances which gave riſe to ſtrong ſuſpicions of corruption on the part of Mr. Haſtings. The Governor General has certainly not been fortunate enough on his trial to clear himſelf of theſe ſuſpicions to the perfect ſatisfaction of all the Lords who voted upon the queſtion; and many other individuals will alſo doubtleſs retain their original ſentiments relative to it, notwithſtanding the public, though by no means unanimous, acquittal of their Lordſhips. For my own part, however, notwithſtanding the veil of myſtery in which theſe tranſactions are involved, I cannot avoid being much impreſſed with the ſolemn and ſtriking manner in which Mr. Haſtings, a man not ſurely of a mercenary and ſordid diſpoſition, has in his Defence at the bar of the Houſe of Lords denied the truth of this charge. "My Lords," ſaid the Governor General, "it will depend upon your Lordſhips to give me what degree of credit you pleaſe. Whether I intended for a moment to apply any one of the ſums received by me to my own uſe, is a point which can be known only to God and my own conſcience. I can ſolemnly and with a pure conſcience affirm, that I never did harbor ſuch a thought for an inſtant; and permit me to add, my Lords, that I was too intent upon the means to be employed for preſerving India to Great Britain, from the hour in which I was informed that France meant to ſtrain every nerve to diſpute that empire with us, to beſtow a thought upon myſelf or my own private fortune." After this acknow-

acknowledgment, I hope it is not neceſſary to go into a minute diſcuſſion of the minute objections of Major Scott to this part of the narrative.

In quoting the Regulating Act of 1793, which prohibits the receipt of preſents by any Britiſh ſubject, I could mean nothing unfair in the omiſſion of what Major Scott ſtyles "the material words *for his own uſe and behalf*," becauſe, in common with Mr. Haſtings, I never underſtood the operation of the clauſe to extend to the Company; and my concluſions are all founded on the ſuppoſition that they *were* received for his own uſe and behalf. In the very curſory manner in which I have touched upon the ſubject, no very accurate attention has been paid to dates: nor have I thought it eſſential to diſtinguiſh between thoſe preſents which were ſuppoſed to be received previous to the Act of Regulation in 1773, when Mr. Haſtings was under "a covenanted engagement" only, and thoſe accepted after that period. His honor and character are equally at ſtake in both caſes; and if the preſents were actually received, it matters little how long or how ſhort the interval which paſſed between them. In the year 1775, Mr. Haſtings declared it "to be his fixed determination, fully and liberally to explain to the Directors every circumſtance of his conduct on the points reſpecting which he had been ſo injuriouſly arraigned." Major Scott admits that this explanation was never given, and his apology is, that it was never demanded by the Directors. But ſurely the preſumption is, that an innocent man would have tranſmitted the explanation without waiting for the demand. Some years afterwards, in a diſpatch dated May 1782, Mr. Haſtings confeſſed the receipt of various other ſums, amounting to upwards of 200,000l. which he affirmed had been converted to the Company's uſe, but without diſcovering from whom or on what account he received the ſame. The voucher accompanying this letter, ſtyled "An aggregate contingent Account of Twelve Years," gave ſo little ſatisfaction to the Court of Directors, as to compel them to confeſs, that the ſtatement of thoſe tranſactions appeared to them in many parts ſo unintelligible, that they felt themſelves under a neceſſity of calling upon the Governor General for an explanation, agreeably to his promiſe voluntarily made to them." This requiſition I certainly underſtood, and I yet underſtand, to refer to the promiſe of 1775, and to

include all the ſecret pecuniary tranſactions of his government. The letter containing the requiſition was received in Bengal Auguſt 1784, and the Governor General did not embark for England until the month of February 1785. But he made no reply to it previous to his departure, under pretence of "more important occupations." But after his arrival in England, in July 1785, he addreſſed a letter to the Chairman of the Court of Directors, in which he tells him "that he has been kindly apprized that the information required as above was yet expected from him: that the ſubmiſſion which his reſpect would have enjoined him to pay to the command impoſed upon him *was loſt to his recollection*; perhaps from the ſtronger impreſſion which the firſt and diſtant peruſal of it had left on his mind, that it was rather intended as a reprehenſion for ſomething which had given offence in his report of the original tranſaction, than as expreſſive of any want of a farther elucidation of it." If the Court of Directors underſtood this apology, they were certainly very ſagacious, and if they accepted of it, extremely indulgent.

How the account given in the Hiſtory, of the manner in which Mr. Haſtings comported himſelf on hearing the complaints of Khan Jehan Khan and the Rajah Nund-comar preferred againſt him at the Board of Council, can in any diſhonorable ſenſe be conſidered as *garbled*, I cannot conceive. The plain fact was, as I have ſtated, that, inſtead of attempting any vindication of himſelf, he diſſolved the meeting: and his *permitting* the diſſatisfied Members of the Board, Sir John Clavering and his colleagues *, to inſtitute any

* Sir John Clavering was a man whoſe virtue was of that lofty and inflexible kind which it is much eaſier to admire than to imitate. Wanting no indulgence himſelf, he ſcarcely knew how to make juſt allowance for the frailties and failings of others. Upon ſuch a man, the luxury and venality of the Eaſt eſſayed their blandiſhments in vain. Struck with aſtoniſhment at the conduct of Mr. Haſtings, ſo adverſe from the ideas he had previouſly formed, the emotions of his indignation ſoon burſt forth in a minute of council, in which the General declared "that Mr. Haſtings was a degraded character, in the eyes both of India and of Europe, for his peculation, his corruption, and oppreſſions." In the courſe of the trial of the Governor General (38th day), Mr. Burke pronounced a beautiful eulogium on the character of Sir John Clavering. "The records of the Court of Directors," he ſaid, "bore the moſt glorious teſtimonies to the honor, character, and merits, of that great man.

any further proceedings they thought proper, was a condeſcenſion for which they certainly felt very ſlender obligation. After all, I am willing to hope, that on this head of accuſation, ſo deeply affecting the perſonal honor and integrity of the Governor General, he was not *criminal;* and he himſelf admits, "that he had been in matters of account imprudent in a degree that merits ſome of the reflections ſo ILLIBERALLY thrown out againſt him."

"The next ſubject," ſays Major Scott, "upon which Mr. Haſtings falls under the laſh of Mr. Belſham, is for his conduct to Mahomed Reza Khan. It is very clear to me that Mr. B. does not know who this man was, nor the offices that he had filled." This clear perſuaſion of Major Scott is the more extraordinary, as in the very paſſage which he has himſelf cited from the Hiſtory, I have anticipated the Major in declaring to the world, that Mahomed Reza Khan was a muſſulman of the higheſt diſtinction; and that on the deceaſe of the Nabob, Meer Jaffier Ali Khan, this perſonage was conſtituted guardian of his children, and adminiſtrator or regent of the ſubahdary during the minority of his ſon Nudjah ul Dowla. And in a former part of the work, vol. i. p. 182, I have noticed that on the death of Meer Jaffier, Mahomed Reza Khan was created, through the influence, or, to ſpeak more properly, the autho-

man. Many of their lordſhips," he remarked, "muſt have been perſonally acquainted with him, and he appealed to them whether he was capable of acting under the impulſe of the unworthy motives aſcribed to him by Mr. Haſtings. The world knew that he had paſſed through the different degrees of the military profeſſion with a character which pointed him out as a model for the whole army to imitate. His unimpeachable honor and inflexible integrity endeared him to all his friends. His heart was as free from meanneſs, as his reputation from ſtain or blemiſh. He was no leſs an ornament to human nature than to his profeſſion; and he was not more admired as an officer than revered as a man. The character of Sir John Clavering ſtood far above the reach of calumny; and no one, Mr. Haſtings excepted, would have dared to treat with contempt public accuſations countenanced by ſuch a man." When we recollect the tribute of univerſal homage paid to the character of Sir John Clavering, the inceſſant panegyrics which were beſtowed upon it, and the final failure of all his efforts in the cauſe of virtue and humanity, how can we avoid joining in the aphoriſm of a late celebrated French writer (M. Chamfort), "Il en eſt de la valeur des hommes comme de celle des diamans, qui à une certaine meſure de groſſeur, de pureté, de perfection, ont un prix fixe et marqué, mais qui par-delà cette meſure reſtent ſans prix, et ne trouvent point d'acheteurs!"

rity, of the Engliſh Government, Naib of the Nizamul, much to the diſſatisfaction of the young Nabob, who declared "that his father had always deemed Mahomed Reza Khan his enemy." In the grand ſcale of general hiſtory, the viciſſitudes of fortune experienced by Mahomed Reza Khan cannot be deemed ſufficiently important to render it neceſſary to dwell very long upon them. Mr. Haſtings had undoubtedly, on his acceſſion to the government, a very diſagreeable and difficult taſk impoſed upon him by the Directors relative to Mahomed Reza Khan, which he appears to have performed with equal fidelity and addreſs. I do not mean to impute the delays which were practiſed to keep Mahomed Reza Khan in priſon, or, to correct the expreſſion, in *cuſtody*, to the artifices of Mr. Haſtings. They were owing, Major Scott tells us, to the artifices of Nund-comar. It may be ſo; for I do not pretend to develop the interior movements of this political intrigue. Major Scott thinks it ſingular that I ſhould have praiſed both Nund-comar and Mahomed Reza Khan, thoſe inveterate foes and rivals. But I do not recollect upon any occaſion praiſing Nund-comar. I have ſtyled him indeed the moſt diſtinguiſhed and illuſtrious of the Hindoo inhabitants of Bengal; but this has reference merely to his rank as head of the Brahmans. I have lamented his fate, I acknowledge, as, to adopt the words of the Nabob Mobaric ul Dowla, "really hard and rigorous;" and I join in exclaiming, with reſpect to the allegation brought againſt him, "Certainly he never could have committed ſo contemptible a crime!" Of the general character of Mahomed Reza Khan I entertain a far more favorable opinion; and after the generous and humane treatment which he appears to have received from Mr. Haſtings at the commencement of his proſecution, I cannot in any obvious way account for the conduct of the Governor General in becoming himſelf, at a ſubſequent period, his moſt bitter and relentleſs perſecutor; and I am compelled to reſolve it into motives connected with the eternal and inexplicable diſputes and cabals of the Clive and Sullivan factions. As to the inconſiſtency charged upon me by Major Scott, in extolling the character of Mahomed Reza Khan, and in condemning ſo decidedly the meaſures which took place under his adminiſtration from 1765 to 1772, it is notorious that Mahomed Reza Khan

poſſeſſed

poſſeſſed no real independent authority. He acted under the conſtant reſtraint and control of the Engliſh preſidency. The Nabob of Bengal was himſelf but a ſhadow, and his repreſentative Mahomed Reza Khan was conſequently but the ſhadow of a ſhade. This in my opinion ſufficiently ſolves the paradox, why his character as an individual might be eſtimable, though his meaſures, or what paſſed for ſuch, in his public capacity might be execrable.

With reſpect to the Mahratta war, the next point in queſtion, as Major Scott deals in mere aſſertions, without pretending to offer proof or the ſemblance of proof in confirmation of them, it would be very fair to paſs it over in total ſilence. The narrative given in the Hiſtory is accompanied by evidence which appears to me very ſatisfactory; and ſuch as can never be diſproved by any accounts given in Weſtminſter Hall, by Lord Mansfield Ambaſſador at Paris, of the ſchemes and projects of the Court of Verſailles. If that ambitious Court was anxious for the aggrandizement of the Gallic empire in India, the true mode of counteracting their projects was by conciliating the leading powers of Hindoſtan by a ſtrict and uniform attention to the rules of equity, moderation and juſtice. By the violent and unprovoked infraction of the treaty of Poorunder, the Mahrattas were urged to the dangerous extremity of throwing themſelves for protection into the arms of France—although they would, as is manifeſt to demonſtration, have infinitely preferred friendſhip and alliance with England. It was in the month of January 1778, immediately after the death of Sir John Clavering, that Mr. Haſtings brought forward in Council that famous Minute which laid the foundation of the ſecond Mahratta war. At this period the meaſures of the Governor General could not be influenced by advices from Lord Stormont, the Ambaſſador at Paris; for it was only in conſequence of the defeat and capture of the Engliſh army at Saratoga on the oppoſite ſide of the globe, towards the cloſe of the preceding year 1777, that the Court of Verſailles, after much heſitation and ſolicitation, fatally for itſelf engaged as a principal in the war. But if Mr. Haſtings had by ſupernatural inſpiration been apprized of the diſaſter of Saratoga and its conſequences,

would

would that have juſtified him, in point of policy, for immediately involving the Company in a war with the moſt formidable power in India, inſtead of endeavoring to engage and ſecure their friendſhip? What trace of ſenſe, plauſibility, or conſiſtency is there in this concluſion? The ability of Mr. Haſtings in carrying on this ſhameful and dangerous war, does not appear very conſpicuous. But his addreſs and dexterity in concluding the peace at a moſt critical and hazardous juncture, cannot be juſtly controverted, though attended with ſome humiliating conceſſions. Much as I have read on the ſubject of the Mahratta war, Major Scott is nevertheleſs very ſure that I have never yet met with any *authentic* hiſtory of it. And being thus unfortunate, I ought perhaps to apologize for my preſumption in venturing to give, or even to form, any opinion about it.

We are at length arrived at the article of accuſation relative to the Rajah Cheyt Sing. On this head Major Scott does not much enlarge, and I ſhall be happy to imitate his example. The point which the Major chiefly labors, is to clear the Governor General of that heavy part of the accuſation which charges him with acting from vindictive motives: and he quotes the authority of Mr. Pitt in corroboration of his own ſentiments on this head. On a general review of this tranſaction, every one will form his own judgment; but to me there appear evident indications of perſonal animoſity and reſentment in every part of Mr. Haſtings's conduct relative to the Rajah of Benares. And it aroſe from what appeared to Mr. Haſtings no doubt a groſs and public affront. Nevertheleſs there exiſted a ſtrong political neceſſity, which may be fairly urged in palliation of the propoſitions brought forward by Mr. Haſtings for raiſing money by harſh and unuſual means. And though I have not expreſsly ſtated, as I might, and perhaps ought to have done, that intelligence was at this preciſe juncture received from Europe of the breaking out of the French war, yet I have previouſly admitted that the Government of Bengal was reduced to the extremeſt neceſſity for money to defray the enormous expence of its complex and extended operations—ſo that the plea of political neceſſity, ſo far as it can ever be admitted, is completely eſtabliſhed. Major Scott accuſes me of going beyond even Mr.

Burke

Burke in misrepresentation, for saying that the first demand of military aid was opposed by Mr. Francis and Mr. Wheeler. The Managers on the trial were precluded, by the decision of the Lords, from adducing evidence of the debate which took place previous to passing the resolution of Council. But though Mr. Francis and Mr. Wheeler did not admit the *principle* as maintained by Mr. Hastings, they were, in circumstances so alarming, very properly and prudently cautious in formally opposing the resolution itself, ambiguously and dextrously worded as it was; and they no doubt hoped that the Rajah might be induced to acquiesce in it. On finding the contrary, they unavailingly opposed its being carried into execution by force. In the succeeding demands, the right having been formally asserted by a vote of Council, the dissentient members, rather than continue an useless and endless contest, tending only to exasperate and inflame, seem to have thought it best at once to express their disapproval, and signify their acquiescence. As to the fine of 10,000l., induced by my evil stars once more to rely on the single affirmance of Mr. Burke, I erroneously asserted that it was imposed by the sole authority of Mr. Hastings. But this assertion is dropped in the Articles of Impeachment actually presented at the bar of the House of Lords. And it appears that the mulct in question, no less than the preceding requisitions, was imposed by the authority of the Council with the acquiescence of Mr. Francis. And Major Scott tells us, and I have no doubt truly tells us, that it was never levied.

With respect to the transactions which took place in consequence of Mr. Hastings's visit, or rather *visitation*, to Benares, no remark is made, except so far as relates to the treatment of the Rannee Pauna mother to the Rajah, on which Major Scott dilates very copiously in the preface to his pamphlet. On this subject I am charged with "detailing, fortunately for me, in conjunction with Mr. Grey, the most miserable and wretched sophistry." We first call Bidjegur a castle, whereas according to Major Scott it is only a fort or fortress. Next we represent it as the usual residence of the Rannee, whereas it was only her actual or occasional residence. And we say that the treasures in the castle were the Rannee's treasures, whereas Major Scott affirms they were the trea-

ſures of her ſon;—a point difficult of aſcertainment, and forming after all a diſtinction of which the ſon and the mother would not, it is probable, very ſenſibly feel the difference. With reſpect to the right of ſeizure, the *argumentum ad hominem* addreſſed to Mr. Grey, that gentleman is doubtleſs well able, if he thinks it worth his while, to refute. In me it would be preſumption to attempt it, conſcious as I am of my ignorance of military *etiquette* and the uſage and cuſtom of war. I muſt however remark *en paſſant*, that to ſtyle, as Major Scott *ſeems to do*, p. xv. and as his argument requires to make the caſes parallel, Martinico and Guadaloupe *fortreſſes*, is in my apprehenſion at leaſt as great an impropriety, as to ſtyle Bidjegur a caſtle. I am happy, upon Major Scott's authority to retract what is narrated in the Hiſtory, relative to the refuſal of redreſs, conſequent to the outrage ſuſtained by the Rannee and her attendants, in evacuating the *fortreſs*. The injury appears to have ariſen from a cauſe wholly fortuitous, and no blame is upon this occaſion to be imputed either to Major Popham or Mr. Haſtings. At the ſame time I am ſtill of opinion, that the general conduct of Mr. Haſtings relative to the Rannee was highly culpable. Conſidering the Governor General in the light of an oriental conqueror, the contraſt between the behavior of Mr. Haſtings to the unfortunate family of Cheyt Sing, and that of Alexander to the wife and mother of Darius, was beautifully and ſtrikingly depictured by Mr. Grey, in his eloquent ſpeech at the bar of the Houſe of Lords, in ſupport of the Benares charge.

Lastly, on the complex and inexhauſtible ſubject of the affairs of Oude, I am charged by Major Scott with "miſtating every circumſtance *without exception*, confounding dates and garbling letters." But he contents himſelf with referring to the evidence on this article offered in Weſtminſter Hall as a ſufficient refutation of my injurious repreſentations and bold fallacies. The Major ſpecifically objects only to the account I have given of the greatneſs and magnificence of the Court of Fyzabad, in which he affirms I have been entirely miſled by Mr. Burke and Mr. Sheridan. Though I place no great ſtreſs on the perfect accuracy of this account; yet, as it has the ſanction of Mr. Sheridan as well as Mr. Burke, as the objector does not adduce his authorities in confirmation of his

his objections, and as the account ſeems ſufficiently conſonant to the manners and cuſtoms of the Eaſt, I cannot conſent to alter it in complaiſance to Major Scott, who tells me indeed that Mr. Burke and Mr. Sheridan themſelves produced evidence in Weſtminſter Hall, which diſproved every line of what I, copying after them, have aſſerted. But how can I, "a private gentleman, living in an inland town," have recourſe upon all occaſions to the dark and ponderous records of this amazing trial depoſited in Weſtminſter Hall? We, ignorant ruſtics, who live ſecluded from the world, are compelled to ſift out truth how we can from "garbled letters, mutilated minutes, fragments of diſpatches, and unauthenticated narratives." We are liable, as Major Scott knows, to be impoſed upon by the ſhallow artifices of "intereſted partiſans and abandoned ſcribblers."

Unwilling, nevertheleſs, to believe my labors wholly uſeleſs, I determined in a good or evil hour to publiſh the information which under theſe advantages I had been able to collect. "Unplaced, unpenſioned, no man's heir or ſlave," I knew no impulſe but that ariſing from a diſintereſted and ſincere love of my country; and regardleſs of unjuſt cenſure and illiberal reproach, I will ſtill cheriſh the pleaſing hope, that the pages thus written will not be entirely and ultimately written in vain.

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ON the reviſion of theſe remarks, I perceive two or three things which it is neceſſary to notice, in order to complete all that it may ſeem incumbent upon me to ſay or do by way of explanation or conceſſion. As Major Scott appears to lay ſome ſtreſs upon the point, I deſire that in making the aſſertion quoted by him, reſpecting the letting the lands of the kingdom of Bengal in perpetuity by Lord Cornwallis, I may be underſtood to ſtyle it "one of the primary meaſures of his Lordſhip's government," merely as firſt in contemplation and importance. The lands were let on a ten years leaſe, with a view to a permanent ſettlement in 1790; but the ſettlement itſelf did not take place till 1792.

I have affirmed, vol. iii. p. 132, 4to edit. that the articles exhibited againſt Mr. Haſtings by Mr. Burke were ratified by the vote of the Houſe of Commons, with the exception merely of the Rohilla charge. But this is not correct. On nine only of theſe articles was the queſtion put; upon eight of the nine it was carried againſt Mr. Haſtings, and theſe eight charges were ſubſequently multiplied into the twenty actually preſented at the bar of the Lords—the article relative to miſdemeanors in Oude branching out into no leſs than thirteen ſpecific heads.

It is with peculiar pleaſure that I deſire to efface *in toto* the account given in the Hiſtory, vol. iii. p. 125, of the maſſacre ſuppoſed to have taken place at the ſtorming of Annampore, as abſolutely groundleſs and fabulous.

FINIS.